Modern Dating Comes to Tufts in the Early Twentieth Century

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HIST 0193: Tufts in American History

December 10, 2018

In the winter of 1925, Virginia attended the 1928 Dance, Xmas Party [of] '25, Big Party [of] '25, dined at College Coffee Shoppe, went to Mrs. Hoshin's for tea, and joined Wally on a date to Sam's Shubert Theatre in Boston. A busy schedule like this - dances, lunches, dates - was normal for a popular girl like Virginia. She frequented the theatre with her mother, her friends - Eleanor, May, Olive, Gay, Al, Gladys… and Wally, whom she received bouquets of flowers and took many photos of in addition to their dates out to the theatre. Remnants of these century-year-old memories can be found neatly organized in Virginia's scrapbook, where the purple corsages and heart-shaped dance cards can be found. Her scrapbook highlights a small, but representative slice of her social life at Jackson College as "best-dressed, the best-sport, the most collegiate, and the most popular girl in college."[1] A thorough investigation of Virginia Call's scrapbook yields a story about a college girl who attended Jackson College in the mid-1920's, who's popularity was defined by the national conventions of popularity characteristic of this time period. These guidelines for popularity were heavily shaped by the growing female presence on college campuses, which encouraged heterosocial interactions and furthermore, focus on sexual expression in front of and with men. These changes led to a new definition of popularity centered in rating of peers and a showcasing of high rating through dating.

When women entered college campuses in the late 19th century, opposition to women in higher education targeted the female body.[2] This attack was spearheaded by Dr. Edward Clarke who cited his female patients' failed attempts in academia - he argued that women *could* study and learn, but "she could not do all this and retain uninjured health, and a future secure from

[1]Unidentified newspaper clipping, article titled "Jackson College Honors Daughter of Local Family" Call Scrapbook

[2] Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930*, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 1.

neuralgia, uterine disease, hysteria, and other derangements of the nervous system."[3] Moreover, his medical case against women in higher education highlighted the prevailing stigma that jeopardizing a woman's reproductive system due to education ultimately threatened the survival of the "superior" white race.[4] This common belief that higher education physically prevented women from fulfilling their prescribed role dissipated when many women appeared healthy during their physical examinations, even after spending many months at college. These exams validated a woman's place in academia, offering a "dubious public irrefutable proof of students' health."[5] Besides physical examinations, female students themselves certified their health by focusing their attention on how much they weighed and documenting exactly what they ate. To prove that their bodies were not suffering and "breaking down" from college life, women gained weight as a healthy alternative to losing weight, which was associated with bad health and sickness, as well as most common female-associated illnesses like neurasthenia, hysteria and consumption.[6]

Once the physical concerns about women in higher education diminished, female students were no longer restricted to maintaining an identity centered in healthy lifestyle. Instead, female students on college campuses chose to shape their own identity under the influence of national convention because "they wanted to fit in...looking to each other to determine which models of female beauty and health to follow, forgoing adult approval."[7] Ignoring adult approved models of female beauty, students agreed upon a sexual model of

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[3] Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930*, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 2.
[4] Ibid., Page. 3
[5] Ibid., Page. 23
[6] Ibid., Page. 31
[7] Ibid., Page. 108

female beauty, subsequently celebrating sexual allure and experimentation.[8] This model of female beauty and concern with sexual expression in front of and with men led to the sexualization of college women and a campus dating culture that was ultimately shared amongst all college women on campuses across the nation.

Dating, including campus dating, became a national convention by 1925 in America. It was distinguished from the pre-war courtship ritual known as *calling*, which involved following a series of guidelines (ie. inviting a man into the family parlor for a specific amount of time and discussing only appropriate topics of conversation) to test a man's "suitability, breeding and background" for potential marriage.[9] Historically, dating emerged from the members of the lower class who did not see calling as a practical means of courtship (many of them lived in crowded rooms and did not have the luxury of a family parlor).[10] The new freedom that dating offered intrigued middle-class Americans so much that by 1925, it had seamlessly become a nation-wide practice in America.[11]

The generational differences in courtship during this time provoked some members of the older generation to critique the new dating system - they feared that it would make it more difficult for the youth to achieve the ultimate goal of courtship, which was marriage. However, long term commitments not meant to be synonymous to dating. Rather, it was reserved for the future of the youth. In other words, dating was meant not for prospects of marriage and family, nor was it to experience love. Dating, the new dominant method of courtship in America, was

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[8] Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930*, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 108.
[9] Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America,* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 16.
[10] Ibid., Page. 17
[11] Ibid., Page. 19

about competition.[12] Furthermore, dating - through the number and variety of dates they partook in - was a competition for gaining popularity that the American youth prized.[13] Sociologist Willard Waller named this system, because of the competition, "the campus rating complex."[14] He described a system in which "dating and rating" determined the status of popularity of an individual. The standards of popularity for men were material signs, whereas those of women were less concrete. A woman had to build and maintain a reputation of popularity: they had to "be seen with popular men in the 'right places', indignantly turn down requests for dates made at the 'last minute' (which could be weeks in advance), and cultivate the impression that they were greatly in demand."[15] Popularity was not directly earned with talent, looking good, attractive personality, or high importance and influence in organizations.[16] Instead, popularity was achieved by the way that these characteristics translated into dates. The more attributes you had, the higher your rating, and the more likely it was that you secure more valuable, highly visible and variable dates. Thus, high quantity and quality of dates was the hallmark of popularity for college students before the second World War.[17]

Students of Tufts College were not the exception. They too, experienced the "campus rating complex" and pressures to date competitively in the desperate effort to achieve popularity. The Virginia Call scrapbook tells the story of a mid 1920's Jackson girl of her individual experience at Tufts College and is a real-life narrative of this national convention. Further, her

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[12] Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America*, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 25.
[13] Ibid., Page.26
[14] Ibid., Page. 26
[15] Ibid., Page. 26
[16] Ibid., Page. 27
[17] Ibid., Page. 27

story can be told answering two questions: one, how did Virginia establish her popularity? and two, how did Virginia showcase her popularity, specifically in her scrapbooks?

Virginia aimed to achieve a high rating in the "campus rating complex" system by multiplying and enhancing her attributes. Her extraordinary campus presence included club involvement in the Sigma Kappa (EK) sorority, leadership positions in the Tufts Athletic Association, and organizing the biggest parties and on-campus social events. The extent of her involvement is further explored below:

Virginia's immense commitment to her sorority, Sigma Kappa, gave her on-campus exposure and friends. It also made her a major influence and leader of their social events (ie. sorority dances, initiation, parties), making her a distinct figure on campus that her peers can recognize and consequently give her a high rating. She was mentioned in newspaper articles for her involvement in Sigma Kappa multiple times - once for attending the Sigma Kappa convention in Washington, D.C.[18] and another time for organizing the Baby Party for freshmen initiation as part of the committee.[19] In the St. Petersburg Times, May 11, 1928, she was deemed "the best" under her photo - "Jackson College students have acclaimed Miss Virginia Call, of Lewiston, Me., the best-natured, the best-dressed, the best sport, the most collegiate, and the most popular girl in college."[20] Beyond recognition in newspaper articles, she was, indeed, documented as "best-dressed" in the sorority superlatives, "Who's Who in Frat." Amongst other

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[18] Unknown Newspaper Clipping. *Two Kippy Kappas!* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

[19] Unknown Newspaper Clipping. *Jackson '29 Baby Party Furnishes Amusement.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928.Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

[20] *St. Petersburg Times,* May 11, 1928. Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

possibilities, such as funniest, cutest, quietest, biggest eater, she is known as best-dressed.[21] Although this status as best-dressed does not directly make her popular, she was likely considered more attractive in the eyes of her peers, increasing her rating in the campus competition for dates.

Many girls would rather be known as best-dressed, than biggest eater or bane of the faculty. This is because looking good, which was validated by female peers, attracted men, who generally admired stylish dressers and therefore, granted higher ratings to these women.[22] The standards of looking good were defined by the predominant trends of the mid-20's - the bobbed hair, short skirts, fur coats, and slim waists.[23] This style was most commonly known as the flapper, which made students sexual not only appearance and image, but also in behavior.[24] Many of these trends are displayed in ads found in the playbills that Virginia collected in her

Figure 1. Photograph of Virginia Call.[26]

Figure 2. Advertisement for Turcotte's Beauty Parlor.[24]

[21] *Who's Who in Frat.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[22] Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930,* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 2.
[23] *Unknown Photograph of Virginia Call.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[24] Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930,* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 131.

scrapbook.[25] These ads exhibit the same products that Virginia donned herself, including "furriers"[26] and the "waved bob."[27]

Figure 3. Photograph of Virginia Call and her classmates.[23]

Figure 4. Advertisement for A. Jaeckel & Co.[25]

This makes it reasonable to believe that Virginia was indeed, best-dressed, through the standards of the conventions established nationally. Ads are unique primary sources because they not only provide contextual information and allow for a side-by-side comparison of Virginia's style versus the ideal style of her contemporaries, but they also provide content that suggest reasons *why* Virginia and her contemporaries were so heavily influenced by advertised fashion trends. More specifically, it is because many of these ads found in Virginia's scrapbook have catch-phrases or small comments that entice the buyer to purchase the advertised item. While this is not a foreign concept in the modern day, it is interesting to note that *how* the advertisement attempts to attract the buyer reflects the values of Virginia and her peers. For example, in the

[25] *Unknown Advertisement for Turcotte's Beauty Parlor.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[26] *Unknown Advertisement for A. Jaeckel & Co.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[27] *Unknown Photograph of Virginia Call.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

black velvet & satin high heel ad for "Rice & Hutchins Incorporated: The All America Shoe Shop," the shop owners target college women, knowing they would be tempted to purchase the product if the ad promised that wearing their shoe "inspires confidence that [her] footwear will win approval from every critical glance."[28] Furthermore, these assuring ads pushed college women even closer towards achieving popularity by looking attractive.

In addition to impressing a good reputation in front of their male counterparts, women also sought to gain approval and high ratings from her female friends. Virginia, in particular, had a significant number of girlfriends, many of whom she mentions in her scrapbook. She took the time to describe each event she attended with the names of who she attended the event with, next to the memento she kept from the event. For example, she attended many plays and musicals and kept countless playbills, with each of them written neatly the names of her friends. Although sometimes she would write down the name of a man[29] (implying that she attended a theatre date), most times she attended the theatre with a friend or five. Once she watched a romantic melodrama called "12 Miles Out" at the Shubert-Plymouth Theatre. On its playbill, Virginia's friends signed their names - Eleanor, Doris, Bob, Doti, Jean, Gladys, Marion, Lanola and Dave.[30] Another occasion in which Virginia would diligently write the names of her friends would be restaurant or café trips with her friends. Paper copies of the menu was evidence that she attended St. Clair's with Gay and Olive on one day and the same restaurant on another day with Gay, Gin,

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[28]*Unknown Advertisement Rice & Hutchins Incorporated, All America Shoe Shop.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

[29] *Hollis St. Theatre Playbook.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

[30] *Shubert-Plymouth Theatre, W.M. Anthony McGuire presents his new play "12 Miles Out" Playbook.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

Doris, Eleanor, and Barbara.[31] Documentation of all the names of friends that she attended an important event with suggest that Virginia was indeed, popular and very much liked and highly rated amongst her friends and other women.

If Virginia was highly rated in all of the attributes mentioned above, she must have showcased this achievement by accepting invitations to date requests. In addition to the dates to the Sam's Shubert Theatre in Boston with Wally, Virginia also attended dances with men. In Virginia's scrapbook, she kept the small folded sheets of thick, high quality paper, which were often engraved with the most popular fraternity's letters in gold color; inside, would be a long list of dances describing the course of events from that evening.[32] Other saved cards were invitations, written well in inked cursive, addressing Virginia to join Sigma Kappa in their dance.[33] In addition to the Sigma Kappa dances, Virginia also

Figure 5. Virginia Call's collection of dance cards.[32]

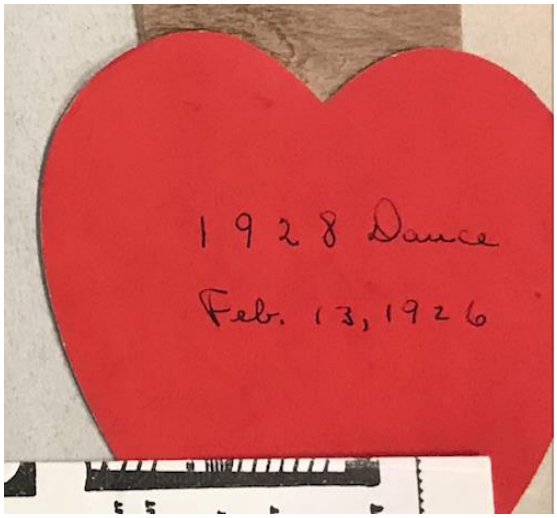

Figure 6. Virginia Call's dance card for 1928 Dance on February 13, 1926.[34]

[31] *Menu from St. Clair's.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[32] Lucy A. Reed, Scrapbook, vol. 2 1913-1917. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[33] *Collection of Dance Cards.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

attended equal numbers of non-sorority dances, such as the "Annual Jackson Day Dance" and the "1928 dance."[34] These dances also had associated cards - the former on light blue cardstock and the latter on a bright red cutout of a heart. Often tucked neatly into an envelope and pasted onto the scrapbook paper, these dance cards provided proof that Virginia, indeed, attended that specific dance. The dance cards are proof to Virginia that she spent much time socializing with her girlfriends, in which her on-campus presence and exposure helped her gain high ratings; in addition, they are to prove that she was asked on many dates by men, which translated into social credit in her achieving popularity.

Also, leftover from the dances were corsages and bouquets of flower that Virginia saved in her scrapbooks.[35] These were not as abundant in quantity as the dance cards - however, they are clear representations of dates - gestures of men attempting to "woo" Virginia.

Figure 7. Purple Bouquet from Virginia Call Scrapbook.[36]

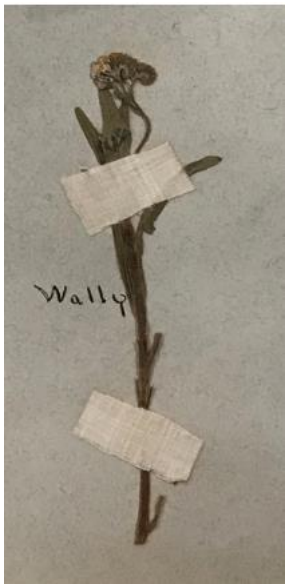

Figure 8. Flower from Wally.[36]

[34] *Dance Card from 1928 Dance on February 13, 1926.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

[35] *Purple Bouquet and Flower from Wally.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

In addition to dance cards and bouquets, all representative of Virginia attending dates, Virginia had a large collection of photographs that suggest one, she had a large friend group and two, she was probably dating Wally. Some of her photographs are memories of Virginia and her girlfriends - in one photo, she is sitting on steps with her teammates in her class year ('28).[36] In this photo, she wrote down every person's name to identify each person. Other photographs were "solo shots" of her attending important events on campus, such as "Campus Jackson Day" or "ETA house Junior Day" both in 1925.[37] She also had photographs of "some Sophomore STA's 1925" with each name written down as identification, again.[38] Given that she knew the names of all nine men, as well as the reappearance of some of these men in other photographs of hers, she must have known them quite well. In one page of her scrapbook, she devoted ten photographs, half of which were of Wally alone (besides one) and the other half were of her friend Gladys and her mother. Both the combination of collecting "solo shot" photos of Wally as well as the sheer quantity of his photos in comparison to the rest of her friends suggest that Wally was neither a friend, nor just any boy. He did not have a similar presence in her scrapbook as did most of the other men, who were showcased in groups of men. Wally was exposed in multiple settings, wearing baseball clothes, in a car, donning a suit and tie, or alone in the woods, all of which

[36] *Unknown Photograph of Virginia Call and teammates.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[37] *Unknown Photographs of Virginia Call on Campus Jackson Day and Eta House Junior Day*. Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[38] *Unknown Photograph of "Some Sophomore STA's 1925.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

suggest that Virginia spent a lot of time alone with Wally in both private and public spaces and wanted to document those moments together in her scrapbook.[39]

On these dates with Wally, she often had other friends join her as well. These dates often involved watching sports. An athlete herself, Virginia showed rather immense interest in watching sports games, both locally in Medford as well as Tufts games. At a certain Harvard vs. Tufts game on Saturday, October 30, 1926, Virginia attended with Wally and her two friends, Ede and Jun.[40] She also attended other games with other individual men - suggesting she did not just date Wally (although Wally seemed to be the most important of the men she dated, suggested by his overwhelmingly major presence in her scrapbooks). On one page, she documented two games that she attended - U of N.H. vs. Tufts and Boston University vs. Tufts - with a man named Dick Hamill.[41] However, there is no mention of him otherwise in her scrapbooks. It does make sense that she would document her dates with him in her scrapbook, though, merely to showcase the number *and* variety of dates she went on in her time at Jackson College, a clear marker of her popularity.

Virginia Call had many attributes - sorority influence, best-dressed, many girlfriends - all of which contributed to her good reputation and high rating granted by her peers, both men and women. This gave her access to dates, both with Wally and other men like Dick Hamill, exhibited by her corsages, bouquets, many photographs and pamphlets of all sorts (restaurant

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[39] *Scrapbook Page with Photographs of Wally, Mother and Gladys*. Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[40] *Official Program Football Game, Harvard vs Tufts on Soldiers Field on Saturday, October 30, 1926.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.
[41] *Official Program Football Game, Tufts vs. U. of N.H. on Saturday, November 6, 1926.* Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

menus, programs to sports games, playbills). With the high number and relative variability of dates she attended, she met the qualifications of a popular girl under the national conventions of popularity. Indeed, she was recognized by multiple people as "the most popular girl in college."[42]

How representative was Virginia's life of other college students on the same campus? Looking at scrapbooks of students, Lucile Kaufman and Edith Doane ('30) it would be insightful to see if other girls shared similar sentiment and eagerness to gain popularity at Jackson College, further verifying the active presence of national conventions and guidelines of gaining popularity at Tufts.

Lucile Kaufman was an exchange student from France, who left behind a scrapbook that surprisingly did not mirror that of Virginia Call. However, as an exchange student, this may hint at why she did not participate in the efforts of gaining popularity like all the other girls. In other words, Lucile was an exception - unlike the other girls, she focused more on her academia, rather than gaining popularity through dating, campus presence, and enhancing her attributes. This

Figure 9. Un bon jeu (a good game) from Lucile Kaufman's Scrapbook[46]

[42]*Unidentified Newspaper Clipping*, "Jackson College Honors Daughter of Local Family." Virginia Call, Scrapbook J1928 1924-1928. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996. DCA, Tufts University.

sentiment is clearly reflected in her scrapbook. Instead of flowers, dance cards and playbills, Lucile documented photographs of her favorite professors and Tufts buildings.[43] However, this did not mean Lucile did not participate in social activities during her time at Tufts. The absence of dance cards and bouquets was merely representative of the fact that she did not go on dates. Whether it was by choice or not, she probably did not have the same intentions when she attended the 1919 Baby Party[44] or watched a sports game with her friends from the bleachers.[45] Whereas Virginia would have written down the names of each individual to identify each of her friends, Lucile captioned her photograph *un bon jeu* (a good game), implying that the purpose of saving that photo was not meant to showcase popularity, but simply to remember the game as a good one. Lucile also engaged in other fun activities with her friends during her time at Tufts. However, similarly to the photograph of the game, photographs of the 1920 Varsity Field Hockey

Figure 10. Skiing and Snowshoeing with friends from Lucile Kaufman's Scrapbook.[48]

[43] *Unidentified photograph of the Start House.* Lucile Kaufman, 1918-1920. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996.DCA, Tufts University.

[44] *Unidentified photograph of* "Baby Party 1919." Lucile Kaufman, 1918-1920. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996.DCA, Tufts University.

[45] *Un bon jeu.* Lucile Kaufman, 1918-1920. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996.DCA, Tufts University.

Team of Jackson College or skiing and snowshoeing down the President's lawn with her girlfriends do not suggest that her intentions of saving these memories were to showcase her popularity.[46]

In an interview covered by the Boston Sunday Post in February of 1920, Lucile is asked a few questions about her time as an exchange student at Jackson College.[47] The title of the article, "French College Girls Here Find out Men are Boyish" also suggest that many of these women who did attend American colleges as French exchange students did not engage in dating, not because they were uninterested in gaining popularity by increasing their date count. Rather, it is also possible that they did not feel connected to the men at Tufts because they were "boyish" and moreover, were not worth the time of these academic women. Additionally, Lucile divulges about her time at Jackson and discusses the differences she experienced as a student in America. She suggests that devoting large sums of time and effort spent by American women not studying is not a shared sentiment by French women:

> While we agree that the American girls are very clever and very charming, and we love them dearly, we cannot but notice that they take their studies less seriously than French girls do. We think it is because a college career over here is so easy to obtain. Practically any girl may go through college if she desires, but in France it is not so easy.[48]

Her reasoning is sound, however. She notes that she is forced to take her academics abroad seriously, which would be one very good reason as to why she does not engage in the dating life as much as her female classmates, such as Virginia (although they graduate a few years apart). Lucile also mentions that she notices that "the independence of the American girl… is

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[46] *Unidentified photograph of skiing and snowshoeing with friends.* Lucile Kaufman, 1918-1920. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books, 1849-1996.DCA, Tufts University.
[47] "French College Girls Here Find out Men are Boyish" *Boston Sunday Post,* February, 1920.
[48] "French College Girls Here Find out Men are Boyish" *Boston Sunday Post,* February, 1920.

astonishing."[49] This is characteristic of the nationwide change that youth experienced during the early twentieth century in which growing female presence on college campuses paralleled the youth being at odds with authority figures, including their parents, and establishing a youth culture centered around sexual expression and dating in the public sphere. Investigation of the life of a Jackson student that did not share similar values as the prototypical American Jackson girl suggests that not *all* students at Jackson College shared the same experiences defined by the national conventions of popularity.

Although Lucile Kaufman did not share the same interest in competitive dating and achieving popularity on campus, it is safe to say that her reason was rather exclusive to her situation and an exception to what was considered the norm at Jackson. Analysis of Edith Doane's life through her scrapbook confirms that perhaps most Jackson students aimed to achieve popularity in the same way and as successfully as Virginia did, even if in the end, they did not necessarily do so. Edith was the president of the All Around Club in 1930 and a varsity athlete at Jackson. She was recognized, just like Virginia Call, in numerous newspaper clippings that increased her exposure to many people, increasing her rating in the competitive "dating and rating" system found on campus. In one article titled "Who's Who in Jackson Extra-Curricular Activities," she is amongst five other girls who are presidents of the most popular clubs on campus, such as the Athletic Association and the Student Council.[50] Edith with her ratings based on being President of the All-Around Club, was asked on dates to similar events that Virginia had attended a few years prior as a means of flaunting her popularity. In Edith's scrapbook, she describes one of her favorite events as the "Junior Freshman Formal" at Goddard Gym on

[49] "French College Girls Here Find out Men are Boyish" *Boston Sunday Post*, February, 1920.
[50] *Who's Who in Jackson Extra-Curricular Activities.* Edith M. Doane, Scrapbook 1917- 1929. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books,1849-1996.DCA, Tufts University.

February 27, 1927. In the description, she notes that she attended the formal with "Pete" whom she "out of the 15 dances had 12 with him" and "...had a fine time."[51] Although Edith maintained her position as the President of the All-Around Club and managed to attend dances and dates with men, she did not seem to gain popularity to the same extent as Virginia. For example, she did not attend as many plays or music events as Virginia did - and many of them she attended alone.[52]

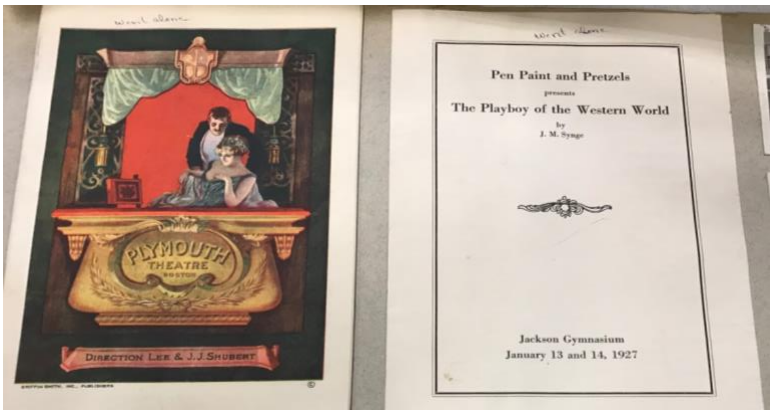

Figure 11. Playbills from Edith Doane's Scrapbook. Pen Paint and Pretzels presents The Playboy of the Western World by J.M. Synge in Jackson Gymnasium, January 13 and 14, 1927.

Additionally, in the "class statistics," she was named "most democratic" rather than other, more socially valuable names like best looking, best dressed, or most popular.

Comparing Edith Doane to Virginia Call is in the effort to see if more than one girl shared similar understandings about how a college woman can gain popularity on campus. Virginia Call was clearly a very popular girl who was recognized in this way because she followed the guidelines that any ideal college woman in an American college would to become popular - these national conventions included high ratings and dating in number and variety.

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[51] *Who's Who in Jackson Extra-Curricular Activities.* Edith M. Doane, Scrapbook 1917- 1929. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books,1849-1996.DCA, Tufts University.
[52] *Playbills.* Edith M. Doane, Scrapbook 1917- 1929. Tufts Digital Collections and Archives. Memory books,1849-1996.DCA, Tufts University.

Edith Doane also aimed to achieve similar goals; depicted by her documentation of dates, playbills and newspaper clippings, she diligently saved pieces of her life to showcase her popularity. The similarity in content suggests that she indeed had similar intentions and shared an understanding of gaining popularity that was likely shared by multiple college women at Jackson College across multiple class years. However, a mere comparison in number and variety to that of Virginia Call suggests that Edith was not as popular. Although this piece of information is not *that* important, it does suggest that Virginia was not an exception on campus in that she shared these similar beliefs about popularity. Rather, Virginia may be considered an exception in that she was an ideal popular figure on campus (because not everyone can be popular!).

Modern dating can be defined by the dissolution of calling, the growing female presence on campus, the emergence of a youth culture based on sexual expression, and the subsequent development of the "dating and rating" system centered on competition for popularity. The standards for gaining popularity on college campuses were shared theoretically by all college youth, during a time when national culture was a new development amongst the youth. Delving into the scrapbooks of three students who attended Jackson College during the peak years of this nationwide cultural development was successful attempt to look at individual experiences at Tufts and confirm that these national conventions were put into effect and experienced by college women at a small co-ed college.

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