

The Abolition of Curfews and Housing Regulations at Jackson College

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“Women are watched, coddled, protected and kept cellophane fresh until they are out of the University’s jurisdiction.”¹ So stated the Tufts *Weekly*, the student newspaper about female students of Jackson College at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts in 1966. Dominated by rules and regulated by curfews and dormitory restrictions, Jackson women were treated like children and were subjected to gender inequality that stemmed from the Victorian notion that women required special protections due to their gender. College administrations propagated this in the form of rules that upheld the gender double standard by only applying regulations to the female students. This double standard continued through the post-World War II era, and *in loco parentis* reflected this domestic ideology. These notions were finally challenged in the 1960s with the rise of a defined youth culture and a shift toward a more open sexual climate.²

At Jackson College specifically, the struggle to abolish curfew regulations and housing restrictions began in the early 1960s and was finally resolved in 1971. This is the story of the growing dissatisfaction of Jackson women, particularly those involved in student council, and their determination to fight for change by taking matters into their own hands. Their struggle was part of a nationwide movement on college campuses for women to be treated as mature adults by the administration, as well as to mitigate rules and regulations that threatened gender equality. Jackson women’s initial dissatisfactions grew into resistance, negotiations, protests, and ultimately change as they fought and won for the right of opportunity and equality.

Curfews at Jackson College reflected a double standard that existed on many college campuses during the 1960s. This double standard was justified by *in loco parentis*, latin for “in the place of a parent.” Historian Beth Bailey explains *in loco parentis* as a system of rules,

¹ “Jackson Off-Campus Housing,” *Tufts Weekly*, December 2, 1966, 4.

² Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 78.

procedures, and guidelines that applied specifically to college women in order to guarantee their safety, dictating everything from dress codes and curfews to calling hours.³ This system was employed by Jackson College and many other higher education administrations to ensure parents, many of whom had curfew hours for their daughters at home, that their daughters would be kept safe and protected while at college.

At Jackson College, administrators' desires to ensure women's safety on college campuses only partially explained the numerous regulations that dictated the lives of Jackson women. Much of the underlying reason for imposing curfews and regulations on women was an administrative effort to curtail potential sexual promiscuity of the women students.⁴ The 1950s and 1960s on college campuses demonstrated a growing sexual climate between men and women, along with an increasing expectation and normalization of dating. The increasingly casual nature of sexual freedoms concerned both parents and administrators, who believed young women should be the image of respectability and virtue that earlier decades of women presented and upheld. This concern led administrators to seek to curtail such behaviors through stricter regulations. *In loco parentis*, therefore, strove not just to protect women, but to perpetuate and uphold standards of morality that resulted in a loss of privacy and freedom of sexual expression.⁵

In curtailing the amount of time women could spend outside their dormitories, so too did administrators believe that this would be a way to control the dangerous urges of male students. It was understood that respectable women students did not stay out all night with boys, and

³ Beth L. Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 79.

⁴ *Ibid*, 78.

⁵ Renee N. Lansley, "College Women Or College Girls? Gender, Sexuality, and in Loco Parentis on Campus," (Ann Arbor: The Ohio State University, 2004), 2.

therefore when women returned to their dorms, so too would the men.⁶ This mode of thinking by administration shows how they limited the freedoms of women for a dual purpose. Efforts to control and moderate women's movements at night was not just to mitigate women's unvirtuous behaviors, but the male students' as well.

Enforcement of curfews and *in loco parentis* was also rooted in the belief that rules would give college women the structure and guidance they needed to excel academically.⁷ Administrations sought to ensure that their students were capable of appropriate time management to complete their studies, thinking that without a curfew system in place, college girls would stay out all night and forego their studies.⁸ This argument, however, was disproved by a 1968 study by Houtz and Norris, which concluded that "senior women did not show a notable reduction in academic achievement as measured by grades when they were allowed to set their own hours."⁹ Therefore while administrators believed they were doing what was best for women students, there was no data to support the necessity of strict curfews. The curfews infantilized women and perpetuated a double standard in forcing women to comply with rules which male students did not have to follow.

Furthermore, curfews and other housing restrictions challenged the maturity of female students, particularly upperclassmen. By creating blanket regulations and restrictions, many colleges were ignoring the fact that as women progressed throughout their college careers, their maturity and sense of responsibility grew as well, particularly in comparison to male students

⁶ Lansley, "College Women Or College Girls?," 121.

⁷ William R. MacKay and Larry W. Nelson, "Dormitory Closing Hours and Academic Achievement," *Journal of College Student Personnel*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Sept 1970): 385.

⁸ Lansley, "College Women Or College Girls?," 120.

⁹ William R. MacKay, "Dormitory Closing Hours and Academic Achievement," 385.

who more often than not went unregulated and unchecked. One contributor to the *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators & Counselors* posed the question, “If, as the psychologists tell us, the 18-year-old woman is more mature than the man of the same age, is it not ludicrous to require her to obey certain social rules, but not him?”¹⁰ To some, the double standard ignored the maturity that college women possessed, and many college women took issue with the curfew system in that it targeted them as children, while men were treated as adults.¹¹

By the mid-sixties, changing notions of femininity, sexuality, and gender equality had taken root on college campuses. Jackson College was one of many where women were openly rejecting the restrictions of *in loco parentis* that dominated their social lives. In terms of sexual freedom, privacy, and maturity, women argued that they were treated unfairly and unequally due to traditional gender stereotypes. They were forced to comply with rules that no longer aligned with their social lives. Because of this, young women resented the restrictive system that college administrators used to regulate women’s lives. Across the nation, college women began to take action to change these rules. College women of the sixties rejected the standards of respectability defined by older generations solely to appease parents and administrators.¹² The women on Jackson Student Government, began to petition for change and the abolition of curfews and housing regulations in the 1960s.

The Jackson College Handbook was a publication written by the Jackson administration with the assistance of the Jackson Student Council (JSC), a student government body comprised

¹⁰ J. A. Fley, “Campus Regulations: Are Girls Different?” *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors*, vol. 31 (1968): 116.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 116

¹² Lansley, "College Women Or College Girls?," 134.

of the leaders of Jackson students who assist in enforcing and revising Jackson rules and regulations. The handbooks were given to Jackson students at the beginning of every academic year after being revised and updated to include any rule revisions that took place in the previous academic year. The Jackson Student Handbooks included information about Jackson organizations such as Student Government, Student Council, and the Jackson Athletic Association. The handbooks also outlined and described the rules of *in loco parentis* in full detail. A section on dormitory life was particularly detailed with guidelines on social privileges such as curfews, calling hours, and dress policies. The Jackson College Handbooks reflected the national trend in that every new academic year detailed increasingly complex and elaborate rules.

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The 1959-1960 edition of the Jackson College Handbook depicted the rules that dictated dormitory life for Jackson women. The Jackson Administration expected women students to memorize and adhere to every detail of these regulations, believing them to be the key to a successful and happy college career. The curfew regulations in the handbooks were organized by class rank, giving seniors greater social privileges and later curfews than juniors, sophomores, and freshman. Seniors had twenty “late” privileges a month, while juniors had sixteen, sophomores twelve, and freshman eight during their second semester.¹⁴

These curfew laws were then followed by numerous pages of additional dormitory regulations, including curfew for students on probation, study hall curfews, calling hours, special late permissions, overnight absences, and sign out procedures. The expectation of college women

¹³ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 79.

¹⁴ Jackson College Handbook, 1911-1970, Folder 2:1, Jackson College Handbook Fiftieth Anniversary 1959-1960. UP076.001.002.00001. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

to adhere to pages of detailed rules, which grew in complexity from the 1950s to the 1960s, helps to explain why Jackson women sought to rid themselves of *in loco parentis*.

In the early 1960s, Jackson women began to take note of social regulations at other liberal arts colleges, comparing them to the regulations at Jackson College. A 1963 Tufts *Weekly* article entitled “Coeds See Liberal Rule Movement” reported that liberal colleges such as Brandeis, Columbia General Studies, and Radcliffe were permitting many of their women students to have unlimited curfews.¹⁵ A Los Angeles Times article entitled “University Girls Vote Out Curfew” was one of many to report on college women in student government pushing for recognition as mature, capable women by their administration by demanding the removal of dormitory regulations.¹⁶ Schools like the University of Massachusetts had gone so far as to fully abolish curfews for their women students.¹⁷ The Tufts *Weekly* article highlights not only the broader scope of the women’s protests on college campuses in trying to attain more freedom, but also brings to light the sexism, double standards, and a misalignment of the desires of college administrators and women students.

One week after the article was published, the Jackson Student Council followed the example of other schools across the nation and made their first attempt to change curfews by giving seniors unlimited “lates.” Lates were an allowance that gave women permission to return to their dormitories after curfew, and in 1963, women were given five “lates” a week. The *Weekly* reported that the Jackson Student Council voted 25-1-1 in favor of giving Jackson seniors unlimited lates,” which extended their permissions from five to seven nights a week. The *Weekly*

¹⁵ “Coeds See Liberal Rule Movement,” *Tufts Weekly*, February 13, 1963, 1.

¹⁶ “University Girls Vote Out Curfew.” *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*: Dec 15 1966. 9.

¹⁷ Levey, “Will Other Colleges Follow UMass Lead in Lifting Curfew?,” 1.

praised the Jackson Student Council for rejecting *in loco parentis* and acknowledging Jackson women's ability to make mature decisions on their own.¹⁸ The motion was rejected, however, by the Dean of Jackson College Myra Herrick, who explained that unlimited lates would require increased security that would be too expensive for the College.¹⁹ The polarized views of Dean Herrick and the members of Jackson Student Council on this subject was accentuated by the generational gap that existed. Dean Herrick's vision of propriety and support of *in loco parentis* contrasted with the new ideals of young women in the sixties who desired personal freedom, gender equality, and the opportunity to act as mature adults. This generational gap incited disagreement between administrators and women students, particularly when, in the eyes of the administration, the requests were quite radical.²⁰ As a *Boston Globe* article entitled "Today's Coed: Why is she Rebelling?" explained, the demand for liberalization of rules by college women was due in part to their "questioning, rejecting, or revolting against what they consider the outmoded values of their parents."²¹ The differing values between older and younger women was at the heart of the battle between Dean Herrick and the Jackson Student Council that ensued over the next year.

While the Jackson Student Council was attempting to reform curfew regulations, they were also trying to expand their housing options. Before 1965, Jackson undergraduates were required to live in on-campus dormitory housing or, in some cases, were permitted to live with

¹⁸ "Curfews and the Modern Movement," *Tufts Weekly*, February 21, 1963, 4.

¹⁹ "Dean Vetoes Free Curfews; Calls Security Main Problem," *Tufts Weekly*, March 27, 1963.

²⁰ Helen L. Horowitz, *Campus Life* (Knopf, New York.: The University of Chicago Press, 1987): 232

²¹ Jack Pollack. "TODAY'S COED: WHY IS SHE REBELLING?" *Boston Globe (1960-1985)*: Feb 13, 1966. 3.

relatives in the surrounding Boston area.²² In the fall of 1965, the JSC suggested expanding housing options for Jacksonites. One student council member, Edie Brown, suggested that the Jackson Student Council form a committee to investigate the possibility of allowing Jackson women to live in off-campus housing. A questionnaire was sent to the parents of Jackson Juniors and Seniors in November. The survey asked if parents would allow their daughters to live off campus if they were given the option. Perhaps of greater significance is that the survey asked if parents thought their daughter should have the choice or option to live off campus.²³ Turning to the parents for inquiry and permission on their daughter's living arrangements demonstrated the power of *in loco parentis*; not only did college administrators support it, but so too did the members of Jackson Student Council in finding it necessary to obtain parents' permission before moving forward and petitioning the Dean.

Many parents responded to the questionnaire in favor of allowing their daughters to live off campus. JSC President and Chairman of the Committee for Off-Campus Housing Judy Brown wrote in a letter to Dean Herrick that the overall consensus leaned toward loosening the housing restrictions. In fact, many parents supported the "quieter, less pressured atmosphere of an apartment" for their daughters.²⁴ Despite the support from parents, Dean Herrick responded to the prospect of off-campus housing with an emphatic dismissal. Dean Herrick responded to Jackson Student Council in a letter, explaining that the nature of Jackson College as a residential

²² Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. Jackson Student Government 1957-1969. Student Council Minutes 1965-1969. UA033.001.005.00004. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

²³ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. Jackson Student Government 1957-1969. Student Council Minutes 1965-1969. November 29, 1965. UA033.001.005.00004. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

²⁴ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. January 6, 1966. UA033.001.005.00004.

college implied that all students should live together on campus. Furthermore, she believed that if Jackson juniors and seniors were to move off campus, the experience of the underclassmen would change because they would not have the upperclassman as role models.²⁵ To Herrick, keeping women on campus in residential dormitories was the only way to ensure that Jackson maintained its status as a respectable residential college and a safe place for women. However, her ideals reflected those of the older generation of women in keeping women protected and safe in their separate spheres. Herrick's belief upheld the prevailing double standard as well as gender inequality, ignoring the fact that Tufts men were allowed to live off campus without changing the atmosphere of the college.

In March, 1966, the JSC held a meeting with Dean Herrick to discuss off-campus housing for Jackson juniors and seniors. She continued to resist the idea, explaining that if a Jackson student "doesn't like it, she can leave... Learning to discipline yourself within limitations is part of the learning process."²⁶ The immutability of Dean Herrick's position angered Jackson Student Council members and the meeting ended on a sour note. Their social lives, as well as their opportunity to act as mature adults in non-dormitory housing, remained subjected to Dean Herrick's support of the strict dormitory regulations of curfew and check-ins.

This was not the first point of contention between Jackson Student Council members and Dean Herrick. In addition to rejecting revisions to Jackson curfews and off-campus housing policies, Herrick had previously opposed requests to allow Coke machines in the lounges of

²⁵ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. February 28, 1966. UA033.001.005.00004.

²⁶ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. Jackson Student Government 1957-1969. Student Council Minutes 1965-1969. March 28, 1966. UA033.001.005.00004. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

women's dormitories based on the fact that the beverage was bad for one's teeth.²⁷ She also refused to revise the dress code that prohibited wearing jeans in public or in classrooms.²⁸ Herrick's persistent opposition to liberalizing rules reflected the dissonance between the desires of the younger generation of women and the adherence to respectability and propriety of the older generation.

Dean Herrick's unwillingness to compromise with the Jackson Student Council, compounded with various other refusals to liberalize policies, caused the Jackson Student Council to unanimously declare a temporary suspension of operations.²⁹ The decision was made as a result of their mounting frustrations with the dean's one-sided discussions, stifling of criticism, and alienation of Jackson women. The Jackson Student Council explained that it would no longer work with "an administration which believes that 'academic maturity and social liberty do not go side-by-side,'"³⁰ and chose to temporarily disband in order to reevaluate their role as a student governing body. They hoped that by disbanding, the Jackson administration would reconsider their position and perhaps treat the Jackson Student Council with the respect that they demanded and believed they deserved. The Jackson Student Council's disbanding was their first overt act of defiance against the administration and the *in loco parentis* regulations they were forced to comply with.

Dean Herrick's question and answer session with the Jackson Student Council revealed that the students and the administration had strikingly different opinions regarding their visions

²⁷ Russell Miller, *The Light on the Hill Volume Two, A History of Tufts University Since 1952* (Cambridge: MassMarkey Books, 1986), 97.

²⁸ Russell Miller, *The Light on the Hill Volume Two*, 97.

²⁹ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. April 4, 1966. UA033.001.005.00004.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

for Jackson and its students. The disbanding of Jackson Student Council and the tension between the student government and Dean Herrick brought this dissension to light. As a result, and at the urging of Tufts President Nils Wessell and the Board of Trustees, a Self-Study Committee was established to evaluate Jackson and the issues that had arose under the current administration.³¹

The Jackson Student Council remained disbanded for the remainder of the 1966 spring semester and the majority of the following fall semester. Their disbanding resulted in Dean Herrick deciding to take a leave of absence from her post as Dean of Jackson on account of her principles misaligning with those of Jackson's students.³² One month before Herrick made the decision to leave, a woman named Betty Bone had been hired as Assistant Dean of Jackson. With Herrick's official resignation going into effect the following September, Betty Bone became Acting Dean of Jackson College.³³ Bone's appointment symbolized the beginning of reform and the liberalization of Jackson College curfews and housing regulations.

The changes that took effect at Jackson were almost immediate upon Dean Bone's arrival. She expressed her willingness to consider lessening the stringent curfew regulations, taking immediate steps to compromise and mitigate curfews.³⁴ In December, a *Weekly* article written by members of the Jackson Student Council caused Dean Bone to allow Jackson seniors to live off-campus. The article listed the reasoning behind their request: overcrowded on-campus dormitories were squeezing four girls into rooms designated for two,³⁵ off-campus housing

³¹ Russell Miller, *The Light on the Hill* Volume Two, 99.

³² "Dean Myra Herrick Takes Leave, Indicates No Plans for Returning," *Tufts Weekly*, October 21, 1966, 1.

³³ President's Report October 26, 1967. Dean of Women, Jackson College, Exhibit F. F-1. [Reading Room Copy].

³⁴ "Curfew Changes Needed," *Tufts Weekly*, November 10, 1966, 4.

³⁵ "Practical Solutions," *Tufts Weekly*, November 4, 1966, 4.

would be less costly, and the double standard allowed Tufts men but not Jackson women to live off campus. Furthermore, the article argued that Jackson women were being treated like children, subject to stricter rules and check-ins, without the opportunity to learn to function as mature adults in an off-campus apartment.³⁶ The article proclaimed that it was the Jackson woman as an individual who would determine her maturity and respectability, not her housing situation.

The article had a positive effect. Dean Bone announced her intentions to revisit the prospect of off-campus housing for Jacksonites when the results of the Self-Study became public. With Dean Bone's tireless work that semester to address dormitory crowding in addition to her announcement about revisiting off-campus housing policies, the Jackson Student Council finally felt optimistic that they could establish a positive and respectful relationship with the Dean in a way that was impossible with Dean Herrick. The Jackson Student Council reconvened in December of 1966, hopeful for an open and cooperative relationship with Dean Bone. The December Student Council Minutes recorded that their first meeting with Dean Bone resulted in a consensus to revise the curfew system in such a way that would create a trial period for seniors to be on a no-curfew system.³⁷ The following April, Dean Bone made good on her promise to revisit off-campus housing restrictions after the release of the Self-Study Report to the public. The Committee reported that while many Trustees agreed with Dean Herrick that allowing Jackson women to live off campus could potentially change the College's residential atmosphere, policy changes could be made to permit a limited number of Jackson women to live off campus.

³⁶ "Jackson Off-Campus Housing," *Tufts Weekly*, December 2, 1966, 4.

³⁷ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. Jackson Student Government 1957-1969. Student Council Minutes 1965-1969. January 31, 1967. UA033.001.005.00004. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

³⁸ Furthermore, the report confirmed what the JSC already believed to be true: as women grew in maturity and responsibility from freshman to senior year, and the Self-Study reported that the social regulations at Jackson should reflect that fact. The Self-Study stated, “Social regulations which fail to recognize the fact of this progress are unrealistic” and should be modified to suit the capability and responsibility that Jackson women demonstrate.³⁹

The Self-Study was effective in persuading the administration to make changes. A *Weekly* article reported that seniors’ curfews would be abolished on a trial basis beginning Monday, November 27, 1967.⁴⁰ Dean Bone expressed her hope that the abolished senior curfew system would prove successful and allow for the abolition of Junior curfews in the spring.

In her first Annual Report to the President in October of that year, Dean Bone acknowledged the serious administrative problems that had plagued Jackson College in the previous academic year and was excited to see the positive outcome of open, honest discussions between students and the administration regarding rule changes.⁴¹ In addition to affirming the newly positive and constructive relationship between the administration and the Jackson Student Council, Dean Bone noted that the Jackson Student Council had made a large step in reaffirming their position as a self-governing body, not only to the administration but to the student body themselves. The *Weekly* reiterated this sentiment, stating, “The ‘66-’67 JSC was responsible for projecting a different concept of Jackson women as a mature group intensely aware of its rights.”

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³⁸ “Jackson Self-Study Made Public,” *Tufts Weekly*, April 28, 1967, 1.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 5.

⁴⁰ “Senior Curfews Abolished,” *Tufts Weekly*, October 20, 1967, 1.

⁴¹ President’s Report October 26, 1967. Dean of Women, Jackson College, Exhibit F. F-1. [Reading Room Copy].

⁴² “Time of Waiting,” *Tufts Weekly*, September 22, 1967, 4.

After the abolition of senior curfew in the fall of 1967, discussions between Dean Bone and the Jackson Student Council continued in March of 1968 with regard to permitting off-campus housing for women. The student council members referenced the double standard in their explanation to live off campus. One student council member asked, “Why can so many Tufts boys live off-campus and we can’t? Aren’t many of those boys living off-campus still very much a part of this community?” The question of maturity was brought up as well, when a council member stated, “The thing I object to most strongly is the idea of not having a choice as to where to live. This is a question of personal option and freedom.”⁴³

The testimonies and frustrations addressed by the Jackson Student Council members in that meeting were received well and understood by Dean Bone. In March, the *Weekly* revealed that fifteen Jackson seniors would be permitted to live off-campus with their parents’ permission.⁴⁴ This change symbolized an important step forward for the Jackson Student Council. The permission to live off campus was significant, but perhaps more important was the fact that this meeting reflected the positive changes that could be made when the administration and the students cooperated with one another. Though there was still a hesitancy about whether or not women living off campus would change the sense of community at Jackson,⁴⁵ Dean Bone’s receptiveness to lessening housing regulations showed her concerted effort to meet the council’s demands for liberalization of regulation.

⁴³ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. Jackson Student Government 1957-1969. Student Council Minutes 1965-1969. March 28, 1968. UA033.001.005.00004. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

⁴⁴ “Off-Hill Housing Approved,” *Tufts Weekly*, March 22, 1968, 1.

⁴⁵ “Residence Plan Urged,” *Tufts Weekly*, March 29, 1968, 3.

The next meeting between the Jackson Student Council and Dean Bone occurred in the spring semester of 1968, this time in an attempt to revisit the curfew regulations. The council hoped to abolish junior curfew just as senior curfew had been abolished the previous semester. As there had been relatively few problems following the abolition of senior curfews, the council felt that such a decision could be justified. Dean Bone's hesitancy to comply lay with the fact that a one semester trial period of abolishing senior curfews was not long enough to ensure that abolition was really beneficial for the students. This concern was challenged by a student who claimed, "Girls will continue breaking rules they consider unfair,"⁴⁶ regardless of official regulation. Like the argument made to allow off-campus housing, the council believed it was the Jackson woman, not her circumstances or the rules she was forced to follow, that would dictate her behavior. This student pointed out that there was no benefit to having rules that the majority of students disagreed with, particularly when those rules disregarded the students' maturity.

Dean Bone made no immediate changes based on this meeting, but stated that she would be open to extending curfew abolition to juniors in the fall semester of the coming academic year. That fall, the distribution of the 1968-1969 Jackson College Handbook illustrated that Dean Bone held true to her word. The new handbook stated that there were no curfews for juniors and seniors, and only detailed curfews for freshman and sophomores.⁴⁷

The liberalization of dormitory and curfew regulations that took place during Betty Bone's deanship showed significant progress when compared to the "inflexible and unyielding"

⁴⁶ Jackson College for Women records, 1871-1985. Jackson Student Government 1957-1969. Student Council Minutes 1965-1969. April 8, 1968. UA033.001.005.00004. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

⁴⁷ Jackson College Handbook, 1911-1970, Folder 2:6, Jackson College Handbook 1968-1969. UP076.001.002.00006. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

retention of such rules under Dean Herrick.⁴⁸ By the fall semester of 1968, Jackson College had made progress in becoming the liberal, modern institution that reflected the ideals of Jackson women in allowing freedom and choice. The Bone era was one of advancements in the dismantling of double standards. Jacksonites won the opportunity to demonstrate their maturity. Betty Bone's Acting Deanship ended in the fall of 1968 when Antonia Chayes was hired as the official replacement of Myra Herrick. Chayes' appointment as Dean of Jackson College in 1968 saw a continuation of the trend toward women's rights and increased liberalization of policies and regulations. Russell Miller notes in his book that Dean Chayes was a strong proponent of women's rights, and she hoped to rid Tufts of the sexual double standard. Chayes worked vigilantly to provide Jackson students with a higher degree of freedom and responsibility than had ever been granted to them before.⁴⁹ Chayes, along with many other female administrators and deans of the late 1960s, were wondering, "Haven't the women proven... that they are equal to the men? Why, then, must they continue to live by rules that are rooted in conditions that no longer exist today?"⁵⁰ The divide in opinions of Deans Bone and Chayes from their predecessor Herrick reflects the changing opinions of women with power in academia over time and informs their policy-making decisions regarding women and *in loco parentis*.

The beginning of Chayes' deanship coincided with an important and defining administrative change. The Committee on Student Life (CSL) announced their decision to grant students autonomy over dormitory life. Dean Chayes made it clear that CSL's decision would apply to Jackson students as well as Tufts students, equalizing the dormitory freedoms that Tufts

⁴⁸ Russell Miller, *The Light on the Hill Volume Two*, 98.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 102.

⁵⁰ J. A. Fley, "Campus Regulations: Are Girls Different?," 118.

and Jackson students experienced and controlled, and highlighting Dean Chayes' intolerance of a structure that promoted the double standard.⁵¹

In light of CSL's statement, Dean Chayes relinquished her authority over dormitory regulations to CSL, removing herself from direct involvement over dormitory affairs in efforts to circumvent the problems that occurred between the administration and the students that Dean Herrick had run into.⁵² This meant that just as they had parietal, alcohol, and drug policies, the JSC would now determine the future of sophomore curfews. The Jackson Dean would no longer approve decisions regarding dormitory life.⁵³ This act "mark[ed] the end of a long history of subservience of Jackson student life to the whim of a single dean."⁵⁴ Soon after CSL's statement was released, Jackson College Council voted to abolish sophomore curfews, and Dean Chayes approved it without referring it to CSL. The termination was set to be implemented on October 4, 1968, leaving the Jackson freshman as the only students still left with a curfew. Dean Chayes expressed her opposition to abolishing the freshman curfew, arguing that freshmen required extra structure in order to get assimilated to college life.⁵⁵

With Dean Chayes delegating authority to CSL, Jackson College Council was in a sense left "suspended in air, with its mainline of support cut off."⁵⁶ In an interview with the *Weekly*, Chayes explained that freshman curfew was not subject to dormitory autonomy, meaning that students were not allowed to abolish freshman curfew simply by student vote. Instead, they must

⁵¹ "CSL To Define Autonomy," *Tufts Weekly*, September 28, 1968, 1.

⁵² *Ibid*, 1.

⁵³ Jackson Student Council became Jackson College Council in 1968 after an internal restructuring.

⁵⁴ "Dean Delegates Control," *Tufts Weekly*, October 4, 1968, 1.

⁵⁵ "Dean Delegates Control," *Tufts Weekly*, October 4, 1968, 1.

⁵⁶ "JCC moves for reform," *Observer*, October 10, 1969, 8.

present a three-tiered proposal to Jackson College Council and receive subsequent approval by Dean Chayes, and lastly by CSL.⁵⁷ In December of 1968, the Jackson freshmen banded together to spur the abolition of freshmen curfews. Over two-thirds of the freshmen voted against curfews, and as a result, JCC voted to abolish second semester curfew. After approval by CSL and the Jackson Dean's office the following January, second semester curfew was eliminated for freshmen effective immediately.⁵⁸ Jackson women responded enthusiastically to the newfound power they had over their own lives, excited to have the power to make their own rules and to be subject to the same rules as Tufts men.

The freshman's exclusion from the CSL statement continued to be a point of contention between Jackson administration and students through the fall of 1969. On September 30th, 1969, the all-female residence Capen House unanimously voted to abolish the freshman curfew, believing it to be within their right of dormitory autonomy as defined by CSL.⁵⁹ Dean Chayes quickly responded to this act in a letter to the dorm, stating, "While we sympathize with your desire for freedom... Freshman curfews were not considered subject for dormitory autonomy."⁶⁰ Dean Chayes urged Jackson freshman to follow the petition process in order to make such a major rule change so that it may be properly reviewed by Jackson College Council, the Dean's office, and lastly CSL. This confused Capen House, and the rest of the Jackson population, as Jackson College Council was imposing curfew onto Jackson freshman despite the supposed

⁵⁷ Ibid, 1.

⁵⁸ "Observations," *Observer*, January 29, 1969, 7.

⁵⁹ "CSL letters and Statements," October 10, 1969, 7.

⁶⁰ "CSL letters and Statements," October 10, 1969, 7.

dormitory autonomy, while the Committee on Student Life was supporting Capen House's decision to abolish freshman curfew.⁶¹

A week later, however, CSL voted to uphold Capen House's interpretation of dormitory autonomy, granting them permission to abolish curfews as they saw fit under self-governance afforded to them by CSL guidelines.⁶² Nonetheless, CSL created a subcommittee to investigate the matter further. On October 7th, the Faculty-Student Committee on Student Life issued a statement invalidating Capen House's actions on account of their vote to abolish curfew violating a bylaw.⁶³

While the students in Capen House ultimately did not achieve their goal of abolishing freshman curfew, the situation shed light on an administrative problem at Jackson, that is, who held more authority, Jackson College Council or the individual dormitories under the CSL statement? In attempting to abolish freshman curfew, the women in Capen House had challenged the curfew as discriminatory against freshman women as imposed by Jackson College Council. This caused JCC to come across as the unnecessary middleman, and as an entity whose existence solely perpetuated the double standard by keeping separate rules for Jackson and Tufts students contrary to dormitory autonomy and CSL.⁶⁴ Jackson College Council's "reluctance to grant autonomy where girls are involved... suggest[ed] that discrimination on the basis of sex is still an implicit assumption" and led students to question the necessity of JCC.⁶⁵

⁶¹ "A new structure," *Observer*, October 10, 1969, 12.

⁶² "CSL letters and Statements," October 10, 1969, 7.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 7.

⁶⁴ "JCC moves for reform," *Observer*, October 10, 1969, 8.

⁶⁵ Michael Schuller, "Residential Independence," *Observer*, October 17, 1969, 5.

Complicating the matter further was the introduction of coed dormitories to the Tufts Campus, which would allow men and women to live in alternating suites. First introduced by Antonia Chayes in the summer of 1968, the 1969 to 1970 school year promised continued efforts to implement the “University Housing.”⁶⁶ Mrs. Elizabeth Toupin showed her support of coed housing, stating, “it offers students another variation in living arrangements on campus, and it is important that a wide variety of options be made available to all students.”⁶⁷

Coed dormitories continued to be the talk of both Jackson and Tufts students through the spring of 1970. In February of 1970, a CSL subcommittee proposed an increase in the number of coed dorms on campus in response to a survey conducted the previous semester.⁶⁸ The increase would provide coed housing to over 40 percent of the student body and would take effect the following academic year. In March, a two page spread in the *Observer* was dedicated solely to the concept of coed housing, containing interviews with Deans Chayes and Elizabeth Toupin.⁶⁹ Additionally, there were student testimonies that explained how coed housing was ultimately brought about by student determination and a receptive administration.⁷⁰ The new administration’s ability to listen, respond, and enact change based on student desires showed a different response from that of only a few years prior. However, once again the topic of freshman curfew and the double standard were brought to light, as having a curfew just for the women in a coed dormitory would make the double standard even more prominent.

⁶⁶ Trustees of Tufts College at Tufts University. *Combined Bulletins of the Colleges and Schools* (Medford, 1969), 50.

⁶⁷ “Co-ed Housing at Tufts,” *Observer*, March 6, 1970, 12.

⁶⁸ Carol Harris and Matt Gromet, “Residential Independence,” *Observer*, February 20, 1970, 5-6.

⁶⁹ “Co-ed Housing at Tufts,” *Observer*, March 6, 1970, 12.

⁷⁰ “Co-ed Housing at Tufts,” *Observer*, March 6, 1970, 13.

What resulted from the acknowledgment of JCC as a discriminatory student body upholding a double standard was the proposed creation of a University Residential Board (URB). The URB would essentially merge Jackson College Council with the Tufts' counterpart, the Residential Executive Board (REB). Merging the JCC and REB would eliminate the double standard that defined the lives of Jackson students by establishing a dormitory board that would apply its rules and regulations uniformly to Tufts men and Jackson women.⁷¹ This raised questions, however, about the future role of JCC as a self-governing body of Jackson. Many worried that Jackson would lose its identity if there were to be a merger between JCC and Tufts' REB.

However, these worries were assuaged in the Observer's statement that clarified that the URB's jurisdiction would lie solely in the residential sphere, leaving Jackson College Council to handle all other social and academic matters.⁷² The URB would ultimately give Jackson students the same rights as Tufts students in maintaining dormitory autonomy separate from the jurisdiction of Jackson College Council. Curfews would therefore be subject to the decisions of individual dormitories.

Dean Chayes supported the idea of a merger between the URB and REB, as it aligned with her plans to eradicate the double standard from the rules that governed the students at Jackson College. She also acknowledged that such a merger would essentially eliminate any legitimacy of the Jackson College administration. After the proposal of the formation of the University Residential Board, Antonia Chayes announced her intention to resign as Dean of

⁷¹ "JCC moves for reform," *Observer*, October 10, 1969, 8.

⁷² "U.R.B. and Jax: no conflict," *Observer*, October 17, 1969, 8.

Jackson effective July, 1970.⁷³ Chayes' decision was rooted in "the fact that Jackson is a college in name but an administrative fiction."⁷⁴ She further explained that a move towards unification between the administrations of Jackson and Tufts has been slow but inevitable with the "gradual elimination of the differential guidelines for men and women" as well as the recent plans for implementation of coed housing.⁷⁵

The spring of 1970 was a resounding acknowledgment of the direction in which Jackson was headed. The Jackson College Handbook and the Ivy Book from the 1969-1970 academic year outlined only a first semester freshman curfew for Jackson women.⁷⁶ During the spring of 1970, Tufts and Jackson Residential Advisors conducted a referendum in which a vote over the creation of a URB would be passed. In the academic year of 1970-1971, there is a lack of concrete information regarding the final curfew change that took place at Jackson College. The focus on campus during that year was instead on the growing presence of coed dormitories on campus and the rise of the nationwide women's liberation movement. The Observer started publishing articles with titles such as "*What do you do with this liberation?*"⁷⁷ and editorials that ask, "If Tufts believes men and women are equal, how does it justify the continued existence of a separate Tufts and Jackson?"⁷⁸ The only evidence showing the abolition of the final freshman

⁷³ President's Report October 24, 1970. Dean of Jackson College, Exhibit D. D-1. [Reading Room Copy].

⁷⁴ "Antonia Chayes to Resign as Dean," *Observer*, April 24, 1970, 1.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 1.

⁷⁶ Ivy Society publications, 1895-1977. The Ivy Book, 1902-1977. The Ivy Book 1969-1970. UP016.002.003.00002. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

⁷⁷ "Women's Lib Supplement," *Observer*, April 17, 1970, 7-8.

⁷⁸ "Restructure Now," *Observer*, April 24, 1970, 4.

curfew during the 1970-1971 academic year is the Ivy Book from the following school year, 1971-1972, which makes no mention of any curfew at all for Jackson ⁷⁹

The late 1960s was an era of vastly shifting political and social landscapes on college campuses. Student protests permeated campus life, and outright flouting of campus regulations - particularly curfews and parietals that affected college women - were the norm. The resistance of many college administrators to listening or compromising to student governments, combined with the inherent traditionalism of *in loco parentis*, created an atmosphere of oppression and limited freedom for women college students that was at odds with their desires to be treated as mature adults. The women of Jackson College, particularly the leaders in Jackson Student Council, protested against the restrictions of curfews and strict dormitory regulations. Their great efforts were not only satisfied by the liberalization of dormitory regulations and minimal dormitory rules, but also made significant strides in gaining gender equality with men at Tufts. Their protestations resulted in a notable restructuring of both the Jackson and Tufts administrations, and ultimately paved the way for the integration of Jackson College into Tufts University in 1980.

The desire for these women to have the same freedom as men and to have the opportunity to become mature and responsible adults is evident in Jackson women's struggle to ease dormitory regulations. Their fight for equality paved the way for women's rights and equal opportunities in today's world, and while they made great progress during the sixties and early seventies, the struggle is still ongoing. The foundation of today's freedoms for women on college

⁷⁹ Ivy Society publications, 1895-1977. The Ivy Book, 1902-1977. The Ivy Book 1971-1972. [Reading Room Copy]. Tufts University. Digital Collections and Archives. Medford, MA.

campuses is ultimately due to women like the Jackson students who refused to back down from what they felt was their right as human beings and college women.

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