

The first university women exchanges between Spain and the United States through the Residencia de Señoritas de Madrid (1917-1936)

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In memory of the women who opened the way of international exchanges to Spanish students.

Abstract: In 1915 the Women's Group of the *Residencia de Estudiantes*, better known as *Residencia de Señoritas*, opened its doors in Madrid, dependent on the Board for Expansion of Studies and Scientific Research. The *Residencia de Señoritas*, located in several buildings in Fortuny Street, is presented as a place of accommodation for women who came to Madrid to study in the multiple centers of the capital or to expand their culture and as a means of intellectual and moral formation. The success of the *Residencia*, run by María de Maeztu, is immediate, and since 1919 it establishes contacts with the International Institute for Girls in Spain, an American missionary institution dedicated to the education of women. This relationship will give rise to an interesting flow of exchanges which draws a model of women student relations between Spain and the United States profoundly original and unparalleled. The aim of this contribution is to show the pioneering exchanges of university women between the *Residencia de Señoritas* and the most relevant women colleges of United States. In the study it has been used primary documentation of the Archive of the *Residencia de Señoritas*, deposited in the Ortega y Gasset-Marañón Foundation, hemerographic sources and complementary bibliography. The main conclusion is that since 1919 there was an innovative policy of exchanges of university women from Spain to United States and vice versa, very enriching intellectually and humanly, which will not be repeated until the most advanced post-Francoism.

Keywords: American Women's colleges; Educational grants; *Residencia de Señoritas*; Student exchanges; Student housing; Women's Education.

Received / Recibido: 26-06-2022

Accepted / Aceptado: 02-03-2023

1. An antecedent, the International Institute for Girls in Spain, American model of women's education.

The International Institute for Girls in Spain was created in San Sebastian in 1882 thanks to the encouragement of an American Congregationalist missionary from Mount Holyoke Seminary, Alice Gordon Gulick. The center is an educational success until the incidents of the Spanish-American War of 1898 forced the Institute to move to French territory. At the beginning of the 20th century Alice Gulick and her husband installed their institute in Madrid, in a building on Fortuny Street, and acquired a plot of land near Miguel Ángel Street, where another building dedicated to women's education will be built (Zulueta 1984).

In January 1903 the International Institute League was formed in Boston, with representatives of important American women's colleges: Mount Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley, Barnard and Northwestern University. The League was responsible for selecting staff and financially supporting the women's college that the Institute opens in Madrid and that from 1906 prepares students of Baccalaureate and those who want to enter the Teachers Training School; also, it offers music classes, has a kindergarten and an excellent library. Key elements of the training were gymnastics and rhythmic dances, musical evenings, daily contact with nature, promotion of the habit of saving, etc. The center was headed by a disciple of Alice G. Gulick, Susan D. Huntington who, after studying at Wellesley College, had run the Department of Pedagogy at the University of Puerto Rico. Susan Huntington consolidates the Institute of Madrid since 1910, opening it to people who wanted to offer their daughters a liberal education, and promoting cycles of conferences and courses.

The International Institute began to collaborate with the Board for Expansion of Studies and Scientific Research in 1912, when the Center for Historical Studies organized the first summer courses for foreigners, and the Institute was the place selected to accommodate foreign women students.

The First World War threatened the project of the International Institute: the transatlantic traffic is very risky and the trip to Spain of American teachers-missionaries suffers a break; the donations, so generously offered until then by the American public to support the center of Madrid, find preferential destination in the aid to the victims of the conflict and cease to flow completely when the United States enters the conflict in 1917. On the other hand, we must assume that the college of Madrid received a select but not large group of students, which complicated its maintenance in the hard years of the war.

When the *Residencia de Señoritas* opens in the neighboring houses of Fortuny Street 28 and 30, the International Institute sees its work largely executed by a Spanish institution. Therefore, soon, Susan Huntington proposes to the Board of Trustees, sitting in Boston in October 1916, not to occupy the house of Fortuny 53, which generated large expenses, and to cede it to the Spanish Board for Expansion of Studies. A fruitful collaboration between both entities emerges then, of which the *Residencia de Señoritas* will benefit immediately.

In this collaboration two aspects must be distinguished: the material and the human one. The first was reflected in the transfer of the buildings of Fortuny 53 and Miguel Ángel 8 to the Board for Expansion of Studies to allocate them to the

education of Spanish women; the second is marked by the collaboration of American women teachers in the Spanish educational work and by a fluid exchange of students between Spain and the United States that draws a unique and highly original scheme, as we will see below.

2. Student exchange policies between the American Women's Colleges and the Madrid Ladies' Residence

In the summer of 1919 the Head of the *Residencia de Señoritas*, the Basque pedagogue María de Maeztu, and the Secretary of the Board for Expansion of Studies, José Castillejo, travel to the United States to carry out cultural activities and exchanges between Spanish and American institutions (Vázquez Ramil 2012: 217). María de Maeztu goes to New York where, invited by the University of Columbia, taught during the summer a course of Spanish Language and Literature highly successful; she gave lectures in several women colleges, and received the prestigious honorary degree of Smith College (Porto Ucha and Vázquez Ramil 2015).

José Castillejo took advantage of a private trip to the United States to lead an honorary delegation of the Ministry of Public Instruction. He visited the Universities of Pennsylvania, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and Cornell, and the women's colleges of Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe and Bryn Mawr, as well as the scientific institutes of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. The purpose of these visits was to promote interest in Spanish culture in the United States and get help to support the Chemistry, Physics, and Biology laboratories of the Board for Expansion of Studies.

María de Maeztu and Castillejo also travelled to Boston, where they attended the meetings of the Board of Trustees of the International Institute for Girls in Spain to enter into new partnership agreements. Therefore, since 1919 it is the intention of the Board for Expansion of Studies to maintain close relations with American educational and research centers, represented at the time by the Institute of International Education.

The *Residencia de Señoritas* established, from that year, an agile exchange of women students with Smith College, one of the most renowned American women colleges, founded in 1875 by Sophia Smith in Northampton (Massachusetts), and the largest of the so-called Seven Sisters (Solomon 1985: 47). Many of Smith's professors (including the smart Caroline Bourland, Head of the Spanish Department) were members of the Board of Trustees of the International Institute for Girls in Spain, with which the *Residencia* had been in close contact since 1917. Therefore, between the Spanish and the American institutions there is an undoubted affinity, whose climax is the exchange of women students between the United States and Spain.

This exchange began in 1919-1920: two Spanish students, Milagros Alda and Enriqueta Martín travel to the United States, and Emily Porter goes to Spain. The Spanish students received six hundred dollars in exchange for six hours a week of conversation class at Smith College; part of the money went back to the college, as a stay payment, and another part was available to the scholar, who could also study

the subjects that interested her. Conditions were similar for the American student in Madrid.

Milagros Alda and Enriqueta Martín were teachers. They worked in the *Instituto-Escuela*, a pilot school created by the Board for the Extension of Studies in 1918 and closely linked to the *Residencia de Señoritas*, since María de Maeztu headed the primary section (Vázquez Ramil and Porto Ucha, 2019). Milagros excelled as an Hispanist, while Enriqueta Martín worked as librarian in the International Institute and gave courses of Library Science, introducing in Spain the Dewey's classification system (Piñón Varela 2017). But the start of exchanges was complicated: the Spanish student chosen initially, M^a Antonia Gil Febrel, rejected the scholarship at the very last moment because she married and later was teacher in the Teachers Training Schools of Teruel and Soria (Vázquez Ramil and Guillorme 2021).

After the first difficult steps, Caroline Bourland, in a letter sent to María de Maeztu¹ expresses her desire to establish a continuous exchange on a secure basis:

Would you like to receive another student from Smith College on equal terms? Please write to me frankly how the experiment has worked out for you at the *Residencia*. It is time -and more than time- to explain to our girls what the Spanish scholarship is, so that put their candidacy those who want to take advantage of this occasion.

Smith College offered a scholarship to a Spanish woman although the *Residencia* could not match. Caroline Bourland shows great interest in Victoria Kent, at the time living in the *Residencia de Señoritas*, but Victoria did not accept the offer, because in 1920-21 she began her law degree in Madrid, combining it with her work in the secretariat of *Instituto-Escuela*. Caroline Bourland's interest in Victoria Kent is evident in the aforesaid letter:


Whatever your decision, we expect another young Spanish woman to come and spend the year among us, and I have a very strong desire for that young woman to be Victoria Kent. She's a person that I appreciate very much, and I think she would get much benefit from a year abroad. In addition to her much intelligence and common sense, she has a great personal appeal, which cannot fail to make her welcome everywhere. It also seems to me that she has a progressive and open spirit; it would represent in an admirable way your homeland and, at the same time, would not fail to appreciate how good there is in our life. I understand that it would be a great sacrifice for the Institute to let her go; but I still hope that she will be willing to accept our proposal (Vázquez Ramil 2021: 219).

Miss Bourland's good eye was evident, as Victoria Kent developed a very interesting career as a lawyer and politician during the Second Republic, being one of the first women deputies and director general of prisons. During the Spanish civil

¹ Letter from Caroline Bourland to María de Maeztu (Northampton, February 2, 1920). ARSM. File box: Correspondence Blanco Cañedo-Byrne 1915-1936.

war, she left Spain never to return. Victoria died in exile in New York in 1987 (López-Ríos 2013).

Image 1. Poster announcing Smith scholarships for foreign students. Source: *Residencia de Señoritas' Archive*. Ortega y Gasset-Marañón Foundation.



Smith College
Northampton
Massachusetts
U. S. A.

Fellowships for Graduate Study

ELEVEN fellowships have been established by Smith College for the encouragement of advanced work in the various departments of study. Applications are invited from graduates of Smith College or of other colleges or universities of recognized standing. The fellowships, which are awarded annually, cover graduate tuition, board, and residence in a college house during the academic year exclusive of vacations. Six of these, called Trustee fellowships, are usually awarded to candidates for the degree of Master of Arts. Five, called Foreign fellowships, are reserved for students from abroad. While students from non-English-speaking countries are not as a rule encouraged to become candidates for the degree of Master of Arts, the College requires that the year be devoted to advanced work. Each of the Foreign fellowships yields, in addition to tuition, board, and residence, a cash stipend of \$100, payable in two installments.

¶ Two fellowships of the value of five hundred dollars and tuition and three scholarships covering tuition, offered under the auspices of the Department of Education of the College for graduate study in Education, are also open to applicants from abroad.

¶ Smith College was founded by Sophia Smith more than half a century ago, and is now the largest residential college for women in the world, its roll numbering over two thousand students. Instruction is offered by the various departments to graduate students in Art and Music; in Religion and Biblical Literature; in Greek and Latin Language and Literature; in French, German, Italian, and Spanish Language and Literature; in Philosophy; in History, Government, Economics, Sociology, and Education. The Departments of Science offer graduate instruction in Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Mathematics, Physics, Psychology, and Zoology. All the Departments of Science possess adequate laboratory equipment. Theoretical and practical work in Education is carried on in connection with the Smith College Experimental Schools, comprising the Day School (progressive elementary education) and the Nursery School. College buildings include the Hillyer and Tryon Galleries, a large and excellently equipped School of Music, and a Library containing over 200,000 volumes to which considerable additions are made every year. Students' Building, the headquarters of student organizations and clubs, the Alumnae Gymnasium, the new Scott Gymnasium with its swimming pool, Allen Field and the new athletic field of twenty acres where hockey, tennis, archery, basketball, and other forms of sport take place, combine to offer plentiful opportunities for recreation and athletics.

¶ Smith College is situated in the beautiful hill and river country of the Connecticut Valley, eighteen miles north of Springfield, Massachusetts; it lies approximately halfway between Boston and New York. The College Campus covers about one hundred and twelve acres of ground. The students live "on campus" in thirty-five residence groups, one of which is reserved for graduate students. Each group is under the social supervision of a Head of House; each has its resident member of staff and its student president. The college year consists of about thirty-eight weeks, with a vacation of two and a half weeks at Christmas and two at Easter.

¶ Candidates for fellowships should apply, if possible as early as November, to the Chairman of the Committee on Exchange of Students with Foreign Countries, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, U. S. A., for application forms and particulars of required credentials, and all applications should reach the Chairman of the Committee on Graduate Instruction not later than February 20.

The exchange continues thanks to the personal commitment of Caroline Bourland and the intervention of María de Maeztu, who gets a grant from the Board for the Extension of Studies to pay for the trip to and from USA of the Spanish students. According to the agreement, the two fellows, both Spanish and American,

received six hundred dollars, two hundred and fifty in currency, and three hundred and fifty for boarding and classes.

Apart from the agreement signed with Smith College, other American universities offered scholarships to Spanish students. This is the case of Bryn Mawr College which, from 1920, and within its scholarship program for European women, offers two to Spanish women. Bryn Mawr made available grants of \$700 per course to cover accommodation and living expenses and allowed the girls to study the subjects of their choice. In 1920-21, the first Spanish scholar, Luisa García Dorado y Seirullo, traveled to Bryn Mawr. Luisa, born in Salamanca in 1896, was the daughter of the jurist and professor Pedro Dorado Montero. She studied at the University of Salamanca and received her doctorate in Madrid. In the United States Luisa studied classical languages and the most modern methods of teaching them. She was one of the first women professors of Latin in a public high school (Prado Herrera 2018: 6).

3. The work of the Spanish Scholarship Committee

To manage these offers and scholarships and select suitable candidates, a scholarship committee was formed in 1921 chaired by María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal and composed of María de Maeztu, Trinidad Arroyo de Márquez, José Castillejo, and Zenobia Camprubí.

María Goyri, one of the first Spanish university women, had received her PhD in 1900; the same year she married a fellow student, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, whom she helped in his outstanding work of collecting romances and traditional songs. From 1918 she run, together with María de Maeztu, the primary section of the *Instituto-Escuela*, where her daughter Jimena Menéndez Pidal also helped. María Goyri wrote numerous works, including *Don Juan Manuel and medieval tales* (1936) (Cid 2016).

Trinidad Arroyo was another university pioneer. After studying Medicine in Valladolid and obtaining a doctorate, she was the first woman to practice as an ophthalmologist in her hometown, Palencia, since 1898. In 1902 she married a fellow student, Manuel Márquez Rodríguez, later professor of Therapeutics in Santiago de Compostela and Madrid, with whom Trinidad Arroyo shared ophthalmology consultation in the capital of Spain from 1906. She worked in different health institutions, such as the Rubio Institute and the Saint Lucia Asylum, and in the Popular Hygiene Committee of Madrid. As intelligent and dynamic woman, her presence was required for the Scholarship Committee for her prestige and her ability to work. After the war, Trinidad Arroyo and her husband went into exile in Mexico, where they died (Márquez Arroyo 2010).

Zenobia Camprubí, daughter of a Catalan Engineer and a Puerto Rican woman of the high bourgeoisie, was educated between Puerto Rico and the United States before settling in Madrid with her mother; in 1913 she met Juan Ramón Jiménez at the *Residencia de Estudiantes*. Joyful, cultured and refined, she captivated the melancholic poet, who did not stop until he managed to marry her in 1916. Zenobia Camprubí was bilingual and therefore perfectly served as secretary of the Scholarship Committee. Closely linked to the circle of María de Maeztu and intellectuals of the

Silver Age, she was a member of the Lyceum Club and a regular of the *Residencia de Señoritas*. After the war she went into exile with her husband in Cuba and Puerto Rico, where she died of cancer in 1956, two days after Juan Ramón received the Literature Nobel Prize (Cortés Ibáñez 2014: 210).

The presence of José Castillejo was obliged as secretary of the Board for Expansion of Studies.

The correspondence held at the the *Residencia de Señoritas*' Archive (ARSM) reflects the economic difficulties that existed from Spain to send students to United States, saved with patience and wit by María de Maeztu and especially by Zenobia Camprubí, very effective in her work as a secretary attentive to details, such as boat tickets and railway passes.

The Board paid for the round trip of the Spanish students. The stay was paid for by the American colleges, and the students could obtain a supplement by giving conversation classes. The precariousness of means turned the experience into adventure, but the young women who risked such a unique experience at the time, did not cease to marvel at everything they saw in the United States. This is the case of Juana Moreno Sosa, fellow at Smith College in 1920-1921. Endowed with a great capacity for observation, she comments with a delicious wit all kinds of details, such as the relations between men and women, in a letter sent to María de Maeztu in January 1921 (Vázquez Ramil 2012: 222):

As for whether it is a moral people or not, I don't know what to say. Probably if we, Spanish women, dressed like that, we would give much to say in our environment, and if boys and girls treated us with the confidence that are treated here, I do not know what people would say. Sometimes I think this town is innocent and naive as a child, and so it's like that. I know that with the five senses that we the Spaniards have cannot be so in any way.

Juana Moreno herself explains in a letter to Castillejo², with acute skepticism, the keys to the success of American educational institutions:

The true pedagogical miracle of the Americans has been to know how to surround the culture of an attractive environment. For living on these campuses, paddling on these lakes, and doing all kinds of sports at these colleges and universities, it's worth supporting the dullest teacher... I believe that with premises like this, material like this, with money like this and the same people who now work there, American results would be achieved in Spain. However, with much less money and a little more generosity than what these people put in, infinitely higher results can be achieved.

Juana lived in *Residencia de Señoritas* since 1915 and, therefore, she was one of the veteran residents, very attached to María de Maeztu. She was 25 years old and

² Letter from Juana Moreno to José Castillejo, (Northampton-Mass., May 16, 1921). Archive JAE. File: JAE/103-797, 9-10. Accessible on: http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/JaeMain.html

worked as teacher in *Instituto-Escuela* when traveled to United States. As woman of many interests, later she traveled to Germany with a fellowship of the Board for the Extension of Studies (López Ríos and Gimber 2014). Juana married the German painter and engraver Albert Ziegler and continued to teach at the *Instituto-Escuela* until the Spanish civil war, when she was definitely removed from teaching.

Carmen Castilla Polo, a young student who travel to Smith College in 1921-22, recorded her impressions from the departure of Spain to the last moment in United States in an outstanding record. The travel diary of Carmen Castilla, edited by Santiago López-Ríos Moreno, is an excellent testimony of the life of a Spanish woman scholar in America (Castilla 2012). Carmen, born in Logroño, was also one of the veteran residents. She studied at the *Escuela Superior del Magisterio* and obtained a position as an inspector of first teaching. Her stay in Smith as teaching fellow was very enriching.

Nevertheless, other girls renounced the possibility of enjoying a scholarship in the United States for fear of the discomfort of a long trip and not to adapt in a country so far away and different from ours.

Beginning in 1921, based on these initial exchanges between Smith College and the Board for the Extension of Studies, other American entities were incorporated. Barnard College (Columbia University, New York) had a very dynamic Romanesque Language and Literature Department, run by Carolina Marcial Dorado, which got funding for a Spanish Girl Scholarship (Duer and Myers 1939: 167). The first students to benefit from one of these grants were Concha Lazárraga and Herminia Rodríguez, in 1921-22. However, the relationship with Barnard was much less intense than that with Smith. Bryn Mawr College also offered two scholarships to Spanish students in 1921-22.

Image 2. Poster announcing Bryn Mawr scholarships for Spanish students. Source: *Residencia de Señoritas*' Archive. Ortega y Gasset-Marañón Foundation.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA, U. S. A.

Becas para Españolas

El Colegio de Bryn Mawr ofrece nueve becas a jóvenes europeas (inglesas, escocesas o irlandesas, francesas, italianas, españolas, escandinavas, danesas, holandesas y suizas). Para el curso de 1921-22 dos de estas becas estarán a la disposición de jóvenes españolas. Se requiere de las aspirantes que tengan una preparación universitaria equivalente a la necesaria para obtener el grado de Bachiller en un colegio o universidad americana. Estas becas caducan al año y sólo se renovarán en casos excepcionales.

Las alumnas pensionadas tendrán que residir en el Colegio y seguir cursos regulares de estudio. Las becas son de 720 dólares, cantidad que cubre solamente los gastos de residencia, manutención y enseñanza en el Colegio durante un año escolar. A las pensionadas que así lo deseen, se les facilitará la oportunidad de enseñar o hacer otros trabajos en el Colegio por un máximo de cinco horas a la semana. El Colegio garantiza un ingreso de 100 dólares por este concepto. Si la pensionada da clases preparatorias de cinco horas semanales durante el año, puede llegar a ganar 200 dólares. Las pensionadas, sin embargo, no podrán aceptar otras ocupaciones remuneradas, excepto aquellas que el Colegio apruebe. Las estudiantes deben pagar sus gastos de viaje. El costo mínimo del pasaje de ida y vuelta de Europa a los Estados Unidos, es de unos 320 dólares. Habrá también gastos incidentales de libros, derecho al uso de laboratorios en los cursos científicos (véase el Catálogo del Colegio), y gastos personales tales como el lavado de ropa (un dólar la docena de piezas). A cada estudiante se le asigna en el edificio-residencia donde hace sus comidas, una habitación amueblada, con luz eléctrica y calefacción. El año académico empieza en Bryn Mawr la primera semana de Octubre y termina la primera semana de junio. Los edificios-residencia sólo se cierran durante las dos semanas de vacación de Navidad y la semana de vacación de Pascua de Resurrección. Durante estas vacaciones se puede permanecer en el Colegio mediante el pago de 12 dólares a la semana.

El Colegio de Bryn Mawr está situado en las afueras de Filadelfia, a 90 millas de Nueva York (dos horas de tren), 95 de Baltimore (2 horas), 153 de Washington (3 horas) y 320 de Boston (9 ó 10 horas). Los edificios y terrenos del Colegio ocupan una superficie de 21 hectáreas. Hay seis residencias y edificios independientes destinados a aulas, oficinas de administración, biblioteca, laboratorios, etc. El Colegio dispone de un gimnasio de nueva planta, bien equipado y con un tanque de natación, amplios terrenos para juegos y deportes y varios campos de tenis.

La *Graduate School* de Bryn Mawr es una de las mejores instituciones de ampliación de estudios para mujeres en los Estados Unidos. El Colegio cuenta en la actualidad con 450 alumnas, de las cuales 95 son estudiantes graduadas. Muchas de estas últimas estudian para doctorarse en Filosofía. Para obtener el grado de Doctora en Filosofía, hay necesidad de estudiar por lo menos tres años después del Bachillerato americano o su equivalente, presentar una tesis sobre investigaciones originales y someterse a exámenes orales y escritos. Los requisitos para el grado de Licenciada en Artes podrán satisfacerse en el espacio de un año, si la alumna está bien preparada y dedica todo su tiempo al estudio.

La *Graduate School* comprende cursos de ampliación de estudios en Sánscrito, Filología comparada, Griego, Latín, Filología inglesa, Literatura inglesa, Literatura alemana, Filología alemana, Filología y Literaturas romances, Lenguas semíticas, Historia, Economía política, Ciencia política, Sociología, Filosofía, Psicología, Pedagogía, Historia del Arte, Arqueología, Matemáticas, Física, Química, Física química, Geología, Mineralogía, Paleontología, Biología, Fisiología y Química fisiológica.

El Departamento de Economía Social e Investigaciones Sociales (Fundación Carola Woerishoffer), ha establecido una combinación de estudios teóricos y de experimentación práctica sobre problemas de reconstrucción social y administración industrial, ofreciendo de esta manera a las extranjeras que vengan a América, oportunidades especiales para estudiar estas cuestiones sobre el terreno.

El Departamento de Pedagogía (Fundación Anna Thorne), con su escuela-modelo, facilita el que las estudiantes extranjeras que se proponen enseñar estudien bajo la dirección acertada de profesores de ciencia pedagógica, no tan sólo métodos para enseñar en colegios, sino también todos los problemas que presenta la enseñanza primaria.

La biblioteca cuenta con más de 91.000 volúmenes y se halla bien provista de colecciones encuadradas de periódicos, revistas y anales de sociedades y academias. Mantiene suscripciones a más de 400 revistas y periódicos ingleses, franceses, italianos, españoles, suecos, alemanes, etc.

Las solicitudes de becas deberán recibirse el primero de mayo, pero podrán tomarse en consideración las solicitudes que lleguen después de esta fecha, en el caso de no haber sido otorgadas todas las becas. Las solicitudes deberán venir acompañadas de toda clase de detalles referentes al trabajo universitario de las aspirantes, diplomas, certificados, cartas de recomendación de sus profesores y una exposición del objeto que persiguen al solicitar estas becas. De haber tiempo suficiente, pueden pedirse fórmulas especiales de solicitud al *Office of the Recording Dean, Bryn Mawr College*.

Las solicitudes deberán dirigirse a

THE RECORDING DEAN OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE,
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

4. Exchanges managed by the Institute of International Education

The Institute of International Education also showed, from 1921, its intention to strengthen exchange ties with the *Residencia de Señoritas*; the initiative came from the director of European affairs, Stephen P. Duggan, and from the head of the division

of scholarships, Virginia Newcomb, who through Susan Huntington Vernon contacted Federico de Onís, professor and member of the Hispanic Society in America, and José Castillejo. The American institution had exchange agreements with several European countries and wanted to extend them to Spain; the one established with France was model for the signed with our country: the American colleges offered free accommodation and classes to foreign students, and the government of their country of origin paid travel expenses and gave them a variable amount fund for personal needs; in reciprocity, American women enjoyed similar conditions in the countries that hosted them.

This promising exchange scheme prospered, despite the initial difficulties, because the Board for the Extension of Studies formally agreed in 1922 to give travel grants to Spanish students selected to go to United States. A communication from the Vice-Chairman of the Board to the Minister of Public Instruction eloquently explains this need by saying:

On the proposal of this Board, dated August 24, 1922, the Ministry was reminded that some American universities had offered scholarships for Spanish women. These scholarships include free room, board and tuition during the academic year, but no travel compensation.

The Board, which was granted the designation of persons to enjoy these scholarships, believed that this was a means of granting scholarships abroad without taxation for the Spanish budget, but as the vast majority of women studying in official centers in Spain belong to very modest classes and there was almost impossible to find candidates in such terms and costing the trip, the Board thought that the scholarships donated by the American Universities could be completed by granting the Ministry the official status of scholars and a travel aid to chosen women³.

Since 1919 the Board for Extension of Studies granted scholarships or economical support and recognized the equalization to scholars entitled to aid for expenses to the women selected to go to United States. Aid fluctuated with time and according to destiny; Milagros Alda received two thousand pesetas in 1919. Dorotea Barnés and Pilar Madariaga received two thousand and twenty pesetas a month for nine months in 1929, plus an additional contribution of eight hundred pesetas in the case of the first. Carmen Guerra, Lucinda Moles and Elisa Bernís were awarded three thousand pesetas for travel expenses in 1932 and 1933, while in 1934 the aid for Antonina Sanjurjo and Dolores Ibarra was reduced to one thousand five hundred pesetas. In other cases, the subsidy was for monthly expenses or for part of the boat and train tickets. Except for a brief period in the Primo de Rivera Directory, the Board allocated financial aid of different amounts to cooperate in the scheme of exchange of Spanish women fellows with American universities.

³ Letter from the Vice President of the Board for Extension of Studies to the Minister of Public Instruction. Madrid, April 21, 1923. Archive of JAE. File; JAE/26-47 (Cadenas Campos, Cándida), 13-14

Another type of obstacle was the remoteness, the almost general lack of knowledge of the English language and the difficult equalization of studies, which discouraged potential applicants to the point of the applications being deserted several times, as María of Maeztu complained in a letter to Zenobia Camprubí in 1925 (Vázquez Ramil 2012: 225):

It is indeed unfortunate that we cannot find applicants for American grants. There are two insurmountable difficulties to overcome: it is the first one of language, because the girls during their career worry only about their subjects and do not learn modern languages; and it is another the different correlation of the level of studies in one country and another.

Only women who wished to devote themselves to education could benefit from their stay in the United States, since they learned new pedagogical methods; the rest acquired a good general education, but not a specific specialization that would bring them immediate professional benefits. The prejudices of the time must be also considered: the journey of a single girl was not well seen even in peninsular territory, much less to such a distant and unknown country.

5. Spanish women who enjoy scholarships in the United States colleges and institutions (1919-1936)

In the table below there is the list of Spanish women who received scholarships from various American colleges, between 1919 and 1936:

Table 1

Name	Host University	Course(s)	Studies/Career
Milagros Alda Gorostiola	Smith College	1919-22	Teacher
Enriqueta Martín y Ortiz de la Tabla	Smith College Vassar College	1919-21 1925-26	Librarianship
Juana Moreno Sosa	Smith College	1920-21	Teacher Training
M. ^a Luisa García Dorado	Bryn Mawr	1920-21	Philosophy and Letters
María Díaz de Oñate y Cueto	Middlebury College	1920-21	Language and Literature
Concepción Lazárraga Abecucho	Barnard College	1921-22	Pharmacy
Carmen Castilla Polo	Smith College	1921-22	Inspector of Education
M. ^a Luisa Cañomeras Estrada	Bryn Mawr	1921-22	Pharmacy

Loreto Tapia y Robson		Bryn Mawr	1921-22	Medicine
Herminia Rodríguez Martínez		Barnard College	1921-22	Medicine
Nieves González Barrio		College of St. Theresa (Minnesota)	1921-22	Medicine
Carmen Ibáñez Gallardo		Vassar College Wellesley College	1922-23 1928-29	Teacher
Cándida Cadenas Campo	College of St. Theresa (Minnesota)		1922-23	Inspector of Education
	Wisconsin University		1923-24	
Margarita de Mayo Izarra	Vassar College Illinois University		1924-25 1925-26	Instituto-Es-cuela Teacher of Spanish in USA
Carmen Huder Carlosena	Vassar College		1924-25	Teacher
Mercedes Lopera			1925-26	Pharmacy
Amalia Miaja Carnicero	Wellesley College		1925-28	Teacher
Felisa Martín Bravo	Connecticut College		1926-28	Sciences
Pilar Claver Salas	Wellesley College Connecticut College		1926-27 1927-28	Teacher
Dorotea Barnés González	Smith College Yale University		1928-30 1930-31	Chemistry
Pilar Madariaga y Rojo	Vassar College		1928-29	Chemistry
Josefa Barba Gosé	Johns Hopkins Un.		1930-31	Pharmacy
Elvira Gancedo Rodríguez	Smith College		1931-32	
Manuela González Alvargonzález	Bryn Mawr		1931-32	Chemistry
Paz García del Valle	Radcliffe College		1932-33	Chemistry
Carmen Guerra Sanmartín	Wellesley College		1932-33	Philosophy and Letters

Aurora García Salazar	New Jersey State Teachers' College	1932-33	Teacher
Lucinda Moles Piña	Wellesley College	1933-35	Physical Education
M. ^a Antonina Sanjurjo Aranaz	Smith College	1933-34	Geography
Dolores Ibarra Uriarte	Smith College	1934-35	
Concepción Cano	Vassar College	1935-36	
Marina Romero Serrano	Smith College	1935-36	Instituto-Es-cuela
Arsenia Arroyo Alonso	Bryn Mawr	1936-37	Chemistry
Justa Arroyo Alonso	Smith College	1936-37	Chemistry
Concepción Vázquez de Castro y Sarmiento	Wellesley College	1936-37	

Source: Author's elaboration with data from the biannual reports of the Board for Expansion of Studies, 1924 to 1932, and documentation of the ARSM: correspondence, papers of the Scholarship Committee, posters, etc.

Most of these women, specifically 22, a percentage of 62%, had been residents before obtaining the scholarship to go to United States; and this because the Scholarship Committee highly valued the personal and direct knowledge of the candidates, especially in the grants offered by Smith College. The list of residents who received scholarships included Enriqueta Martín, Juana Moreno, M^a Luisa García Dorado, Concepción Lazárraga, Carmen Castilla, Nieves González Barrio, Cándida Cadenas Campo, Margarita de Mayo Izarra, Carmen Huder, Mercedes Loperena, Amalia Miaja, Felisa Martín Bravo, Pilar Claver, Dorotea Barnés, Manuela González, Carmen Guerra, Pepita Barba, Marina Romero, Justa Arroyo, Aurora García Salazar, M^a Antonina Sanjurjo and Lola Ibarra.

The institution that hosted the largest number of Spaniards was Smith College, whose relationship with the *Residencia* was very close, given the links of the American University with the International Institute for Girls in Spain. The following colleges were, in this order: Wellesley, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Barnard, and to a lesser extent other Universities, such as Connecticut College, Radcliffe, Johns Hopkins University or New Jersey Teachers' College.

The Spanish women who went to the United States were mostly graduates in different careers, mainly Medicine or Science, or graduates of the Higher Teachers Training School. The preferred subjects of study were practical specializations related to their careers or teaching methods, varied in a country as extensive and

full of contrasts as United States. Some remained in America for several years and alternated stay in different colleges; the return to Spain was not always easy, it was arduous to find a suitable professional accommodation: as an example, the case of Margarita de Mayo Izarra, who will direct his life in the United States and become a permanent member of the Spanish Department of Vassar College.

Some young women joined, on their return, the tasks of the *Residencia de Señoritas*. It is the case of Carmen Huder Carlosena, who collaborated in matters of organization in 1926; Enriqueta Martín, who from 1929 worked as a librarian in the *Residencia* and continued after the war in the International Institute, as it was said above; Felisa Martín Bravo gave classes in Physics and other subjects in the *Residencia*, was an assistant of Physics at the University of Madrid and the first woman assistant of the National Meteorological Service (Magallón Portolés 1998: 211); or Juana Moreno, who was part of the teaching staff of the *Instituto-Escuela* until the civil war. The rest of them used the knowledge acquired in their respective careers: M^a Luisa García Dorado became professor of Latin in a high school; others took advantage of the magnificent facilities of the American chemistry or physiology laboratories, and all were dazzled by the American way of life and its material refinements.

The case of Paz García del Valle, born in San Esteban de Gormaz (Soria), is both curious and endearing. After studying Science at University of Madrid and researching at the Rockefeller Institute, she was awarded a scholarship to Radcliffe College, where she studied streptocopy with Saunders in 1932-33. On her return to Spain, she did not continue with her scientific career; Paz married the architect Arturo Román Palomo and had seven children. Her daughter Elena collected in an exceptional book the memories of her mother from childhood to adulthood (Roldán García 2018).

Some of them developed careers after the stay in USA, like Concha Lazárraga, who run a pharmacy in Málaga, while Loreto Tapia worked as a doctor in Huelva. But the outbreak of the Spanish civil war had traumatic consequences for many of them: Nieves González Barrio, pioneer as pediatrician and instructor of nurses, saw his activity reduced to private medicine. Pilar Madariaga, Marina Romero, Pepita Barba and Lucinda Moles exiled in USA, working in different universities: Pilar in Vassar College, Marina in Rutgers College, and Pepita followed a scientific career in Philadelphia.

Others married, like Carmen Ibáñez Gallardo, who married Cipriano Rivas Cherif, Azaña's brother-in-law, or Elisa Bernís, married to Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal; both had to take the path of exile, like Carmen Huder, wife of the architect Javier Yarnoz⁴.

⁴ I wish to express my gratitude to Carmen Yarnoz Huder, who lived with her parents in exile in Venezuela, and who gave me the moving testimony of the life of her mother, a bright woman.

6. American women students who received fellowships in Spain

The number of American women students who came to Spain and stayed at the *Residencia de Señoritas* was lower than the number of Spanish ones, as shown in the following table:

Table 2

Name	University	Course
Emily Porter	Smith College	1919-1920
Cordelia Merriam	Smith College	1920-1921
Helen Peirce	Smith College	1921-1922
Ellen Williams	Smith College	1923-1924
Vera Lee Brown	Bryn Mawr College	1923-1924
Eleanor Deegan	Smith College	1924-1925
Ruth Gillespie	Smith College	1924-1925
Mary V. Bergan	Smith College	1924-1925
Beatrice Newhall	Smith College	1925-1926
Mary Bradford Peirce	Smith College	1931-1932
Ruth Lee Kennedy	Smith College	1932-1933
Ruth Mildred Johnson	New Jersey State Teachers	1932-1933
Esther B. Sylvia	Smith College	1933-1934
Janice Mackenzie	Wellesley College	1933-1934
Helen Mary Brooks	Smith College	1934-1935
Mary Frances Byrne	Smith College	1934-1935
Ruth Saberski	Barnard College	1935-1936

Source: Author's elaboration from data from the biannual reports of the Board for Extension of Studies, from 1924 to 1932, and data obtained from correspondence and documentation of ARSM.

The list of American students in the *Residencia de Señoritas* is less extensive than that of Spanish students in the United States, because the means of the *Residencia* were scarce; note that, in this case, most of the young women favored with study grants came from Smith College; they often collaborated in organizational and teaching tasks of the *Residencia*, either teaching English or working in the Girls' Group or in the library. According to Piñón (2015: 313) there were «clear differences of purpose between the institutions that promoted these attractive agreements and also between the people involved, who in the end not only represented institutions with different objectives, in countries where the educational opportunities available to women could not be further away, but also where women themselves acted from different perspectives».

Other colleges that sent students to Madrid were: Bryn Mawr, New Jersey State Teachers' College and Wellesley through the Institute of International Education; Barnard College took advantage in 1935 of the offer of a scholarship for a foreign student in the cooperative group of the *Residencia*.

In summary, the American fellowship recipients were only a small group of young women of that origin who traveled to Madrid and stayed at the *Residencia*, although their relationship with it was closer since some of them (those sent by Smith) actively collaborated in various academic and organizational tasks. The Board for Extension of Studies helped the Smith and Wellesley fellows with a monthly stipend that ranged from two hundred and twenty-seven pesetas awarded to Emily Porter in 1919 at three hundred and fifty pesetas granted in the 1930s from the budgets of the Ministry of State.

Most of the Americans taught English to the Spanish residents and received classes in Spanish and of Spanish culture, apart from participating in different courses at the Center for Historical Studies. Some developed later notable careers in the United States, such as Vera Lee Brown, who studied at McGill University and earned a PhD in History at Bryn Mawr (1921) with a thesis entitled *Anglo-Spanish Relations in America in the Closing Years of the Colonial Era (1763-1774)*. Vera Lee Brown was professor of History at Smith College; she wrote several books on History of Spain and a work of some diffusion, *A History of the Americas* (1950), in two volumes. She died in 1980 in Halifax (Canada). At Smith College there is the Vera Lee Brown Prize for Excellence in History, which is awarded all years (Dagg 2001: 137).

Ruth Lee Kennedy, professor of Art History at Smith College, studied the Golden Age Theatre and specialized in Tirso de Molina, about whom she wrote *The dramatist and his competitors, 1620-1626* (1974); she was the first American reader at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In her will she bequeathed her files to Smith College and dedicated a fund to the International Institute to provide travel funds for women graduates or doctors of Spanish nationality who want to expand their studies in the United States following the Fulbright Program (Piñón 2015: 413).

7. Conclusions

When in October 1915 the Board for Expansion of Studies opened the Women's Group of the *Residencia de Estudiantes*, the so-called *Residencia de Señoritas*, in Madrid, an immediate connection is established with a neighboring institution in the space and in intentions, the International Institute for Girls in Spain, a center dedicated to women's education and supported by an American committee.

The initial relations give rise to a fruitful scheme of exchange of women students between Spain and the United States, in which the main protagonists are the *Residencia de Señoritas* from Spain and Smith College in the United States, followed by other colleges of women of great reputation, like Wellesley, Vassar, Bryn Mawr or Radcliffe, the selected members of the Seven Sisters (Harwarth, Maline and DeBra, 2005).

To manage the exchanges on a solid basis, in 1921 a Scholarship Committee was set up, based in the *Residencia de Señoritas*, and composed by which María

de Maeztu, Head of the *Residencia*, José Castillejo as secretary of the Board for Extension of Studies, Doctor Trinidad Arroyo, María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, and Zenobia Camprubí de Jiménez as secretary. The Scholarship Committee managed exchanges between Smith College and the *Residencia de Señoritas*.

In the same year 1921 the Institute of International Education established a parallel agreement to promote student exchange between the United States and Spain, which will also benefit a nice group of women.

Between 1919 and 1936 thirty-five Spanish women received a scholarship to study in the United States; a large number, twenty-two, had been residents before obtaining the scholarship, which confirms the close relationship between the *Residencia de Señoritas* and the policies of exchange of women students, especially with Smith College, the American institution that received the greatest number of Spaniards.

In reciprocity, between 1919 and 1936 seventeen American students came to Spain, approximately half of the Spanish who went to the United States. The majority, thirteen, came from Smith College. This lower number of American students is explained by the limited resources of the Spanish government, compared to the greater means of the American universities, in full swing during the period of prosperity of the 1920s.

The exchange of female students between Spain and the United States, established in 1919 until 1936, based in the *Residencia de Señoritas* of Madrid, offers a unique model at the time by opening the doors of the best American women's colleges to Spanish women wishing to expand their studies and live new experiences. It was possible thanks to the material means of the American Universities and the effort of the Board for Expansion of Studies, which supplemented the scholarships of the Spanish students with aids for travel and maintenance in a country much more expensive than Spain. And above all, it existed thanks to the people who from both sides of the Atlantic believed in the exchange of experiences among university women: the American professors of the International Institute, María de Maeztu, María Goyri, Trinidad Arroyo, Zenobia Camprubí and José Castillejo.

The civil war and the harsh and long repression of Francoism had awful consequences for intellectuals, and for a selected group of women, which would otherwise have served as a model and inspiration

Nevertheless, despite the economic difficulties caused by the Board for Extension of Studies' lack of resources, there is no doubt that contact with a culture different from the Spanish one was important for women who had the chance to travel to United States; some of them put what they learned at the service of the *Residencia*, others at the service of their own career, and all of them were pioneers in a sense: the first ones who crossed the Atlantic to broaden their studies, undoubtedly determined and courageous, given the risk of such long travel and the unusual nature of this type of travel for single women (Vázquez Ramil and Porto Ucha 2015).

8. Abbreviations used

ARSM: Archivo de la Residencia de Señoritas de Madrid (*Residencia de Señoritas'* Archive).

JAE: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios (Board for Extension of Studies and Scientific Research).

9. Primary Sources

Archive of Residencia de Señoritas, located in Ortega y Gasset-Marañón's Foundation, Madrid

Archive JAE: Archive of the Board for Extension of Studies and Scientific Research. Available on-line: http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/entrada.html

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