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## The development of the image of a selective collegiate public institution and the effects of that image upon admissions : the case of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1946-1980

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMAGE OF A SELECTIVE COLLEGIATE  
PUBLIC INSTITUTION AND THE EFFECTS OF THAT IMAGE UPON  
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**The Development of the Image of a Selective Collegiate Public Institution  
and the Effects of that Image upon Admissions:  
The Case of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1946-1980.**

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**A Dissertation  
Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Education  
In the Graduate School of Education  
The College of William and Mary**

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**by  
Karen Cottrell Schoenenberger**

**1984**

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMAGE OF A SELECTIVE COLLEGIATE PUBLIC  
INSTITUTION AND THE EFFECTS OF THAT IMAGE UPON ADMISSIONS:  
THE CASE OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA  
1946 - 1980

By

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The study of institutional history can and should have an impact upon future goals and decisions of that institution. Thelin (1982) states that "proper and careful (Thelin's italics) *use of historical sources and insights has potential to be helpful, even essential to decision-making and planning in higher education today*" (p.173). He suggests this is particularly true when and if these historical studies "stimulate those of us in the present to respect the complexities and varieties of patterns and events associated with colleges" (p. 173).

### Need for the Study

In 1946, when thousands of World War II veterans returned to American colleges, it became clear that these students would have a dramatic impact upon the future of higher education. Understanding that fact, President Truman appointed a Presidential Commission on Higher Education under the direction of George F. Zook, president of the American Council on Education. The President urged the Commission to "re-examine our system of higher education . . . in the light of the social role it has to play" (p.970). This remarkable document predicted very accurately many of the directions taken by higher education throughout the intervening four decades. The Commission charged that a serious injustice in American society (prior to World War II) was the

"failure to provide a reasonable equality of educational opportunity for all its youth. For the great majority of our boys and girls, the kind and amount of education they may hope to attain depends, not on their abilities, but on the family or community into which they happen to be born, or worse still, on the color of their skin or the religion of their parents" (p.977).

The Commission mandated that the American people should set as their goal an educational system in which any qualified student could achieve commensurate with his ability. Specifically, they recommended that tuition free (need-based) education should be available in public institutions through grade 14. Communities should develop extensive two year junior colleges which the Commission suggested be designated community colleges. Financial assistance should not only cover tuition costs, but also supplies, room, board, books and other living expenses. They also charged that education should be made equally accessible to all without regard to race, creed, color, sex, or national origin.

Clearly, much of that basic educational system has been implemented in the last forty years, but now, critics of higher education charge that this massive system developed without clear definition of ultimate purposes, goals, or methods. John Casteen, *Secretary of Education in Virginia (1981 - )* states that "American education changed more in the generation since World War II than most realized. There is now an establishment far larger than anyone before 1945 imagined, with more diverse kinds of institutions and a greater willingness to educate students from all segments of society. Students not traditionally (before 1945) included in the ranks of the more educated (privileged) citizens, are now routinely implementing college plans (Casteen, 1982).

Although Casteen strongly supports the end of discriminatory admission patterns based on race, sex, or other categorical labels, he charges that plans for the individual's place in a larger educational scheme must command more attention in the next decade, "if for no other reason than colleges that deal effectively with their students may survive" (p.14). Research literature does suggest that competition among colleges and universities for a decreasing school age population will be fierce during the decade of the eighties. Abramowitz and Rosenfeld (1978) report that the number of people in the traditional college age group will decline 25 percent between 1980 and 1994 causing enrollment to drop by 1.8 million. And while some sources (Population Bulletin, 1975) project an increase in the proportion of persons in the traditional age group in college (from 40.3 percent to 51.3 percent) which may offset the declining birth rate, most indicate that accommodations to changing demographics must be made by colleges throughout the decade of the eighties (Chapman, 1979; Fishlow, 1978).

Admissions officers will increasingly be called upon to develop and implement recruiting strategies which will serve their institutions. Moll (1978) makes the following observation of the role of the admissions office, "Whitney Griswold, the late president of Yale, once said 'The admissions office is the umbilical cord of the university.' If the undergraduate college has many purposes (as a place for training the mind, as a national instrument for social access and change, and as an internal vehicle for self survival etc.), the admissions office must make certain that the human material is there, so that the institution may go about its variety of chores and reach its manifold goals" (p.3). Beals (1979) submits the notion that the admissions staff will become an

"essential link in the interpretive process with colleges and the society they serve" (p. 4). They can sharpen the focus of the institution, clarifying the reasons underlying objectives and activities.

Candiff (1982) suggests that admissions staffs in the eighties will assume a new role of greater importance. They will "no longer be mere clerical order-takers, a role sometimes relegated to them during the years of rapid growth in college enrollments: they will become key figures in college and university governance" (p.28). He predicts that the dean or director may be a powerful administrator who influences many of the institution's decisions, including those regarding programs, building, staffing, and costs. And although Thelin's focus was applied research within the admissions office, he suggests that the research effort should deal with specific implications for institutional reputation, and that the findings should be used in the development of service activities associated with selection and recruitment (1979). He states further that "first hand experience as an admissions officer can provide a critical interpretive edge for evaluation and planning" (p.98).

Of paramount importance in institutional planning is the assessment and understanding of an institution's mission and image. Vaccaro (1976) suggests that establishment of an institution's mission and goals is the first step in developing a plan for effective use of its resources. The college must develop a strategy which will successfully guide the institution toward those goals. In Surviving the Eighties, Mayhew cautions institutions that surviving the crisis in enrollment will require critical planning, and states that a central element to that planning must be the maintenance of traditional identity. "Collegiate institutions do, over time, evolve a saga, a charter, or a distinct identity, that



communicates to the world what they are" (p. 296). Clark (1968) suggests that colleges reach out to potential students in two ways. One is through channels of recruiting and selecting students, and the other is through the potency of college images in students' minds.

The fact is that the images held by prospective students and other outsiders, as well as the images held by faculty and present students, may link the very identity of a college to the processes of attracting and admitting students. For one thing, the meaning of entry is likely to be greatly heightened when the college is seen as something special; a personal distinction attached to matriculation itself at a noted school. (p. 185)

There is evidence this image and reach of the institution is particularly important in the case of distinctive institutions. A measure of "distinction" of various colleges was determined by Clark, Heist, McConnell, Trow, and Yonge (1972) in their comprehensive study of students and colleges. They asked entering freshmen from eight institutions (Antioch, Reed, Swarthmore, St. Olaf, University of the Pacific, University of Portland, San Francisco State and the University of California, Berkeley) if they saw their college as having some special quality that distinguished it from others. In the highly selective colleges, nearly all freshmen claimed their college had some distinctive special quality (Antioch, 99%, Reed, 99%, Swarthmore, 96%). The other schools' responses ranged from St. Olaf, 87%, to San Francisco State, 46%.

To summarize, the understanding of the image of an institution will: (1) enable admissions officers to better define the goals and missions of their institution which in turn will (2) enable them to articulate those goals to

students providing more realistic and helpful counseling for prospective students which will (3) facilitate and enhance the planning for goals and directions of collegiate institutions through the critical period ahead.

### Purpose of the Study

The professional and popular literature on higher education in the United States overwhelmingly depicts the selective liberal arts college as a phenomenon of the private sector. In their comprehensive work The Academic Revolution (1968), Jencks and Riesman note:

Still, the academically distinguished college with no graduate school remains an essentially private phenomenon. There are no public Amhersts, Oberlins, or Reeds. Indeed, small distinguished institutions have to be private even if they do have graduate schools. There are no public Cal Techs or Princetons. The only small public institutions are those that cannot get more applicants.  
(p. 288)

They suggest that while some students (who could be admitted to selective private institutions and could afford to go) will choose to attend public institutions, it is usually only because of the heterogeneity of the institution and the student's desire to "meet all kinds" (p. 286).

This image of selectivity as unique to the private institution is an accepted concept throughout the literature. In his 1979 best selling book, Playing the Private College Admission Game, Moll discussess fallacies which surround the "selective" admissions process, and offers secrets on gaining

admission to that select group. His work focuses on a college which "is Ivyish, private, undergraduate and admits approximately half of its applicants, all of sound quality because the institution has always been known as one of 'the fine old demanding schools' " (p. 6), the perfect stereotype of the selective private college.

In Hurdles (1979), Sacks indicates that the desire for admission to a relatively small number of highly selective institutions is cause for intense competition among well qualified students "who endure an anxiety evoking test" (p.9). His work focuses upon the psychological and emotional effects these admissions hurdles have upon student applicants and upon the select group of universities and colleges. Every example Sacks offers to prove his thesis is a private institution.

Clark's The Distinctive College (1970) uses the special "hold on the hearts of many" (p.4) that is exerted by the private liberal arts college on its constituents as one of the justifications for his research. He states that the foremost representatives of the liberal arts colleges set a pace in the quality of undergraduate education matched, if at all, only by the best of the private university systems. Obviously, Clark does not consider public institutions to be worth comparison to the private sector.

In an interim report measuring academic quality, Astin and Solomon look at indices of selectivity as one of several facets of measuring quality education. They measured selectivity by establishing a ratio between the number of National Merit Scholars who named the institution as a first or second choice and the number of new freshmen admitted. This ratio was found to correlate .88 with the mean composite SAT score of the entering freshman

class. Every institution listed in the top twenty-five is privately controlled. Astin and Solomon attribute this finding in part to the large size of most public institutions (1979).

Austin and Titchener (1980) offer support for this ranking of schools. "It is a truism that good students like to attend selective colleges where they can be sure of associating with other good students. Thus, the most able usually choose private institutions over state-supported ones" (p. 54). They quote a Merit Scholar, "Anybody can go to a state school. All you have to do is be able to write your name. I feel like I can go anywhere I want and I would be a fool to start my professional life with a degree which has no prestige and won't get me anywhere" (p. 54). An image emerges that private institutions are selective, small, undergraduate, liberal and excellent, but public institutions are large, unselective, heterogeneous, and generally inferior.

While these images and characteristics are useful and descriptive, they are not universal. The purpose of this study is to chronicle the development of an image of a public institution, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, through the years 1946-1980, and to test the hypothesis:

The image of the selective liberal arts college is not exclusive to the private sector. The College of William and Mary in Virginia will be examined as a case study from 1945-1980 as a possible important exception to the generalization.

The intent of the case study will be to describe the changing image in the time period studied, and to trace the effects of the development of that image on admission and enrollment statistics. The question will be whether a selective liberal arts image has been developed and projected, and whether

outside publics, —the media, applicants, alumni, state agents— and the general public have accepted this image.

### Theoretical Framework

The theoretical justification for this study is the concept of "saga" as described in Clark's The Distinctive College. Clark's initial intent was to study the organizational form of the private college, and to determine how a first rank liberal arts college achieves that status of institutional acclaim. As justification Clark notes that the private liberal arts college is the oldest of the institutions for higher learning in America. Beginning with Harvard in 1636 and William and Mary in 1693, this form dominated education until the development and growth of universities in the last half of the nineteenth century. He also suggests that the private college retains a special status in American society and asserts that "the liberal arts college is the (his italics) romantic element in our educational system" (p.4).

However, Clark's justification for this research goes beyond historical primacy and public affection. Sociological concern associated with the formation of formal organizations was also a justification for the research. All organizations have a social role, ways of behaving which are associated with a definite position in the larger society. A role may be assigned to an organization by those in superior positions outside the organization, or an organization may drift into a role without much conscious control of either an external or internal group. In both role assignment and role accrual a passive posture is adopted by those within the organization. In other situations, roles

may be actively sought by those responsible for an organization. They may attempt to define its working character and its place in larger society. The organization may have a plan, the will, and finally the capacity to perform in certain ways which allow it to develop a distinctive niche in society. Clark defines this as having an organizational mission.

In these terms all colleges have roles but only some have missions. Then, among those that have been especially purposive, only some are able to "sustain and develop the mission over time to the point of success and acclaim. The mission is then transformed into an embracing saga . . . and we are able to speak then of colleges (and other organizations) that become legendary, even heroic figures on the social stage" (p.8). The institutional saga is a "historically based, somewhat embellished understanding of a unique organizational development" (p.235). It is "a mission made total across a system in space and time. It embraces the participants of a given day and links together successive waves of participants over major periods of time" (p.235).

This development of saga, then, is the central ingredient in the development of a distinctive college. Clark applies the theory to the three colleges — Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore — in The Distinctive College and he elaborates on the theory in his more recent The Higher Education System. He notes that within the institutional culture of some distinctive institutions (again specifically citing Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore) a crucial factor in the movement to a top-ranking was an intensive and integrated self-belief. No specific programs, curricula, or requirements accounted for the distinction. What was important "was the meaning assigned to the bits and pieces, the way in which the participants saw their practices as the expression of a unified and

unique approach devised by hard work and struggle" (p.82). The story was not always accurate because it was selective and often exaggerated, but it had important ingredients of truth which had been embellished and enhanced over time to become so loaded with meaning and emotion that the organization became an end-in-itself.

Clark notes that the concept of organizational saga is applicable to other types of organizations, and Deal and Kennedy (1982) apply the same concepts to corporations in Corporate Cultures. After surveying eighty corporations they found that only about one-third had "clearly articulated beliefs or values" (p.7), and that this group of eighteen were uniformly outstanding performers. They found no other significant correlations and concluded that "a strong culture" is a strong component of a successful company. This culture embodies many of the same elements articulated by Clark in his discussion of saga. They describe a particularly successful California company:

*Tandem is a unique company. And much of its success appears as intimately tied to its culture as to its product and marketplace position. The company has explicit values and beliefs which its employees share. It has heroes. It has storytellers and stories. It has rituals and ceremonies on key occasions. Tandem appears to have a strong culture which creates a bond between the company and employees, and inspired levels of productivity unlike most corporations. Established heroes, values, and rituals are crucial to a culture's continued strength . . . and other companies like IBM and Proctor and Gamble have succeeded in sustaining culture over*

generations. These strong culture companies are the giants of American industry . . . and their cultures are . . . very similar to Tandem. (p. 13)

In addition to being applicable to other types of organizations, Clark's theory is also useful in describing groups of institutions. Thelin (1976) in The Cultivation of Ivy uses the concept of saga to describe the Ivy League, noting that despite apparent attempts to negate the concept (i.e. the Harvard-Princeton feud from 1926-1934) "a collective Ivy League identity" grew and became a myth which assumed a central place in American society and the American dream of "making it." In fact, the official formation of the Ivy League (actually an athletic designation) did not occur until the fifties. And despite apparent cooperation, Thelin notes that "the popular image of a composite Ivy League continued [in the 1980s] to exaggerate the cohesion of the member institutions" (p.58). He states that each year the Ivy League presidents meet at the University Club in New York City to discuss common problems, and notes that Newsweek quoted one president as revealing "We have a splendid time, then we go home and try to steal each other's prospective freshman class" (p.6).

Saga is an important sociological concept which has applicability to many different types of social structures. It will provide a meaningful background for the measuring of the distinction and growth of selectivity for the College of William and Mary.

### Limitations

A limitation of the study is the lack of generalizability which can be



derived. This is due to the unique stature and position of William and Mary which is the focus of the study. This very uniqueness precludes the application of the findings to other institutions. However, the case study format of tracing the institutional image and exploring the effects that has upon admissions statistics is a plan which may be applied and found useful in other institutions. If Clark's concept of saga is found in William and Mary's historical chronicle, a generalization of that concept to include public institutions could be made. Other researchers in public institutions might then justify conducting similar research at their particular institutions. The study will also be limited by the quality and amount of admissions and historical data which is intact and available.

### Overview

The remainder of this study will be arranged as follows: In Chapter 2 the pertinent literature in four areas which relate to the investigation under study will be reviewed; (a) admissions research, (b) research on institutional image, (c) research on William and Mary, and (d) qualitative research methods. In Chapter 3, a description of the methodology used will be described. In Chapter 4, the case study account of the development of the institutional image of William and Mary as a selective or non-selective institution will be presented. In Chapter 5 the effects of that image on entering freshmen classes at the College from 1946-1980 will be analyzed. A summary of the findings, implications, and recommendations for future research will also be discussed in Chapter 5.

## Chapter 2

In this chapter, the literature review is organized into four areas for consideration:

(1) Admissions research.

- a. trends in admissions research relevant to the time period under consideration in the study (1946-1980).
- b. present viewpoints and understandings of selective undergraduate admissions.

(2) Institutional image.

- a. discussion of philosophical importance and *definition of image*.
- b. methods of assessment of image undertaken by individual institutions.

(3) Research on William and Mary.

(4) Qualitative research methods.

- a. unobtrusive measures.
- b. case studies.
- c. unstructured interviewing.
- d. archival research and historical analysis.

### Admissions

Prior to the early part of the 20th century only a small percentage of American youth received higher education (Trow, 1961). But following World

War II, enrollments in higher education increased dramatically. By 1970, more than one-third of the 18-24 year old age group attended college (Carnegie Commission, 1971) and by 1980, Grant and Eiden reported nearly 40% of the 18-24 year old age group attended college.

A review of the literature on admission research following World War II revealed major differences in emphasis that reflected the changes in college admissions occurring during that time. Willingham (1980) described the early era, from about 1950 through about 1965, as a "meritocratic era" (p. 6). This was a time when academic excellence became a top national priority, partly as a reaction to the Russian's Sputnik. It was a time of great prosperity in the country as reflected in the campus building boom, and in the increase of number of students attending college. And it was, therefore, a time of increasing growth and selectivity for most academic institutions. Research during this period attempted to identify the type of student going to which type of college. Sanders and Palmer (1965) showed that only 22 percent of all 18 year olds from families with incomes under \$2000 were in college compared to 72 percent of those with family income over \$14,000. Medsher and Trent (1965) presented data that showed that 78 percent of a sample of college freshmen had at least two friends in college while in a non-college sample the comparable percentage was 58 percent. Douvan and Kaye demonstrated a strong vocational component to college attendance in 1962. They found that males tended to think of college primarily as a way to get a good job. Females tended to think of college as not just a place to find a husband, but as an enriching experience which would make them better wives and mothers.

Research during this period also reflected an increasing desire to

evaluate the climate or environment of institutions. Pace and Stern developed the College Characteristic Index (1958). And using data obtained for the CCI, Pace constructed a shorter instrument, the College and University Environmental Scales (CUES) (1960, 1963).

The organization of the admissions process was also examined. A survey conducted by Hauser and Lazarfeld (1964) found that the conduct of admissions in the large majority of undergraduate institutions was a function of an admissions committee composed of admissions officers, faculty and administrators. In many instances, these committees would evaluate the credentials of applicants and admit students by majority vote. There was, however, a shifting of focus occurring during this time to a more professional posture among admissions officers. This is reflected in the names of the two professional organizations to which they belonged. The older organization is the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admission Officers reflecting an orientation that admissions is a clerical and administrative function. A newer organization is the National Association of College Admissions Counselors. The use of the word counselor was deemed significant by Hauser and Lazarsfeld whose survey indicated admissions "specialists spent much more of their time in the field visiting schools and meeting with candidates than did the registrars" (p. 14).

A most significant topic of admissions research during this period concerned standardized testing. There were several studies completed in the early 1960s (Clark and Plotkin, 1963; Cleary, 1966; Roberts, 1962) which hypothesized that blacks performed significantly below whites on the SAT. In a review of this literature, however, Dyer (1969) dismissed the studies as being

poorly implemented or designed. He stated "the admissions problem in the case of disadvantaged youth . . . is not in the possible bias of tests . . . as [much as] it is in the [academic] deficiencies the disadvantaged groups suffer by the time they reach grade 12" (p. 40).

Willingham (1977) labeled a second era from about 1965 to 1980 as the egalitarian period in college admissions. Its origins were in the Civil Rights movement, and the period saw a very significant increase in the enrollment of minorities and women in undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools.

In 1977, The Carnegie Council on Higher Education made the following recommendations with regard to selective admissions:

A fairer chance for all young Americans, offsetting, to the extent reasonably possible, the consequences of prior educational disadvantage and social discrimination, with preferment based on individual characteristics, effort, performance, and promise. Consideration for the contributions that students prospectively may make, not only to their own advancement, but also to their fellow students in college and their fellow men afterwards. (p.3)

This philosophy was the basis of many research directions of this era. Numerous studies attempted to show that overreliance on traditional academic indicators (i.e. high school grades and SAT scores) as basis for selection was misguided, because they only predicted subsequent performance in school settings and not in real life. These critics argued that more attention should be given to non-academic personal qualities in college admissions such as leadership, special talents, and competencies, and certain interests and goals (Holland and Nichols, 1964; Hoyt, 1965; Wing and Wallach, 1971).

A comprehensive study by Willingham and Breland (1982) examined personal qualities and their impact on admissions at nine selective private institutions. They found that personal qualities account for about 25 percent of the admissions evaluation, with the other 75 percent being accounted for by traditional academic indicators. They further found that personal qualities had greater impact on selection at the most selective institutions where the applicant pool contained more highly academically qualified students than could be admitted. Their most significant analysis of the impact of personal qualities came from separating the applicants in each college into three groups, those likely to be admitted, those unlikely to be admitted, and those for whom admission was uncertain. Data confirmed that personal qualities have the most impact when admission is uncertain or unlikely. It appeared that background (e.g. alumni ties, minority status) formed a basis for selection from the unlikely or uncertain categories. However, evidence of personal achievement (e.g. leadership, outstanding recommendations) appeared to be used essentially as a tie breaker among students with similar academic credentials whose chances for admission were deemed only marginal.

Survey research continued to indicate that academic performance in high school is the single most important element in admissions decisions. (AACRAO/CEEB, 1980; Breland, 1979). And grade point average in high school remained the best predictor of first year grades in college. This prediction held true regardless of the caliber of school or the degree of difficulty of program (Linn, 1966). Ramist (1981) did find, however, that due to grade inflation and the resulting narrowing of the range of means of secondary school grades, mean validity coefficients declined from .55 for studies conducted in 1964-73, to .48

for studies conducted between 1974-78. In contrast, mean validity of high school rank-in-class as a predictor of performance in college rose slightly from .48 to .49 for the same time frames. The AACRAO/CEEB studies also indicated that at selective institutions standardized tests continued to be a very important factor in admissions decisions. Recent studies showed correlations between test scores and first year grades were around the high .30's or low .40's. Secondary school grade averages tended to run in the high .40's or low .50's and a multiple predictor combining test scores and grades yielded a correlation in the mid to high .50's (Ramist, 1981).

A great deal of research was a result of the demographic realities which became more apparent. The Bureau of Census estimated that between 1979 and 1992 the number of eighteen year olds will drop from 4.3 million to 3.2 million — a drop of 25 percent in the age group that comprises the majority of entering freshmen. Estimates were that between 300-500 institutions might close before the population turned upward again (Fiske, 1980).

Resulting research centered on recruiting and marketing strategies. In an extensive monograph for the American Association of Higher Education, Grabowski (1981) stated that good marketing begins by determining a marketing position. He continued that marketing position is based on several factors: a mission/ goal statement; the institution's image as perceived by its publics; the kind of students currently attending the school; and the programs the school offers.

The emphasis on marketing and recruitment was not without its critics. Nackay questioned, "While certain promotion and recruiting practices may be respectable and even necessary to the survival of some institutions, where does

one draw the line between acceptable and suspect strategies?" (p.30). She listed some efforts patently below the line; North Kentucky State University had planned on releasing 100 balloons filled with scholarship offers until public outcry became overwhelming, and free "Jog Your Mind" T-shirts were given to first-time adult enrollees at a private eastern university.

These trends in marketing and recruitment were harbingers of the new era of college admissions which was designated by Willingham (1977) as the "pragmatic era." He cautioned that a difficult challenge is ahead of the admissions profession over the next fifteen years- that of being able to deal effectively with the important issues of consumerism and declining population, without yielding the meritocratic or egalitarian values.

Ebel (1982) addressed this issue of balancing egalitarian and meritorious considerations. His conclusion was that the best interests of the nation are secured by having selectivity as part of the admissions process. He recommended the continued use of academic credentials as the primary basis for selectivity. He advocated, however, a broadening of the scope of the admissions evaluation to include consideration of those who "would benefit themselves and society most by getting the education offered in the program" (p. 22).

Thompson (1982) examined admissions procedures at highly selective colleges. He offered several ways to quantify "selectivity"; one is to use the ratio of applicants to available places in the class (i.e. XYZ institution received 10 applications for every space in the freshmen class). This ratio has two flaws which make it a less than perfect measure of selectivity. If there were minimal self-selection on the part of the applicants, then a large percentage of



the pool might not be qualified academically which would make the institution seem more selective than it was (seven out of ten of those applicants might be grossly unqualified). Secondly, the ratio ignores the all important variable of yield (the number of admitted students who actually enroll). If XYZ University only attracts a 10 percent yield of its admitted pool, then it would have to admit almost 100 percent of the pool to fill the class.

Yield has often been used to determine the selectivity of an institution. An example is Harvard which presently has a very high yield with about 75 percent of its admitted group enrolling. However, yield can also be a misleading measure of selectivity because many non-selective institutions (i.e. community colleges) have a very high yield because students only apply when they intend to enroll. Yield can also be confounded by the early decision procedures operating at many selective institutions. Generally, early decision candidates sign statements pledging their enrollment if admitted so there is a 100 percent yield on this group. At the same institution the yield on the regular decision group may be very small, but the average of the two percentages can allow the college to publish a very strong yield percentage.

Thompson concluded that the most judicious way to quantify admissions selectivity is simply to use the percentage of applicants admitted. Although this figure ignores the academic quality of the applicant pool, it has been determined that among institutions admitting fewer than 50 percent of their candidates there is traditionally a strong self-selection process and very few unqualified candidates applying.

Examining the selectivity of institutions using this method revealed some surprising results. Hartnett and Feldmesser (1980) reported that one-third of

the institutions in this country admit more than 90 percent of their applicants. More than one-half of the four year institutions admit 80 percent or more of their applicants, and fewer than 10 percent reject more than one-half of their applicants. Institutions that admit fewer than one-half of the applicants collectively enroll no more than 10% of students entering four year colleges each fall. Moll (1979) contended that "not more than forty colleges enjoy the luxury of admitting one out of two of their candidates, and not more than a half-dozen private colleges admit one out of five applicants" (p.5).

An interesting examination of the admissions process at selective institutions was that conducted by Moll (1979). He pointed out that while academic performance in high school and scores on standardized tests are the factors given the most serious consideration in admissions decisions, they are seldom given equal weight for all applicants at any one institution. He revealed that most selective institutions first sort applicants into various subgroups, and judgement about the qualifications of individual students is then made by comparing the student with others in his subgroup. For example, an excellent female hockey player (given the school is interested in recruiting female hockey players) is not competing against the other many thousands of applicants to the school, but only against perhaps ten others who have her academic qualifications and hockey prowess. This may improve her chances of admission at a highly selective school from 1 out of 10 to 1 out of two.

Support for Moll's observation was offered by Thompson (1982), former Dean of Admissions at Brown University, who identified subgroups who receive special selection attention. Children of faculty and alumni, minorities, development cases (applicants whose parents or friends are in a position to

make substantial contributions to the institution), and athletes, are considered to be subgroups who routinely receive special admission attention. Thompson explained that, while the best interest of the student is always a concern to the admissions officer, the best interests of the institution must also be an important consideration. These special admits are judged to be important to the continuing welfare of the institution. He revealed the astonishing fact that, in a sense, up to one-half of the available places in a freshman class are given away before a single selection decision is made, because those places are reserved for these various groups that the institution feels it must have in the class. He concluded that "admissions offices 'give away' some of the academic and personal excellence they expect from other members of the pool [in order to] meet institutional needs" (p.503).

### Institutional Image

A review of the research examining institutional image can be divided into two general areas: One area of image study offers discussion of the importance and influence of image in the overall philosophy of an institution. These studies are narrative in nature, and draw conclusions and make recommendations for the use and understanding of images.

The second area of study emphasizes methods of assessment of institutional image. Assessment studies are usually undertaken by individual institutions whose goal is improving marketing or promotional strategies.

Clark, et. al. ( 1972) speculated that colleges reach a pool of prospective applicants in two ways. First, they have official criteria of entry, controlled

requirements which sort students away from or toward the college. They also have external impressions (images) which are held by the public sectors and attract or divert students. The importance of these images is especially true for "expensive private colleges" (p. 68). For this select group of schools the influence of reputation is formidable.

*Images of colleges carry various messages from the campus to segments of the public and to potential students. They are often exaggerated but within the "exaggerations reside the objective realities" (p.83).*

*Images do not come and go quickly, changing their stripes overnight. They are products of an institutional history and not of a public relations office. And in carrying messages to the public, they have helped to make the college what it is today. They steer choice and thus act to bring about that which they portray. The mechanism of institution building is self-selection based on symbolic presentations of the institutional self. (p.83)*

*They discovered in their research that the degree to which images serve as institutional carriers depends on the institution's prominence. The salient reputations of Antioch and Reed gave them an unusual amount of self-selection among their constituencies. "Potential students become real candidates for admission only as impelled by background, income, and purpose, and guided by perceptions of appropriate colleges. The assortment thus depended considerably on how an awareness in the individual comes together with the reach of the college's reputation" (p.84).*

*In an interim report on their comprehensive study measuring academic quality, Astin and Solomon (1979) dealt with the issue of images and sought*

answers to the question of what processes lead highly able students to prefer the same set of institutions year after year. Their view was " that there exists in higher education a kind of folklore regarding the best institutions" (p.50). As students progress through high school they gradually become acquainted with this folklore through friends, relatives, teachers, counselors, and the media, [and] "measures of selectivity . . . are simply a reflection of the students' ultimate acceptance of this folklore" (p. 50).

A distinctive image emerged very early in Mitzman's discussion of Reed College (1979). He described a young professor who was quite happy teaching there- liking the students and the surroundings. Yet two quotes from the professor crystalize the image of Reed. "There is a certain grimness about this place", and "Reed inspires very strong feeling" (p. 38). From that, in the first paragraph, a particular concept or image of Reed has been captured. Mitzman concluded, "Reed is a small, serious, demanding, single-minded, uncompromising and excellent institution of higher learning" ( p.39). The article continued with the historical background and the pattern of growth which led to Reed's image. The conclusion is drawn that although private institutions, in general, may experience some hard times in the 1980's Reed's sound footing will enable it to carry forward in much the same way as it has for the last 70 years. The young professor is again quoted, "No one is challenging Reed's image . . . and we're looking for different ways to live up to those standards. It would be disastrous for [Reed] to be just another college" (p.43).

Research has also been conducted which examined methods of assessing institutional image. In an unpublished report Bertsch (1983) undertook an image study of James Madison University (JMU), a publicly supported liberal arts

institution in Virginia. The objective of the research was to identify competitive strengths and weaknesses in the JMU image as compared to other state supported institutions in Virginia. A questionnaire with disguised sponsor, letterhead and return address was mailed to 1000 juniors and seniors in the summer of 1982. The questionnaire included choice lists for attendance, and semantic differential scales on academic, social, financial, and physical attributes of the eight listed state universities. The value of the research as discussed by Bertsch was to use the perceived strengths in institutional image as a basis for marketing promotions, and to downplay or ignore the weaknesses in image. Significant results indicated that in the semantic differential scales which included categories such as conservative/liberal, friendly/unfriendly, and high cost/low cost, Madison scored significantly closer to the ideal institution than the other eight public institutions tested in Virginia.

Assessing the image of an institution as a step in an aggressive marketing plan was also the goal of Cochran and Hengstler (1983). The major thrust of their study was to determine the perceived status of the University of North Carolina, Asheville (UNC-A) compared with its primary competitors (as determined through crossover application statistics). The statistical procedure used was multi dimensional scaling, a multivariate analytic procedure. Results indicated that UNC-A was perceived as quite distinct from the competing institutions. The image of UNC- A occupied a distinct niche which the authors maintain is information of tremendous importance to the institution for strategic marketing planning purposes.

In a study focusing on image and decision, Maguire and Lay (1981) sought support for their thesis that prospective students develop images of colleges

and universities from early childhood. As the time for submitting application nears, students begin to be more realistic, matching their abilities, wants, and needs with images. While these two subprocesses, the evolution of images and the appraisal leading to decision are analytically different, they are not sequential phases but rather "images conditioning appraisal throughout the selection process" (p. 123). To support these hypotheses they surveyed all accepted students (2500) at Boston College in Fall, 1977. Students were asked to rate the college they were planning to attend (either Boston College or another institution) using a Likert Scale on twenty-eight attributes. Factor analysis yielded six factors which were compared between the matriculants and the non-matriculants. It was hypothesized that matriculants' image would illuminate the most attractive aspects of the school. Results showed that the academics/religion factor loaded highest for those planning to attend, but not for non-matriculants. Implications for the admissions office were that the marketing program should direct more effort to clarifying the role of the Jesuits in teaching and administration at Boston College. In the decision making model a forward step-wise procedure in multivariate analysis was used to determine the best predictors of yield at Boston College. Financial aid ranked highest in importance as students tended to make their decision about whether to come to Boston College based primarily on the amount of financial aid made available. This, noted the authors, has implications for improvement in promotional strategy. The conclusions were that knowing the image can help the admissions office to reinforce, at crucial times in the decision making cycle, the factors which are most important to the process.

Another study using similar methods was that conducted by Sternberg

and Davis (1978). They used a questionnaire to focus on the image of Ivy League institutions held by students offered admission to Yale and college students already undergraduates at Yale. They then used hierarchical clustering to group colleges together into levels of generality. The two dimensions which were illuminated were size and academic prestige. Yale clustered most closely with Harvard and Princeton. Matriculants and non-matriculants did not seem to differ in their perceptions of academic prestige, but Yale matriculants perceived Yale as relatively smaller than did Harvard or Princeton matriculants.

In a second study, Sternberg and Davis asked the same survey participants to rate Yale and its competitors using 24 adjective pairs, i.e. beautiful/ugly, deep/shallow, fair/unfair. A factor analysis procedure was performed and three factors; evaluation, activity-potency, and agreeableness were discerned. Yale was found to be at the top of the evaluation factor, but scored very low on the agreeableness factor. Thus, Yale's high academic standing is viewed as costing a very high price. The two studies illuminated how Ivy League students view Yale and those colleges competing with Yale, although the authors conceded that the generalizability of the findings are constrained by the population and choice of colleges.

In an unpublished dissertation, Morey (1970) examined the images held of three selected University of California campuses. In Fall 1968, questionnaires were sent to random samples of sophomore students enrolled at the three campuses and high school students who would enter as freshmen in Fall 1968. The sample was 914 and 96% of the subjects completed and returned the questionnaires. The three campuses studied were Berkeley, Davis, and Santa



Cruz. She found that the images held of the three California campuses by the respective student groups varied widely. And, within each campus, aspects of images held by entering freshmen were incongruent with those held by enrolled students. She concluded that institutional image is apparently a critical thread in understanding the selection process of students admitted to selected colleges.

Heath (1981) examined the ethos of institutions defining ethos as the character, the unique pattern, organization and system of attributes that make an institution stand out in some way from the other three thousand institutions. Dismissing the more visible methods of describing a school's environment such as the College Characteristics Index (CCI) and the College and University Environmental Scales (CUES), Heath's method was to submit a list of words that allowed various groups to "paint their own pictures of their institution as they see it and would like to see it" (p. 92). The various groups included students, administrators, and faculty. In reviewing his data, Heath found wide discrepancies in the adjectival descriptions as completed by students and faculties on several (unnamed) campuses. While Heath admitted this may or may not impact upon the ability of the institution to survive in the eighties, future effectiveness as well as survival may depend, in part, upon how perceptive various factions within institutions are about their own ethos.

An interesting perspective on image was mentioned by Austin and Titchener (1980) in their research on how public institutions recruit bright students. They made the point that image has much to do with what makes a university attractive, and stated that many public institutions have made strong efforts to attract Merit Scholars simply because their presence on campus

promotes an image of academic excellence which will attract other bright students. They cautioned, however, that image cuts both ways, and the brightest students are now aware of their own images. They quoted a National Merit Semi-Finalist as saying " before this year I was your basic nothing kid, but now, just because I'm good at math, all of a sudden I'm in demand" (p.66).

### William and Mary

When examining the published research conducted on an institution dating from 1893, the expectation is that there would be vast amounts of material available. Actually, relatively little has been published on the history of the College of William and Mary. However, a discussion of several of the most salient works is in order.

Two works by Parke Rouse (1973, 1983) provided a chronology of various times and events in the College's history. Cows on the Campus gave an account of the College and Williamsburg environment in the Colonial period. His more recent publication gave the history of William and Mary by focusing on the history of the famous landmark, the President's House.

A most formal history by Morpurgo examined the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The British influence on the early College history was very much a focus in this work. Tyler's (1907) work was a straight historical chronology essentially spanning the same time frame as the Morpurgo work.

Osborne (1981) related the history of the institution during the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century. She suggested that the College experienced a loss of leadership during those years primarily because one of the

four leadership entities was vacant during the period. The four were; the Chancellor, the Board of Governors and Visitors, the Society (alumni) and the President. The position of Chancellor went unfilled during 1800-1827, leaving the other three to exercise the leadership of the institution.

In addition to formal published histories of the College, several unpublished dissertations have been completed. Smith (1980) discussed traditions at the College and their influence on its advancement into the modern era. The conclusion was that the change in mission from liberal arts education to teacher training in 1888 had a major impact on the set of historical traditions that constituted a major proportion of the institutional image which had endowed the College with a distinctive identity. He suggested that the great emphasis placed, at the time, on the historical traditions of the College was an effort to compensate for the loss of status experienced in the adoption of the training mission. However, between 1902 and 1919, the College became a much stronger institution and substantially modernized its curriculum through such means as upgrading the science and downgrading the classics. At the same time, public opinion regarding teacher training improved substantially. As a result, the status of the College improved and the institutional traditions once again assumed a more natural and less exaggerated role in College affairs.

### Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research data consists of detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions and observed behaviors, direct quotations from

people about their experiences, and excerpts or entire passages from archives, documents, records and case histories. These detailed descriptions, quotations, and case documentation are raw data from the empirical world (Patton, 1980). Strategies reviewed here include unobtrusive measures, interviewing, case histories, and archival research and historical analysis.

Much of the research on institutional image used questionnaires as the basis for the study. Thelin (1976) called this survey research the factory model, and discussed its limitations on several counts:

- (1) Students have become increasingly hostile and uncooperative with university questionnaires.
- (2) A number of universities no longer require students to participate in class profiles and inventories.
- (3) Survey research is susceptible to the Heisenberg Effect (the tendency of respondents' answers to be influenced by the study).
- (4) Survey data has limitations when used to probe or convey the highly visible and historical character of a campus environment.

Thelin advocated the use of unobtrusive measures to define the campus character or image. He defined unobtrusive measures as "clues, signs, artifacts, and traces which allow for the indirect or inferential evaluation of institutional phenomena" (p. 162). Examples he cited include architecture which may be an index of campus character. Are new buildings erected in a modern style or is there a commitment to maintaining the period architecture of a campus? Does the university renovate old buildings, preserving character and tradition or does it tear them down? Unobtrusive measures of student satisfaction with campus life can also be measured. How many students stay on

campus on week-ends, or attend campus wide social functions such as concerts or plays? Faculty participation in ceremonies is another gauge. Does a majority of faculty march in Charter Day or Commencement exercises?

Thelin's conclusion was that a "series of unobtrusive measures and inquiries could provide a fruitful supplement to other means of campus monitoring" (p. 164). Their use will, however, complicate evaluative research by requiring researchers to take notice of institutional life previously neglected.

A study by Meister (1982) convincingly supported Thelin's use of unobtrusive measures. Meister used his unique vantage point of having taught at both Amherst and Hampshire to carefully describe the remarkable differences in the institutions and, by implication, the relative strengths and weaknesses of both. He described the historical backgrounds of the institutions and used quantitative data to support his observations. But it is the unobtrusive measures which convey most vividly the rich character and image of the schools. An example:

Freshman convocation . . . is the student's first exposure to the corporate identity of the college [at Amherst]. It told me much about how the college views itself . . . Visually, it vividly depicts the symbolic universe of the Amherst community. [The students] were seated in the balcony of the college chapel, a spare but . . . elegant example of nineteenth century Congregational architecture. The chorus is in place at the rear of the balcony, and while students file in, the pews on the main floor below remain empty. With the sounding of an organ fanfare, the faculty marshal, who is the most senior member of the faculty, enters the chapel in

full academic regalia, followed by the president and dean, then by the body of the faculty in descending order of seniority. The organ music fades, and the president welcomes both students and faculty . . . [and] then delivers his convocation address . . . . More music, . . . and then the recessional, the students remaining respectfully until the faculty have passed out of the chapel . . . . The next morning, teachers and students will meet for the first time in the classroom. (p.32)

Bushnell (1966) used the "anthropologist's customary combination of observation, participation, and utilization" (p489) to focus on student life at Vassar. Over a four year period Bushnell used questionnaires and interviews and described the student population, their academic and extracurricular activities, and employed unobtrusive observation measures to convey a daily and yearly round of life.

After examining a variety of methods of assessing college culture including case studies, interviews, and surveys, Pace (1962) noted that different methodologies in social research can lead to somewhat different answers and interpretations. But he concluded that "the fullest advancement of understanding about college cultures and their impact on students will come not only from applying the most rigorous methods, but from using a variety of methods to explore the wisest questions we can formulate" (p.276).

Hartford (1977) used the case study method to chronicle the history of the little white schoolhouse in Kentucky. Sources Hartford used ranged from general histories of the state, to the files of county newspapers, to the reminiscences of former pupils. Using and recounting these sources Hartford

chronicled the beginnings, the development, and demise of the one room school house. His descriptions included the physical proportions and layout of the buildings, the teachers and their preparation, what was taught (and what was not), and the social round of life which prevailed in and around the school (1977).

In 1971, Hodgkinson provided an essentially quantitative study of institutions in transition. He included, however, a qualitative strategy in choosing five institutions which he felt "should be examined in greater detail to discover firsthand what was going on" (p.159). The five institutions (State University of New York at Buffalo, Southern Colorado State College at Pueblo, Oberlin College, Chicago State College, and Northern Illinois University) were compared on the basis of common questions relating to the process of change. Hodgkinson found that dealing with common questions allowed some generalizations to be made across all five institutions. He found that institutions of higher learning respond to stimuli in very similar ways. This often makes them dull as institutions (his italics) although they may be full of bright interesting people. He concluded that institutions are very difficult to describe in only quantitative terms. The quality, the spirit can only come through as one visits and talks to students and faculty.

Case studies were the method of choice for Dill in 1971 to study university governance. Throughout the late 60's new governance forms were being implemented chiefly as a result of campus unrest nationwide. Dill chose the case study method because he wished to focus on process (his italics) rather than on structure. Therefore, a general description of new governance forms would be less useful than case studies illustrating their development and

functioning.

Clark (1960) highlighted the factors that determined the character of a junior college by making an intensive case study of the development of the San Jose Junior College in California. The goal was to define the role of the junior college clearly and realistically thereby giving it a more distinct image and role in the educational hierarchy. Records and memoranda were the primary source of material and provided a check on the questionnaire and interview data.

Riesman and Jencks (1961) used case studies of three representative institutions to provide specific illustrations of their perceptions of the many different kinds of institutions that are called colleges. They looked at the colleges as "complex wholes" (p. 74) describing the students, faculties, administrators, and publics at the University of Massachusetts, San Francisco State, and Boston College.

Of the interview, Kerlinger said, [it] "is perhaps the most ubiquitous method of obtaining information" ( p.479). It is quite direct which is both a strength and a weakness. A strength because a great deal of the information needed in social science research can be gained by asking direct questions. However, there are areas of information which respondents may not be willing to share, such as attitudes on controversial issues. Yet, properly handled, even personal or controversial material can be obtained from interviews, and often information is gained which can be gotten no other way (1964).

Lofland suggested that when a researcher does not assume she already knows about the respondent's lives a "flexible strategy of discovery" (p.76) is in order. One such strategy is the "unstructured interview or intensive interviewing with an interview guide" (p.76). There are three objects to this



unstructured interview;

(1) to elicit from the interviewee what he/she considers to be important questions relative to a given topic. (2) to carry on a guided conversation to elicit rich detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis. (3) to find out what kind of things happened (1964).

Although use of the interview in historical research is obviously limited by the time period being studied and the number of sources available with memory of that period, it can be an important ingredient in thorough analysis. Hartford (1977) made extensive use of interviews in his chronicle of the one-room schoolhouse in Kentucky to convey the round of life prevalent in those days.

In 1910, in a remarkable work on the history of higher education, Stosson suggested that institutions begin keeping "fugitive publications of all kinds, programs of clubs and festivities, snapshots of student life . . . [for] a file of catalogues . . . will not satisfy the needs of future historians and biographers. They must have something more if they are to make these dry bones live" (p.136).

The strength of archival material, stated Webb (1981), is its nonreactivity, making it an attractive compensation for the reactivity of the interview. However, there are two major sources of bias in archival records - selective deposit and selective survival. Care must be taken in using archival records to secure the greatest number of observations available. By obtaining comparative evaluation of the sources, inference may be drawn on the data's accuracy .

In addition to the research on William and Mary discussed elsewhere,

several of which are examples of the use of archival research and historical analysis, the use of these methods for educational research is abundant and convincing. Thelin (1976) focused on "images and icons - graphic and dramatic depictions of campus character" (p.2) in his vivid and comprehensive description of the collective Ivy League identity.

Archival sources were the basis for Angelo's work in 1979. His purpose was to examine the alumni records of students graduating from the University of Pennsylvania and the Temple College of Philadelphia (now Temple University) from 1873-1906, and to draw conclusions from their after-school lives about class and social mobility in the nineteenth century. Among the archival sources available was a biographical folder for every alumnus bulging (in some cases) "with newspaper clippings, alumni questionnaires, photographs, and correspondence "(p. 198). His conclusions were not surprising. This period at Penn was dominated by sons of white Anglo-Saxon fathers who did not work with their hands, and Temple's student population exhibited a "decidedly more proletarian cast" (p. 192).

Clifford (1978), through the extensive use of state and university archives was able to create a lively and cogent picture of home and school in 19th century America. While she acknowledged that "first person accounts represent a self-knowledge perhaps at variance with outsiders knowledge " (p. 4), she noted that "personal perceptions . . . existed; they shaped understanding, motivated action and helped influence others' perceptions and behaviors " (p.5).

Leslie's (1977) study examined the evolution of the denominational college through a scrutiny of the relationship between institutional strategies and the interest groups that supported and controlled three colleges (Bucknell,

Franklin and Marshall, and Swarthmore). His work was a response to the general assumption that colleges (of that period) were uniform and passive institutions that only broke from antebellum practices in reluctant response to the universities. Using archive sources, Leslie chronicled each institution's response to the pressures being brought during this period to move from local sources of support to more urban and national ones. His findings indicated that at each institution personalities, governing structures, traditions, and the nature of the constituencies dictated a different response. At Bucknell the president was given freedom to pursue and cater to new sources of support, while Swarthmore remained close to its original mission until 1902. At Franklin and Marshall authorities were willing to sacrifice expansion to retain distinctiveness.

### Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter dealt with four areas. The first area was that of admissions. Research in admissions during the time under investigation in this study was discussed. The period from World War II to approximately 1965 was labeled by Willingham (1980) as the meritocratic era in college admissions. Research focused on who was going to college, (Sanders and Palmer, 1965; Medsher and Trent, 1965; Dawson and Kaye, 1962) and what college was like for those who went (Pace and Stern, 1958; Pace, 1960, 1963). Research also focused on the admissions office and the establishment of the admissions officer as a professional in higher education administration (Hauser and Lazarsfeld, 1964). Toward the end of the meritocratic era some

researchers began to look at the admissions process itself. Studies were conducted hypothesizing that blacks scored significantly lower on standardized testing, and concern was expressed regarding the widespread dependence of admissions officers upon their use. (Clark and Plotkin, 1963; Cleary, 1966; Roberts, 1962).

The second era labeled by Willingham was the egalitarian era from about 1965-1980. The research in the beginning of this era was born out of the civil rights movement and many studies were conducted which attempted to prove the efficacy of using personal qualities, such as leadership and talents, as a basis for college admission (Holland and Nichols, 1964; Hoyt, 1965).

Willingham and Breland conducted a very comprehensive study on personal qualities and determined that approximately 25 percent of an admissions evaluation will be based upon personal qualities, and the other 75 percent will be based upon academic credentials. Other research supported these findings that academic performance in high school is the single most important element in admissions decisions (AACRAO/CEEB, 1980).

The other area of focus in admissions research in the past fifteen years was on marketing and recruiting strategies. This was a result of a declining population of 18-24 year olds. Much of this research indicates that *identification of image is an important element in the development of recruiting strategies* (Grabowski, 1981).

A review of the literature focusing upon selective admissions yielded some surprising results. Hartnett and Feldmesser (1980) reported that fully one-third of the academic institutions in this country admit more than 90 percent of their applicants, and Moll (1979) contended that about 40 colleges

routinely admit one out two of their applicants, and only about six only admit one out of five.

The literature reviewed which dealt with institutional image focused on the importance of image to the admissions effort because self-selection is strongly related to the public images of institutions (Clark et al, 1972). The more salient the image, and the more distinctive the college, the greater the degree of influence exerted by that image (Clark, 1972; Morey, 1971).

Another focus of research on institutional image sought to assess the image as perceived by various constituencies; potential applicants (Bertsch, 1982; Conchran and Hengstler, 1983), applicants (Maguire and Lay, 1981), and present students (Sternberg and Davies, 1978). Various assessment measures were employed and discussed; case study (Mitzman, 1979), the College Characteristics Index (Morey, 1971), the use of forced choice in adjective pairs (Heath, 1981; Sternberg and Davies, 1978) and Likert scales on various attributes (Maguire and Lay, 1981). All pointed to the conclusion that the perception of institutional image is apparently an important element in understanding the selection process of students admitted to select colleges.

Much of the research, particularly that dealing with image assessment, used questionnaire research as a measurement technique. Thelin (1976) identified limitations inherent in surveys and questionnaires and called upon researchers to develop more creative and innovative unobtrusive measures of assessment. One particularly graphic example of unobtrusive assessment was offered by Meister (1982) in his descriptive study of Amherst and Hampshire.

Case studies of academic institutions were reviewed, finding this method employed to chronicle the history of the little white schoolhouse in Kentucky

(Hartford, 1977), to study university governance (Dill, 1971), to trace the development of a junior college (Clark, 1960), and to provide illustration of differences discovered in the study of different types of institutions (Riesman and Jencks, 1961).

Interviews have limited use in historical research (limited to the number still alive who remember the period under investigation). However, interviews were central to the chronicle of the little white schoolhouse (Hartford, 1977).

The review of archival research found, in addition to the research presented on William and Mary, several comprehensive studies which used academic institutional research. An exhaustive search of alumni records was completed by Angelo (1979) to determine the social mobility of graduates of two very different institutions. Thelin (1976) extensively used archival sources to support his description of the growth of the collective identity of the Ivy League. Leslie examined the evolution of the denominational college through the turn of the century by searching the archives of three institutions. (1977).

The literature review of studies relating to William and Mary yielded disappointing results, especially considering the age and historical significance of the institution. However, one study was particularly related to the area presently under investigation. Smith (1980), in an unpublished dissertation, traced the pattern of image or identity of the College through the years 1865-1920. His thesis was that reliance upon, and intense publicity, about the historical image of William and Mary was directly related to the lack of prestige suffered by the institution when it became primarily a teacher training institution in 1888. Smith described the historical development of the institution, and noted that the College after 1888 continued to exploit its ante-

bellum traditions as the basis for its public identity. Smith concluded this was used to attract generous benevolence from a public enamoured with ante-bellum Virginia, and to inspire the students to develop high minded and productive lives. The evoking of historical traditions did not attract the hoped for financial support, however, and as a result, the traditional identity of the institution once again assumed a less exaggerated and more natural role in College affairs.

In summary, the topic of investigation of the Institutional image of William and Mary as a selective institution, and the effect of that image upon the admissions processes over the last 35 years, will add to the research in these four areas. The admissions process at William and Mary will be traced to ascertain whether it followed the Willingham theory of meritocratic and egalitarian eras. The image patterns will be identified and compared to admissions and enrollment data to measure the impact of image upon self-selection and selection. And, the research will follow the Smith investigation which defined and explained the institutional image of William and Mary before 1920. The case study method will be employed using unobtrusive measures, interviewing and archival research.

## Chapter 3

### Methodology

In his innovative work on image and self-selection, Clark (1968) suggested that a college's public image determines in large measure the particular students who enter. He noted that research on the character of a college has been overlooked, and is a basic link in the complex matter of the development of colleges. He called for research to identify the public images of colleges, to show how the images were determined, and to trace their effect. He stated:

One necessary step is intensive historical analysis of a few colleges that have highly salient images of academic quality. The central matter is to identify the ways in which such colleges have constructed and communicated desired images, how they happen to initiate and maintain a "snowballing" effect of reputation and student quality. Contrary to expectations, colleges can and have achieved positions of prominence in the face of ghastly financial and administrative difficulties. Their achievement apparently entailed a commitment to an exciting and identifiable objective or style of life and a dissemination, intentional and unintentional, of the fact of this commitment. There are different, specific ways for a college to obtain high academic quality and status . . . but probably common among these ways is a distinctive commitment that attracts the outsider and binds the participant. Historical



analysis needs to show how the rise and persistence of distinct image can affect the recruitment patterns of a college over a period of time, as for example, in moving from a locally to a nationally based student body (p. 189).

In order to accomplish exactly what Clark stipulates, the methodology of the study combined two forms of research. One was a narrative case study which attempted to identify and describe the evolving saga of William and Mary's selectivity through the years 1946-1980. The other focus allowed the analysis of admission and enrollment records of those years to support or refute the image of selectivity which was being generated by the College and/or its publics.

Because of the dearth of secondary sources available which recount the history of William and Mary, extensive use was made of the rich and abundant primary sources available through the College. Sources examined in detail included: Self-Study reports produced in 1953, 1964, and 1974, admissions publications including catalogues and brochures from the inclusive years, convocation ceremonies, faculty newsletters (published until 1971), student yearbooks and newspapers, alumni newspapers and questionnaires. Personal correspondence and oral histories were reviewed and interviews were conducted with the first Dean of Admissions of the College who was appointed in 1949 (and who served as assistant to the Dean of Men in charge of admissions from 1946), and the second Dean of Admissions who served from 1962 to 1980.

The Self-Study reports provided extensive information regarding the philosophy of the president in power during each period, and provided the formal statement of the organizational mission of the institution. They were

also used as an unobtrusive measure (Thelin, 1976) to help evaluate the morale and degree of involvement of the faculty throughout the decades. Admissions publications were examined to determine what changes in policies were made as the numbers of applications increased throughout the period. The tone of the various publications provided insight into the self-image of the College. The student publications, The Flat Hat (the newspaper), and The Colonial Echo (the yearbook) also provided information about the changing life styles of the students and their image of the institution. The The Flat Hat was traditionally the voice of the opposition, and The Colonial Echo provided the glorified and stereotypic view of college life.

Because convocation ceremonies were attended by both students and faculty they were often used by the presidents as a forum for addressing major issues, and for clarifying their positions on future goals and directions. Of particular help and significance was the fact that only two men, H. Westcott Cunningham and Robert Hunt, had served as Deans of Admission during the period. They provided a definitive perspective of the evolution of the admissions structure, and offered insight and judgements into the decision making process. They also were able to make comparisons of the admissions situation over longer periods of time.

A logical division for the narrative was the period directly after World War II when the College was educating great numbers of young men on the G.I. Bill, and after that a decade by decade progression – the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s. The plan for the work was seen as a three dimensional matrix. Within the matrix, the image of the institution as traced through the primary sources, was related to the perception of that image by various publics as seen

through the media, and through the analysis of the admissions credentials and enrollment numbers of the era.

Examination of admissions and enrollment records provided a year-by-year comparison of data including; number of applications, number accepted, number enrolled for in and out of state males and females. Academic credentials of applicants were compared including, ranks in class, and SAT scores.

The method of data analysis utilized a modified single case research design. The goal of single case research design is to measure or trace the effects of some intervention upon the behavior of the subject. Kazdin (1982) stated, that although single case research has usually been employed with one or a few subjects, it is not necessarily a characteristic of the design and the methodology has been used to evaluate procedures in which the actual or potential subjects include thousands of subjects.

In this case, the subject population was the entering freshman classes of 1946-1980. Line graphs were drawn to depict the admissions credentials of each class. Evaluation of the data was through visual inspection rather than statistical analysis. Kazdin notes that visual inspection was generally a pivotal characteristic of this type of research. The visual inspection was used to evaluate changes in mean, for example in SAT scores, and to evaluate trends, for example the percentage of applicants admitted.

The line graphs (depicting the behavior) were discussed in relation to the narrative data which was compiled to identify and trace the predominant image of the institution being generated and perceived by and for the institution (the intervention).

All graphs were depicted year-by-year and were also compiled for each of four groups, in-state, out-of-state/males and females. Specific simple line graphs included:

(1) number applied.

(2) percentage admitted.

(3) applicant yield

(4) SAT scores for years since 1961 when the College joined the College Entrance Examination Board. A range of SATs was also be given in a histogram.

(5) ranks in class. (a range of ranks was given in a histogram).

## Chapter 4

It is the purpose of this chapter to trace, in narrative form, the development of an image of selectivity and distinction at the College of William and Mary. The goal is to provide historical analysis that will "show how the rise and persistence of distinct image can affect the recruitment patterns over a period of time, as for example, in moving from a locally to a nationally based student body" (Clark, 1968, p.189).

Many factors converge to create an image of a college, but in reviewing the history of William and Mary, the following four factors emerged as being central to the development of this image of selectivity:

- (1) The restoration of Colonial Williamsburg.
- (2) The organizational ideologies of the presidents of the College for the period under discussion.
- (3) The admissions standards, policies, and processes which were operating during the period.
- (4) The student body- the credentials, background, and quality of life of the groups who attended William and Mary from 1946-1980.

### Colonial Williamsburg Restoration

As a result of the devastation of the Civil War, William and Mary struggled for more than three-quarters of a century to regain its past glory. The burning of the College, and the destruction of most of its endowment

during the War nearly destroyed the institution. In 1865, the College president, Benjamin Ewell, reported to the Board of Visitors that the portraits, the Charter, and the Great Seal had survived the fire. Only a few symbols of its past, the favorable image of its historic associations and its unique contributions to public life were secure (BOV Minutes, July 5, 1865). From 1881 to 1888, the College finally closed its doors for lack of funds. During these "silent years" of William and Mary's history Colonel Ewell secured for himself an enduring role in the saga of the College. Residing on a farm in a nearby county, he would drive in at the beginning of each academic session to ring the College bell as a symbol of the continued legal existence of the Royal Charter, and of his undying conviction that the heritage of William and Mary should not expire (McCaskie, 1962).

A glimpse of the College's condition was provided in a letter written after a visit to campus in 1887 by Mrs Daniel Coit Gilman, wife of the first president of Johns Hopkins University.

It is a most pathetic place full of the past with no present but one of dreary decay, and no future. The poor old college has been burnt several times, and has grown poorer and poorer until it could no longer support a faculty, so the students have gone and Colonel Ewell, the last President is left alone. (letter from Mrs Daniel Coit Gilman, 1887) (ADC Papers, Restoration)

When the College reopened in 1888, it was with an annual appropriation of \$10,000 from the Virginia General Assembly for training male public school teachers (Vital Facts, 1983). During this initial phase of its revival, the College would survive almost on its historical traditions alone. In an unpublished

dissertation, Smith (1980) hypothesized that:

. . . the leaders of the College fashioned its historical achievements into a dynamic institutional tradition in an effort to compensate for the loss of status experienced in the adoption of the teacher-training mission. By making the accomplishments and values of its illustrious alumni a central part of the educational ethos, the College leadership hoped to fashion an institutional identity capable of inspiring both student performance and public benefaction. (p. 211)

While Smith concluded that this approach did not significantly influence the legislature, it did help the College to attract applicants for admission and its emphasis on the Jeffersonian ideals helped to shape student goals and values. The faculty could inspire the students with the historical traditions but they could not convey that image to the outside publics. It was difficult to convey the *aura of the glorious William and Mary past* when the physical environment and facilities were in such a serious state of disrepair. The impact of its sad physical appearance was related in an incident involving Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, then a leading educator and president of the University of Virginia. In 1905, the College solicited John D. Rockefeller for a gift to its academic program and Rockefeller asked Dr. Alderman for advice. Dr. Alderman advised Mr. Rockefeller not to endow William and Mary because: (1) the College was located in an unhealthy area; (2) its institutional strength was not sufficient to merit the grant; and (3) the University of Virginia was about to absorb the College in forming a new system of higher education in the Commonwealth. As a result, William and Mary received a \$20,000 grant and the University received

\$100,000 (Smith, 1980).

Not until J.A.C. Chandler was appointed the nineteenth president of William and Mary in 1919 did the College find a leader strong enough to develop its public image. Soon after his inauguration, Mr. Chandler took the first step in this process by initiating a sophisticated fund-raising effort to repair and expand the campus facilities. In connection with this effort, Mr. Chandler recruited Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin, then pastor of Bruton Parish Church, to serve as his development officer. Their partnership would unite the energy and ideas of two strong-willed men in a remarkable enterprise which would result in the complete restoration of the College and eventually the entire town of Williamsburg in less than one decade. Their plan for development was set forth in a fund-raising brochure published for distribution in 1924. This booklet entitled Romance and Renaissance of the College of William and Mary in Virginia was significant for its professional quality and its glimpse of the condition of the campus before the restoration. For example, it contained a series of photographs of existing structures which were compared in the text with a series of architectural sketches of buildings planned for the future. Rogers Hall, which would become the main science building on the campus, was included in the form of an architect's sketch and compared with the dilapidated galvanized iron metal building then being used as a science building.

To emphasize the needs of the College, the pamphlet would note that the enrollment had increased to nearly 900 students by 1924, and yet the buildings and equipment were the same as those which existed when the student body numbered less than two hundred. A note of urgency was added with the photograph of an army barracks, abandoned at one of the local munitions plants



after World War I and moved to the campus, where it served a "temporary" dormitory to accommodate the recent influx of students.

All of the needs of the College were catalogued in a chart at the end of the pamphlet and divided into two sections. The first part listed the need for \$2.5 million in capitol funds to repair and develop the main campus. The second section was a list of endowments ranging from scholarships to professorships and totaling more than \$2.9 million. Taken together, the \$5.5 million dollar development plan was to be a two-fold effort designed to secure (1) the capitol funds needed to restore and develop the main campus, and (2) an endowment drive focusing on the needs of the academic program.

Armed with this plan of action, Dr. Goodwin set out to find a donor who could make a gift at that level. In view of the condition and status of William and Mary at that time, it was a remarkably ambitious undertaking. But within two years Dr. Goodwin had found his donor, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the restoration of the College was underway. Writing to his trusted aide, Colonel Arthur Woods, Mr. Rockefeller set forth his plan as follows:

It is my desire and purpose to carry out this enterprise completely and entirely. Such accomplishment involves in general terms the acquiring of substantially all of the property on the Duke of Gloucester Street from the House of Burgesses to the College grounds, the acquiring of much other property, the building of a new Inn and of new buildings for business purposes, and the rebuilding of the Sir Christopher Wren Building on the College campus. The purpose of this undertaking is to restore Williamsburg, so far as it may be possible, to what it was in the old

colonial days and to make it a great center for historical study and inspiration.

The purpose of this letter is to authorize my office to finance this entire program whether it costs three or four or even five millions of dollars. (C.W. News, November 27, 1976)

While his intentions with regard to the restoration of the town were quite clear, Mr. Rockefeller never made a similar commitment to the College. And while many alumni and friends of the College would assume that he would eventually endow the College in the same manner as the town, he continued to carefully avoid making any commitments to the College.

Meanwhile the Restoration moved forward at a furious pace. By 1934, sixty-four colonial buildings had been restored, eighty-four had been rebuilt on their colonial foundations, and over 450 buildings of modern construction had been torn down or removed from the colonial area.

With millions of dollars of his support flowing into the Restoration, Mr. Rockefeller would exert a strong influence on the leadership of the town and the College. But like an aging relative who knew the value of keeping the family guessing, Mr. Rockefeller never made a major commitment to the College beyond the promise of restoration of its colonial buildings in the Wren Yard. An example of this ambivalence toward the College may be noted in a letter sent by Mr. Rockefeller to John Stewart Bryan in 1934. Urging Bryan to accept the presidency of William and Mary, Rockefeller stated that:

under your wise leadership, to work out the private ownership and intellectual and cultural programs which in my judgement would make William and Mary a unique and outstanding institution in the

country. I am earnestly hoping you may . . . accept temporarily the presidency of the college. If that is not possible, the door to this important change which is not open will apparently be closed for a long time to come. (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller, Jr.)

Rockefeller further stated that it was his understanding that a considerable group within the Board of Visitors would like to see the College become an "outstanding center of intellectual life and culture under private ownership and management." He noted that Dr. Chandler had asked for his support (apparently asking for a six to eight million dollar commitment), but Rockefeller emphatically stated in this letter that he could not make any contribution whatsoever because of his large expenditure in the restoration of Williamsburg (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller, Jr.). Mr. Bryan's reply, dated July 2, 1934 acknowledged Mr. Rockefeller's powerful influence. Mr. Bryan stated that he had definitely decided not to accept the presidency but "when I received your letter my resolution was shaken, and when I had a talk with you on the telephone it was overthrown" (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller, Jr.). In addition to convincing Mr. Bryan to become president, it appeared that Kenneth Chorley, then president of the Williamsburg Restoration, Inc., actually set the October 20, 1934 date for Bryan's inauguration because it was convenient for Mr. Rockefeller and for N.B.C. coverage of the event. He also informed the Bursar, Charles Duke, that morning ceremonies would be more appropriate because an afternoon event would run into football games. (JSB Papers, Restoration).

Another early influence was mentioned in correspondence from Mr. Chorley to Mr. Bryan authorizing Mr. Bela Norton, then Director of Public

Relations of Williamsburg Restoration, Inc. to give "a limited amount of time to assist in developing the policies of a new department of public relations at the college" (JSB Papers, Restoration).

And, as early as 1934, an academic association began which has flourished to present day. In a letter dated November 19, 1934, Harold R. Shurtleff, Director of Research and Record for the Restoration, outlined to President Bryan his ideas for a series of historical lectures which they had previously discussed. These lectures were to be offered to the public, and would be given by William and Mary history professors including Professor Richard L. Morton, then head of the history department. In this lengthy epistle, Mr. Shurtleff relied on historical saga and traditions as justification for this intellectual cooperation. He noted :

As you know at the heyday of the College's intellectual power, there was a very close connection between the faculty and the more brilliant students of the College on one side, and the intellectuals, like Fauquier and Wythe, of the town on the other. A connection which I suspect had a great deal to do with the intellectual training and liberal leanings of the young Virginians who later were to put Virginia so notably in the forefront of social and humanitarian reform in this country after the Revolution. (JSB Papers, Williamsburg Restoration, July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935)

A much more ambitious and closer association was outlined by Professor Morton in a memorandum to President Bryan (at Bryan's request) dated November 23, 1937. Mr. Morton cautioned both institutions to avoid duplication of effort and all rivalries in the interest of the public good. He then noted that

research in any field required a good general library and that since a college is the logical and more congenial place for such work, that all the research and educational work of the Restoration should be merged with the work of the College. To coordinate this work, a center for the study of colonial life in America should be established at the College (funded by the Restoration). He then outlined in great detail the library which would be at the heart of this center for the study of colonial life, including the type of books which should be in the collection and specified that "such a collection would require a modern fireproof, air conditioned college library with separate browsing rooms . . . for students and others. It should contain facilities for the work of the scholar . . . such as seminar rooms and study alcoves—each furnished with projection equipment etc." Morton's justification again called upon the historical antecedents central to the college.

The improvement of the colonial College . . . is the only way to make the colonial Restoration complete. The College is an unbroken link with the past. It has great traditions for inspiring future generations of this country. Many students are already brought to it by its history and by the fame of the Restoration. The picture which the world gets of the old city ending with a college which, although the standards of teaching and equipment have made remarkable progress within recent years, still lacks those elements of perfection typified by the Restoration including the three buildings which have been restored in its ancient yard. By this plan, the Restoration would not only be a great museum of eighteenth century art, architecture and social history in general,

but would also, by joining hands with the revitalized College, greatly extend its influence in the whole world of academic scholarship. (JSB Papers, Restoration, July 1, 1937-June 30, 1940)

This proposal is important because it identified the saga which was an important part of the internal structure of the College. Professor Morton not only made the point that the Restoration could enhance the image of the College, but that the College, because of its image, could lend dignity and intellectual scholarship to the Restoration.

In a letter dated December 8, 1937, President Bryan outlined to Mr. Rockefeller an expanded and even more ambitious version of Professor Morton's proposal. Mr. Bryan noted that no visitor to his (restored) house ever failed to inquire about the future of the Restoration, and added that many question the "delimitations" between the activities of the Restoration and the College of William and Mary in the fields of art, of research and "kindred matters." Acknowledging that he had, heretofore, hesitated to make any proposal regarding the Restoration because "it is an enterprise with which William and Mary has no direct connection . . . but the more I study the future of the Restoration, the plainer does it become to me that the College might commend itself to you as one of the final Trustees of the Restoration." His reasoning supposed that:

. . . the Restoration and the College have parallel interests in the realms of the humanities and of the social services. The College, with its traditions of Jefferson, Marshall and Wythe, should become a selective school for the training of men in public administration, in public service as legislators and in the duties of citizenship. It

should be active in history, in economics and in political service to a degree that should, in time, create in young Americans the same zeal and devotion displayed by graduates of William and Mary in the last third of the eighteenth century. This ideal is one to which, as to perhaps no other, the Restoration is dedicated in your own mind. (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller, Jr.)

Bryan then proposed the formation of an Institute of American Life (noting, however, that the title was not important) which would have on its board representatives named in approximately equal numbers by the Restoration and by the College of William and Mary.

The Institute governed in this manner and adequately endowed . . . would (1) manage the Restoration properties; (2) direct researches for the Restoration; (3) be the trustee of its manuscripts and other collections; and (4) supply funds for instructions in certain of the social sciences (notably in history and political science) at William and Mary.

With regard to item four, Mr. Bryan pointed out that the Institute would not be responsible for the instruction. "It would leave that to the College. Its function would be to provide the funds for a higher type of instruction than is now possible with limited funds, and second, to arrange for the utilization by the faculty, the advanced college students, and other investigators of the research materials collected by the Restoration and vice-versa." In conclusion, Mr. Bryan stated that "In Williamsburg there are no milling crowds, no slums, no belching factories. The student for four priceless years is saturated with beauty, environed with peace, accompanied by gentlemen and ladies, and

instructed by teachers of devotion and learning. It was this setting and this spirit that taught the fathers of this country. The same combination can and will inculcate citizenship today." Mr. Bryan then assured Mr. Rockefeller that any positive reaction from him would not be misconstrued as a commitment for financial support, acknowledging that he (Mr. Rockefeller) had made his position abundantly clear in that regard when he accepted the presidency of the College (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller, Jr.).

Just as Mr. Bryan's predecessors (as discussed by Smith) discovered that the evocation of historical traditions did not always accomplish what they desired, Mr. Bryan did not convince Mr. Rockefeller to make the College a Trustee of the Restoration. In a memorandum to the file dated September 12, 1939, Mr. Bryan recounted what happened to his proposal.

Mr. Rockefeller waited a long time to reply to my suggestion, and in September, 1938 he read me a very lengthy letter, which he said he preferred not to give me in written form. In effect, this reply stated that he did not know what he was going to do with the Restoration and then, after many other words, he stated that he was not going to give it to William and Mary. (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller, Jr.)

The idea that the College might receive some support from the Rockefeller Foundation created a controversy in Williamsburg in 1939. Vernon Geddy, Vice-President of Williamsburg Restoration Inc. and a prominent alumnus of the College delivered an address at an alumni luncheon in June, 1939 which implied that there was a possibility that John D. Rockefeller, or one of his foundations, might be interested in endowing the college, and divorcing it



from state control. From newspaper accounts, Mr. Geddy was quoted as saying "The golden hour of William and Mary is at hand. Two roads lie before us. One of state ownership and control, another of private ownership and independence" (Newport News Daily Press, June 11, 1939). Immediately, editorials appeared in the Richmond Times Dispatch, the Newport News Daily Press, and the Portsmouth Star urging William and Mary and Mr. Bryan to actively seek this endowment which could have the same effect on William and Mary that the Duke endowment had on Trinity College (now Duke University). A Portsmouth Star editorial stated, "To what finer purpose, after all, could great wealth be put than in the endowment of William and Mary whose great work could thus be spread over a wider area and whose advantages in higher education could thus be extended to a far larger number than limited facilities of today permit" (June 6, 1939).

Mr. Bryan, however, understood from various correspondence that Mr. Rockefeller could not be counted upon for financial support. Mr. Bryan was, therefore, extremely upset by this speech, and went to see Vernon Geddy to determine the specific facts. He wrote a memorandum to the file dated September 21, 1939 in which he recounted that meeting. "I said to him (Mr. Geddy) that I was much troubled by these reports (of large amounts of money available to the College from Mr. Rockefeller) which were going around town, and that I could not see in them any other purpose or effect than a severe criticism of myself in that I had failed to carry forward the welfare of William and Mary." Mr. Bryan further stated that Mr. Geddy's personal opinion of him was of no concern to him but that "his connection with Mr. Rockefeller gave his comments a weight which made his suggestion appear a statement of fact." A

lengthy report followed which in effect said that Mr. Geddy continued to assert that there was eight to ten million dollars available to William and Mary but that no acceptable plan for its use had been presented. Mr. Geddy could offer no proof, and Mr. Bryan outlined to him the various approaches he had made to Mr. Rockefeller on behalf of the College. Mr. Geddy, for his part, while protesting his love for William and Mary evidently felt that the College would never be a success until it got rid of its women students and free from the state. "Apparently he had no plan for doing it except wishing it." Although Mr. Bryan concluded his memo by saying "we parted amicable" it was apparent that neither Bryan nor Geddy was convinced of the truth of the others' assertions (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller).

In July of 1939, a memorandum was prepared but never sent by Mr. Bryan for R. B. Posdick who was the director of a Rockefeller educational foundation. In that memorandum Mr. Bryan stated:

the most pressing consideration . . . is the future purpose and direction of the College itself. This direction under a president and board of visitors will depend upon the course which the College finally chooses. The plans and administration of an unpretentious coeducational institution drawing its student body especially from Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts . . . with practically no representation from the Southern states, would naturally differ widely from the objectives of a men's college devoted to the study and application of these principles of government, of law, of modern needs, and of successful administration which the sons of William and Mary illuminated and

used so brilliantly in the foundation of the Republic. (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller )

Mr. Bryan's image of *William and Mary* was apparently in keeping with Mr. Rockefeller's of that period. In another memorandum to the file, dated April 29, 1941 Mr. Bryan recounted a conversation with Mr. Rockefeller which took place at "Basset Hall" the Rockefeller home in Williamsburg. He noted that:

Mr. Rockefeller continued by saying that he felt I had done a very fine job . . . and he thought it was interesting to note I understood that my gifts, whatever they were, did not lie in the line of intensive knowledge of educational planning. Mr. Rockefeller continued that for his own part he saw the future of *William and Mary* as an institution which did not claim to cover the whole field but did claim that whatever work it did was done as well as similar work done elsewhere in this country. He said that what that special field was he would not pretend to say, (but) that there must be some field in which *William and Mary* was better qualified than in others, and it might be better qualified than any other college in America. (JSB Papers, J.D. Rockefeller)

While there may have been questions in the minds of some observers regarding the excellence or distinction of the College at that time, there was no hesitation about the growing reputation of Colonial Williamsburg as a recruiting influence for the College. As early as June 1934 an article appeared in The Daily Home News, a New Jersey newspaper noting that twenty-two youngsters from the area (New York and New Jersey) had graduated that June

from William and Mary. The article continued:

Without, we think, the dignity of Rutgers, William and Mary is a fine institution and it is natural that it should attract students . . . . But was its standing and tradition the only reason? Was the fact that William and Mary is located in Williamsburg, Virginia the land's only living historical community, also responsible? These twenty-two students are in early on one of mankind's greatest works. They have lived, while receiving their education on a great stage. The Restoration is mostly complete now, but time will make it more mellow. Time will give Williamsburg a greater appeal, eventually perhaps, William and Mary will be unable to accommodate all the young men and women who will want their education while living in the charm of past centuries. (JSB Papers, Publicity 1935-36)

This article is an example of the positive influence the Restoration would have upon the image of William and Mary as an institution.

Beginning in 1935, there is evidence that Colonial Williamsburg was interested in William and Mary's student participation in the historical area. A letter from Charles Duke, Burser, to a Colonial Williamsburg employee detailed the first Restoration Open House for William and Mary students, noting that *each student would be furnished with cards of admission to the exhibition buildings*. Mr. Duke also mentioned that the students were to be given one *excused absence from class for every restored building visited* because as he stated, "I do not see how a visit to the magnificent restored buildings can help being a source of inspiration and stimulation to the students of the College. (JSB Papers, Williamsburg Restoration, July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935). This

practice was to become more formalized through the years. Eventually, Colonial Williamsburg would entertain the William and Mary freshman at a special reception at the Governors' Palace during orientation week, as well as issuing a free visitors' pass to each student. The Palace reception was discontinued for financial reasons during the mid-1970's.

By 1940, the College and Colonial Williamsburg were jointly sponsoring visits to Williamsburg by large high school groups. In a letter, dated January 2, 1940, from Charles Duke to Vernon Geddy, Mr. Duke thanked Mr. Geddy for Colonial Williamsburg's help in entertaining 3,146 high school students who had visited from sixty five high schools. Mr. Duke noted, "After thinking over the affair it seems to me that its most significant feature is . . . that the schools have a very real appreciation of the educational and inspirational value of Colonial Williamsburg." He suggested that the success of this venture indicated that there were possibilities in this direction for strengthening and broadening the influence of both the Restoration and the College and concluded, "I know the visit has contributed substantially to the College in good will and public attention, and I also know that the wide spread response to the invitation was due to the Restoration's cooperation in allowing the students to view the buildings (JSB Papers, Male Enrollment).

Again in 1941, Mr. Duke, in a similar thank you letter, commented on the ideal of bringing high school students to Williamsburg. "I am convinced that this idea has fine possibilities for both the College and the Restoration, and I am sure it will be a useful and instructive program as far as student visitors are concerned. Besides, it gives us an opportunity to work with the Restoration, and I for one believe we should encourage frequent opportunities to do this"

(JSB Papers, Restoration).

Mr. Bryan's Report to the Board of Visitors in 1936 also acknowledged the positive influence the Restoration would have upon the image of the College. "I have no doubt that the improvement of our teaching facilities, the increase of our reputation, and the widespread attention that is drawn to the College by reason of the Williamsburg Restoration and the advertising this section of the country has received, are bound to increase the appeal of the College and give us a wider field from which to draw students" (JSB Report, 1936, p.14).

By 1942 when John E. Pomfret became President of the College, all of the elements were in place for a continuing mutually advantageous relationship between Colonial Williamsburg and the College. Personal and frequent contact was maintained between the two presidents, and Bela Norton, Vice-President of Colonial Williamsburg continued to serve in a public relations capacity for the College until 1948.

While Mr. Bryan's proposal for an Institute of American Life was not accepted by Mr. Rockefeller, it was the beginning of a significant cooperative effort which was to bring national attention to the College. In December, 1943 the Institute of Early American History and Culture was formed to unite the historical activities of the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.. Each contributed certain highly valuable assets. Colonial Williamsburg provided its Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies, its valuable manuscript collection, and research funding; the College contributed the renowned William and Mary Quarterly founded in 1892 by Lyon Tyler, then president of the College. Until the end of the war, collaboration continued on

an informal basis, and in October 1945, the Institute was formally organized, and began working toward the following objectives: (1) to re-awaken a lively interest in the early period of American history; (2) to recreate a living civilization of the past for the guidance of present day Americans; (3) to encourage and assist writers and scholars in their studies and research; (4) to maintain accepted standards of historical accuracy and integrity; (5) to preserve for the future the fundamental and enduring contributions of the founders of the Republic; (6) to contribute to the maintenance and furtherance of democracy by a continuous examination of its origins (JEP Papers, Institute of Early American History and Culture). While many benefits would flow to William and Mary from the Restoration, most observers would point to the Institute as the most important contribution to the scholarship at the College.

The war years of the early 1940's were very difficult for Colonial Williamsburg. Shortages of materials, scarcity of labor and the rationing of gasoline sharply curtailed the number of visitors coming to Williamsburg. To encourage visitation, Colonial Williamsburg instituted a program of student tours for elementary and secondary school children in Virginia. For a special fee of \$2.75, the school children could get dinner, lodging for one night, and breakfast the next morning. More than 2,500 pupils visited Williamsburg in the first year of the program, and by the 1946-47 school year, the number grew to 16,801 (CW News, 50th Anniversary Issue, November 27, 1976).

On October 12, 1944, Mr. Chorley wrote, "I have been wondering lately how much Colonial Williamsburg really contributes to the students of the College of William and Mary. My guess is we do not contribute nearly as much as we should." He stated further that he wanted to appoint a joint committee

with representatives from the College and the Restoration to look into the question. He concluded, "I really think that if we got together . . . and this matter was gone into we might find that we could develop an interesting program that would be very worthwhile" (JEP Papers, Restoration). Mr. Pomfret's reply of October 27, 1944 was, perhaps, not as specific as Mr. Chorley might have desired. He stated that he agreed with the idea of forming a committee, but beyond a first step of inviting selected groups of preparatory and high school students to the College for the weekend "the situation becomes hazy." Mr. Pomfret offered another suggestion for Colonial Williamsburg to sponsor lectures "on a mature level" and open them to William and Mary students, and he noted that eighteenth century musical programs and art exhibits might be "singularly attractive features to large groups of upperclassmen" (JEP Papers, Restoration). Mr. Chorley's reply of November 7, 1944 was somewhat curt. He mentioned Mr. Pomfret's suggestion of inviting high school students to visit charging, "It seems to me that this is a quite different question than the one I raised . . . Important as such a program might be [to acquaint] high school students with the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg, I do not think we ought to confuse it with the program of seeing what Colonial Williamsburg can do for the students at the College" (JEP Papers, Restoration). Mr. Pomfret's suggestion about high school visitation was no doubt prompted by the internal situation of the College at that time regarding recruiting activities, particularly of male Virginians. This situation will be further clarified in a later discussion. Obviously, Mr. Chorley was not to be dissuaded from his original intention. He wrote again on this subject on May 17, 1946. He quoted verbatim his entire letter of October 12, 1944 and



concluded, "I do not feel we have accomplished a great deal in the last two years and I really am sincere when I say that I feel Colonial Williamsburg can make a contribution to the students" (JEP Papers, Restoration). The next year, 1947, a letter was sent to all William and Mary students inviting them to visit the colonial area, and offering a free pass to all restored buildings. By the end of the year, 432 of the 600 College students had picked up their passes (CW News, 50th Anniversary Issue, November 26, 1976). Colonial Williamsburg was clearly more interested in advanced scholarship than in recruitment, although the College obviously wished to involve them in both areas.

An extensive proposal for the development of an historical museum training program was submitted to Mr. Pomfret by Edward Alexander, Director of the Education Division for Colonial Williamsburg on November 26, 1947. He noted that there was no adequate training facility in the principles of good historical museum work in this country, and suggested that Williamsburg was the perfect place for such a program because "the College is well known as a center of work in American History, not only because of its excellent faculty and well stocked library, but also because of the William and Mary Quarterly and the Institute of Early American History and Culture." And, in addition, "Colonial Williamsburg is considered to be one of the best museums of the historic house type in existence . . . ." He concluded, "As a result of the course, historical museum work in the country would be greatly improved and the College of William and Mary would achieve an added distinction as the center of this important field" (JEP Papers, Restoration). The proposal was submitted by Mr. Pomfret to Richard L. Morton, head of the history department who replied to him on January 16, 1948. He stated that he agreed in

principle with the idea but felt it would add expenses of a technical professional course designed "chiefly for a few graduate students." He offered an alternative curriculum to Mr. Alexander which was of a more general nature but differed "little from that suggested by Mr. Alexander." Mr. Alexander apparently disagreed because his reply of January 26, 1948 withdrew the proposal because "Morton's suggested curriculum makes it clear that many compromises would need to be made—compromises, which, I think, would weaken the project too much" (JEP Papers, Restoration).

This pursuit of student involvement in Colonial Williamsburg continued, and in September, 1950 Mr. Bela Norton wrote Mr. Pomfret to inform him of new ideas regarding freshman orientation week. He reported that Colonial Williamsburg was arranging a reception in the Governor's Palace, and that invitations were to be sent to the students' homes. He added "frankly, we have our fingers crossed because we realize that this innovation may not impress the freshman; it may be completely boring" (JEP Papers, Restoration). In fact, the program was most successful, and continued until the mid-seventies. At one point Colonial Williamsburg informed the College that it would have to curtail the activity for financial reasons, and the students expressly requested that they continue it. They did try to continue, but were forced to abandon the project for good in 1974 (TAG Papers, Colonial Williamsburg).

In November, 1945, Mr. Chorley wrote a letter to Mr. Pomfret suggesting extensive internal renovation and furnishing of the Wren Building with an eye toward opening it as an exhibition building. It would be included on the block ticket, but there would be no charge for admission since the building was state owned. The story of the Wren Building would be included in the publications of

Colonial Williamsburg. Mr. Chorley also mentioned in confidence that Colonial Williamsburg was making a study of its portraits, and he held out the possibility that the Gilbert Stuart portraits of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison might be displayed in the Gallery of a renovated Wren Building. This letter in Mr. Pomfret's papers was a typed draft because Mr. Chorley, who had written the original on November 5, 1945, recalled the original on November 11, 1945. A note to that effect is signed with Mr. Pomfret's initials on the top of the draft (JEP Papers, Restoration). The recall did not stop Mr. Pomfret, however, and on December 14, 1947 he wrote to Mr. Chorley formally requesting that the Wren Building be selected for an exhibition of portraits. Mr. Chorley's reply simply acknowledged receipt of the request, and outlined cost estimates for putting the Wren Building in "presentable condition for the portrait exhibition" (JEP Papers, Restoration).

A joint exhibition was held May 14-July 4, 1951 in the Wren Building to celebrate the date, May 15, 1776, when the House of Burgesses unanimously resolved to propose separation from Great Britain and to declare the Colonies free and independent. The Exhibit was called "They Gave Us Freedom", and requests for specific items for exhibition were sent to various organizations and museums over both Mr. Pomfret's and Mr. Chorley's signatures (JEP Papers, Restoration).

Perhaps the heyday of the spirit of cooperation between the College and the Restoration was achieved during the administration of Admiral Alvin Duke Chandler, 1951-60, for two reasons: (1) Mr. Chandler's father first launched the Restoration project with Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Rockefeller; (2) The 1950's were a time when both Colonial Williamsburg and the College were just beginning

their journeys toward the excellence and distinction. It appeared that Mr. Chorley (who served as President of the Restoration until 1958) and Mr. Chandler each felt the halo of the other's image would enhance his own. Their relationship spanned three areas of involvement: (1) the use and renovation of the restored buildings and the joint educational ventures and activities; (2) the disposition of visitors, particularly high school visitors to both Colonial Williamsburg and the College; (3) the personal relationship between the two and the involvement of Mr. Chandler in the ceremonial activities of Colonial Williamsburg.

Mr. Chandler assumed the presidency on October 11, 1951. In December, Mr. Chorley wrote to inform Mr. Chandler of the existence of a "Projects Committee," which met from time to time primarily for the purpose of "exploring new educational possibilities." This committee offered suggestions for four projects which "might be carried out on a joint basis." First was a suggestion that the College consider presenting a series of general lectures on Colonial Williamsburg. This suggestion was made because Mr. Alexander had spoken to a William and Mary class on Colonial Williamsburg and received a very favorable response from students, several of whom remarked that they wished the whole College could hear more about Colonial Williamsburg. A second joint project suggested was an elementary teacher workshop — a six week program (offered on a limited basis for the first time in the summer of 1950) carried on under the aegis of the College and involving Colonial Williamsburg, the National Park Service, and other historical organizations in providing "laboratory experiences" for elementary school teachers. A third joint project proposal was the result of the sharp increase in

the number of foreigners visiting America. Mr. Alexander noted that Colonial Williamsburg was most anxious to "develop a local orientation program of maximum effectiveness." Several faculty members had met with a community committee to discuss ways in which members of the faculty might work with foreign visitors. And the fourth joint project — the Museum Training Degree which he urged be examined again as a potentially important contribution to the College's educational program (ADC Papers, Restoration). Mr. Chandler's reply, dated December 11, 1951, assured Mr. Chorley of the College's sincere interest in Mr. Alexander's proposal "because it is our belief that cooperation of this nature will be of great benefit to the College and also of benefit to Colonial Williamsburg." Mr. Chandler appointed a faculty committee to work with Colonial Williamsburg's committee in handling the subjects under discussion (ADC Papers, Restoration).

In September 1952 Mr. Chorley, at Mr. Chandler's request, outlined his thoughts regarding ways of "bringing even closer together our mutual interests . . . because I feel that by working together, there is still a great deal that the College and Colonial Williamsburg can accomplish which will in turn redound to the credit of both institutions." Before discussing specific projects, Mr. Chorley made some interesting and important general observations. He first noted that one of the first things that attracted Mr. Rockefeller to undertake the restoration of Williamsburg was the fact that the three original buildings of the College of William and Mary were still standing. He further noted that the restoration of the Wren Building was the first restoration work which Mr. Rockefeller authorized Mr. Goodwin to carry out, and indicated how important the restoration, maintenance and interpretation of the original buildings had

always been to Colonial Williamsburg. However, Mr. Chorley wanted it understood that "while Colonial Williamsburg has the highest respect for the great traditions of the College, and while we believe in its opportunities for becoming one of, if not, the greatest of the small colleges in the country, our primary interest in the College is, and always has been in the field of restoration and . . . interpretation. That is the business in which we are engaged -- that is the sole reason for our being in Williamsburg." (ADC Papers, Restoration, Williamsburg). This letter was especially significant because Mr. Chorley was: (1) setting the limits on the relationship at an early stage of the Chandler presidency, and (2) defining the role of each institution in relation to each other. Mr. Chorley then outlined his specific plans for the future. With regard to the Wren Building, he stated that "it would be a great thing for the College and America if this building could be completely restored . . . and furnished as a building of this kind would have been" (in the eighteenth century). He firmly stated, however, this could not be accomplished as long as the College felt it necessary to use the building for its activities. "We have found . . . that it is not practical to exhibit an eighteenth century building, and at the same time, have it used for twentieth century purposes." He then mentioned The Brafferton and his hope that the interior of the building might "someday be put back as it was in the eighteenth century and completely furnished as it was in that period." In his discussion of the President's House he revealed "frankly Colonial Williamsburg did a half-baked job of restoration on the interior of this building -- a job of which we have never been very proud." But he cautioned that before any more restorations could be undertaken, the College would have to determine what the ultimate use of this building was

going to be. He quoted one of his (Chandler's) predecessors as saying, " 'Living in the President's house on the campus of the College of William and Mary is like living in the Information Booth in the middle of Grand Central Station. I should like to see the College build a house for the President off the campus in which the President would live; he would come back to the President's house on the campus a few times a year . . . for receptions, but during other times the house would be open to the public.' " Mr. Chorley continued, "it is clear that the restoration plans for the interior of this building would be quite different from the plan if the building were restored and continued to be occupied as the residence of the President." This notion of the President's House as an exhibition building was to receive more consideration during Dr. Paschall's tenure and will be discussed subsequently.

Mr. Chorley's final observation concerned the statue of Lord Botetourt which was standing in the Wren Yard. He urged the College to move it because it was deteriorating very quickly from exposure to the elements. Mr. Chorley's suggestion was that "perhaps some day the original statue might find its way back to its original home" (the Capitol Building in Williamsburg). However, he noted that his chief concern was the preservation of the statue, and concluded "we feel very strongly that the College has a real responsibility to take whatever steps are necessary to prevent further deterioration of such an historic monument before it is too late." Mr. Chorley ended this rather lengthy discourse by requesting that the Board of Directors and the President consider his suggestions when formulating a Master Plan for development which he understood was in the planning stages, and thanked Mr. Chandler for the opportunity to share his thoughts (ADC Papers, Restoration, Williamsburg).

None of the specific ideas mentioned by Mr. Chorley were implemented immediately although the Wren Building was opened on a limited basis in 1963, underwent extensive renovation in 1967, and was opened to public as an exhibition building in 1968. The President's House was renovated in various stages and is still being furnished, and the President still resides in it although both Dr. Paschall and Dr. Graves were offered the chance to move and declined. The statue of Lord Botetourt is now displayed on the first floor of Swem Library.

In 1952, relations between the College and Colonial Williamsburg were placed on a formal basis by the establishment of yet another joint committee consisting of three representatives from Colonial Williamsburg and three representatives of the College. The function of the committee was to explore areas of mutual interest to the two organizations, to initiate proposals, and to make recommendations in the name of the respective presidents and to report back to them (ADC Papers, Self-Study, Committee Report). This committee met on a regular basis. The members were College administrators and Colonial Williamsburg public relations officers. The purpose was outlined in a letter from Mr. Chandler to Kenneth Cleeton (Director of Summer School and Chairman of the 1954 Self-Study group) dated November 2, 1953: "The College and Colonial Williamsburg have formed a cooperative committee to work in certain fields in which they have an interest and to further the educational objectives of the College and Colonial Williamsburg" (ADC Papers, Colonial Williamsburg and College, Cooperative Committee Report). Regarding this committee, Mr. Chandler informed Mr. Chorley in a letter dated December 16, 1953 that the establishment of the committee had already developed a new



understanding between the two institutions. He suggested that during the first year the committee not have a primary objective, but should explore the educational objectives of Colonial Williamsburg and the College. "It is my belief that with the College of William and Mary in the position to award degrees and academic credit, eventually we will have a cooperative venture in education that will be most unusual in this country " (ADC Papers, Committee, Cooperative, Colonial Williamsburg and the College).

Mr. Chandler thought it important that the joint ventures and projects (between Colonial Williamsburg and the College) be a central part of the Self-Study that was being prepared in 1952. He wrote several memos requesting the information, and was finally rewarded with two replies giving the same information - one from Thomas Thorne, head of the Fine Arts Department, and one from Edward Alexander, Colonial Williamsburg Director, Division of Interpretation. Mr. Alexander's memorandum of January 7, 1952 was quite specific in outlining currently operating programs, and it appears that Colonial Williamsburg and the College were involved in several projects during that period. The six divisions of cooperative activities were:

(1) Institute of Early American History and Culture.

This was the most organized of the cooperative efforts. The activities of the Institute covered (a) historical research (b) The William and Mary Quarterly (c) acquisition of manuscripts and library (d) scholarly publications (e) grants-in-aid (f) certain advanced courses involving Colonial Williamsburg staff and College faculty.

(2) Teaching at the College.

Two Colonial Williamsburg architects were teaching a survey course in

architecture, and the curator was teaching a course in his field.

**(3) Use of Colonial Williamsburg by the College as a Historical Laboratory.**

Students were encouraged to visit the Restored Area and were provided with free passes. Freshman attended an orientation program at the Reception Center and a social reception held in the Palace during Freshman Week. Various other special events were held each year including visits by high school students.

**(4) College contributions to Colonial Williamsburg's Interpretation Program.**

College students participated in eighteenth century plays presented each fall and spring, and various college musicians regularly helped with eighteenth century music programs. Colonial Williamsburg research staff maintained regular contact with the William and Mary librarian and his staff who provided service and access to the fine American history collection at the library.

**(5) Arrangements Concerning the Old Campus.**

Colonial Williamsburg preserved and cared for the Wren Building, the President's House, the Brafferton and their grounds with the College paying part of the bill. Colonial Williamsburg also trained guides for the Wren Building.

**(6) Business functions.**

Colonial Williamsburg offered valuable student employment opportunities to College students. The work-study program jointly administered by College and Colonial Williamsburg covered employment in King's Arms Restaurant, the Goodwin Building, and the Williamsburg Theater.

Students were also employed as hosts and hostesses in the restored buildings, providing valuable educational opportunities.

Informal business connections included constant use of Colonial Williamsburg facilities by College students and their families. For example, Chownings Tavern was a favorite rendezvous for College students where games and singing occurred several nights of the week. It is still a popular diversion for present-day William and Mary students (ADC Papers, Committee-Cooperative, Colonial Williamsburg and College).

A report outlining a plan for guide service at the Wren Building was sent to Mr. Chandler in November, 1954. It defined the purpose of the Wren exhibition which emphasized the lofty historical traditions of the venerable building. "The College has an important story to tell every visitor to Williamsburg. Since 1693 it has sought to train the youth of Virginia and a constantly widening region, in a tradition which has emphasized individual worth and community leadership . . . . Here . . . in the mellow Wren Building . . . the young Patriots and many other great students and teachers developed ideas of government and society which have become a central core of the American dream of equal opportunity for all" (ADC Papers, Colonial Williamsburg and College).

An interesting sidelight regarding the Wren Building was that Mr. Chandler requested the College public relations officer to check in various places in Williamsburg to make certain that postcards depicting the Wren Building were available for purchase by Colonial Williamsburg visitors. In a memorandum dated April 18, 1952, Mr. Banks (the public relations officer) assured Mr. Chandler that Wren Building postcards were prominently displayed

in all the usual places in Williamsburg (ADC Papers, Public Relations). A second major area of cooperation and communication involved the visitation of various groups, particularly high school students to Colonial Williamsburg and the College. The College strongly supported this visitation program because it was a valuable recruiting technique for prospective applicants to the College.

In January, 1953, Mr. Alexander reported to the College Colonial Williamsburg Cooperative Committee on his plan for use of the Wren Building for school groups. He stated that school groups were currently visiting the Capitol, Gaol, Magazine, Palace and a craft shop or two. However, he stated "In accordance with good educational practice, it is well to proceed from the known to the unknown, and since high school students are keenly conscious of their school activities, they ought to be especially interested in school activities of the eighteenth century. Colonial Williamsburg thinks that its tour for school groups might well start with the Wren Building." He mentioned, too, that another advantage of the Wren Building is the Wren Chapel which would offer them a glimpse of eighteenth century religious life (deeming unnecessary a visit to Bruton Parish Church). Mr. Alexander continued that "there are certain great advantages to the College . . . [because] we should have between 15,000-20,000 students a year visiting the Wren Building and becoming acquainted with the great men and great events associated with the College (ADC Papers, Committee-Cooperative Colonial Williamsburg & College).

The College particularly supported special programs offered by Colonial Williamsburg such as the annual Democracy Workshop. The purpose of this program was to offer high school students from all over the country the opportunity to discuss the problems and responsibilities which confront them.

The entire weekend was built around seminar discussions involving prominent Americans on such topics as "Freedom of Expression; Was George Mason Right?" All of the programs took place in the Wren Building (ADC Papers, Restoration).

In 1959, Edward Alexander requested and received permission to use Phi Beta Kappa Hall for The Student Burgesses Conference which was attended by high school students from thirty-four countries and forty-two states. The group included forty state presidents of the National Association of Student Councils — obviously a group in which the College was very much interested. This group also toured the Wren Building which in the words of Mr. Alexander "allowed the students to carry on their discussions amid inspiring surroundings and to realize something of the greatness of the College of William and Mary" (ADC Papers, Williamsburg Restoration).

The third major area of communication during this period was Mr. Chandler's involvement in various activities which had an impact on the College. A major report to investors was published in 1952 as part of the twenty-five year anniversary of the Restoration. Before publication, however, Mr. Chorley sent the Report to Mr. Chandler for his approval. Mr. Chandler made minor editorial changes which basically enhanced the college's participation in the Restoration. In a letter dated October 15, 1952 to Mr. Chorley, he requested insertion of the phrase "in cooperation with the College" after the sentence "It may be remembered that Mr. Rockefeller, Jr. early became interested in the restoration of the original campus of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, and restored the Wren Building, the President's House, and the Brafferton" (ADC Papers, Restoration). As was noted in the

discussion of communication during the Bryan administration, there continued to be voluminous and highly specific correspondence regarding the landscaping and care of the ancient buildings and grounds. Much of this correspondence divided and redivided the specific responsibilities by each group. One example of the nature of this correspondence between Chandler and the Colonial Williamsburg landscape architects stated they were planning to "add two willows equally spaced on Jamestown Road frontage of Brafferton for necessary shade . . . [and] adding in open space near wall at road, a deodora cedar for screening (ADC Papers, Restoration).

The 1950's were a most exciting time for Colonial Williamsburg because of the many important visitors during the period, and correspondence indicated that Mr. and Mrs. Chandler were always included in the intimate circle of dignitaries closely involved with the visitors. This impressive visitor list included: President Dwight Eisenhower in 1953, The Queen Mother of England in 1954, Sir Winston Churchill in 1955, and perhaps most impressive, a visit in 1957 by Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip. Their visit was to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the Jamestown Settlement. During her visit the Queen and Philip visited the campus, enjoying tea at the President's House, and the Queen gave a short speech on the balcony of the Wren Building.

A major undertaking in 1956 was the filming of "Williamsburg: The Story of a Patriot" a highly professional documentary film written by Emmet Lavery. This film accurately recreated the atmosphere in which important American concepts were established, and interpreted the exciting and emotionally charged years in Virginia prior to the Revolutionary War. The film which is presented every half-hour at the Information Center in Colonial

Williamsburg was important to William and Mary for two reasons. (1) Thad Tate, director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, did much of the research for the movie and (2) the College campus was the site of one of the major scenes from the movie. The scene which was shot in the Wren Yard depicted the "Patriot", played by actor Jack Lord, visiting his son who was a student at the College. The son was preparing to join a College regiment, then forming among the students (Colonial Williamsburg News, November 27, 1976). This film has been shown to more than twenty-two million visitors to Williamsburg and has enhanced the image and visibility of the College immeasurably.

During the 1960's, the image of William and Mary became more clearly defined, and the need to rely upon Colonial Williamsburg and its reflected glory diminished during the tenure of Davis Y. Paschall. The correspondence between the two presidents during that period became more formal although it was always a congenial and personal relationship. Formal cooperative programs were in place, and were being implemented and managed by staff officers from both organizations rather than by the two presidents (now Dr. Paschall and Carl Humelsine). This reflected the growth of the bureaucracy as the two organizations experienced a decade of unprecedented growth.

The remarkable increase in tourist visitation prompted Mr. Humelsine to bring a major proposal to the Board of Visitors in September 25, 1965. He reported that an analysis of the visitation figures indicated that attendance at the exhibition buildings would exceed the acceptable limits as established by Colonial Williamsburg by 1967 which would necessitate the development of a dual admissions ticket system. An alternate system of tours was developed by

the management and staff, and the decision was reached that one tour would consist of the existing combination of exhibition buildings and craft shops, and the second would consist of a new combination composed largely of buildings and craft shops yet to be identified. He continued:

if the dual admissions ticket system is to succeed [it is exceedingly important] that the new tour combination of buildings [be] of equivalent historical and educational interest as the combination now offered. For this reason, and recognizing the value of the Wren Building as a setting for the interpretation of the development in the colony of the concept of self-government, the role of education, and the early foundations of the American educational system, the trustees of Colonial Williamsburg have authorized me to inquire whether the College of William and Mary would, under any circumstances, be willing to authorize the use of the Wren Building for this purpose. In addition, the residence of the College President, would be an important addition of an original eighteenth century building comparable in style, size and furnishing to the Wythe House.

Mr. Humelsine then offered his own residence, the Norton-Cole House, as a suitable residence for the President. The plan called for implementation by the summer of 1968. After the Humelsine presentation the Board of Visitors accepted "in principle" the proposal, and directed Dr. Paschall to investigate the possibilities on their behalf. Dr. Paschall agreed to participate in discussions with Colonial Williamsburg but concluded: "In summary, there are certain advantages in the proposal made by Mr. Humelsine, but I repeat that



the President's House is something sacred (underlined in official minutes) in the traditions of the College." A Board of Visitors member asked about the potential public relations problem with alumni. Paschall replied he felt the Wren Building was a natural for interpretation to many people — including alumni. He added he thought the President's House was something quite different. Both Paschall and the Board decided that the Chapel must be maintained for student use (BOV Minutes, September 25, 1965 P. 400-407).

At the November 20, 1965 Board of Visitors meeting, a committee report regarding Colonial Williamsburg's use of the Wren Building was presented which stated that progress was being made regarding the transfer of the Wren Building to Colonial Williamsburg. They further reported that they "found the use of the President's House to be a more complicated matter and we feel more time should be taken in reference to the proposal as it would involve this facility" (BOV Minutes, p. 429). The May 28, 1966 Minutes contain another reference to the transfer of the Wren Building but no mention was made of the President's House. Apparently, in a non-public session, the Board of Visitors declined to allow transfer of the President's House to Colonial Williamsburg (BOV Minutes). It did, however, authorize use of the Wren Building. An undated press release detailed the renovation and the exhibition rooms. Six rooms on the first and second floor were open for visitors. The Grammar School Room, the Moral Philosophy Room, the Great Hall, the Chapel, the Common Room, and the Blue Room. All were renovated and suitably furnished in traditional eighteenth century manner (DYP Papers, Colonial Williamsburg). The Wren Building continues today to be open for visitors and Colonial Williamsburg hostesses provide tours throughout the year. There is, however,

no admission fee, so it is not listed on the Colonial Williamsburg tickets. Shortly after the Wren Building was added as an exhibition building, an impressive Colonial Williamsburg advertisement appeared in such magazines as the Saturday Review (November 16, 1968). The ad featured a picture of the Wren Building by Norman Rockwell, and the copy read:

To James Blair, founder of the College of William and Mary, progress on the school's Wren Building seemed distressingly slow . . . with much ado we have got the roof on, he reported impatiently, but . . . The Work is likely to meet with a full stop for want of money . . . Three years it took, but finally in 1700 the structure was completed. And a remarkable structure it is to have been raised in a colony still largely a wilderness. It has survived three fires, two wars and nearly three centuries of use by students. Now, through the gracious cooperation of the College, the oldest academic structure in continuous use in British America is interpreted by Colonial Williamsburg. Come feel the presence of the past in the old halls and classrooms where so many of our Founding Fathers were educated. We believe it's one history lesson you won't forget. (Saturday Review, November 16, 1968, p. 3)

While there was much support among the College community for the renovation of the Wren Building, there were inevitably some questions raised to President Paschall "reflecting some feeling that Colonial Williamsburg is virtually 'taking over' the building." So stated Dr. Paschall in a confidential memo to W. Melville Jones, Dean of the College, dated June 25, 1968. Dr. Paschall further stated that these concerns were "something we have had to be

very cautious about all along." He suggested that much of the "unrest about this matter, which stems more internally than from those outside" might be eased if Dean Jones would issue a memorandum to the College community reflecting the following points: (1) The interpretation program which will commence July 1 is an expansion of an existing program but is not something new as Colonial Williamsburg has been providing interpretative tours of the Wren Building during the summer since 1963. (2) The facilities which will be open should be specified, and the point strongly made that the remainder of the building will be utilized by the College for normal activities. (3) Indication of hours of interpretation. (4) Mention of the fact that certain portraits have been removed from the Great Hall to be restored. Dr. Paschall concluded that the main point to refute is one that the students and faculty would be discouraged in the future from scheduling events that normally took place in the building (DYP Papers, Wren Building). On July 2, 1968 such a memorandum was issued by Dean Jones to "Members of all Faculties and Students" (DYP Papers, Wren Building).

A highly laudatory article on Colonial Williamsburg appeared in the fall issue of 1961 in the Alumni Gazette evidently prompting a letter from an alumnus to Mr. Humelsine expressing his positive reaction to the article. Mr. Humelsine's response, dated November 27, 1961 and addressed to Richard Velz said in part "My associates and I here at Colonial Williamsburg were delighted with it and felt very pleased and honored to have been given such attention. The parallel efforts of the College and Colonial Williamsburg draw closer and closer together all the time and both Pat Paschall and I have the greatest confidence that closer relations between the two institutions at their points of

common interest cannot fail to produce worthwhile results" (DYP Papers, Restoration).

The attention afforded Colonial Williamsburg in the College Alumni Gazette was returned tenfold in the 1965 President's Report issued by Carl Humelsine to investors. The Report, entitled Cross and Gown, was devoted entirely to a discussion of the College and Bruton Parish Church. It was a magnificently photographed and beautifully written journey through the early history of the College recounting numerous anecdotes which described the rich and remarkable traditions of the College of William and Mary. Mr. Humelsine graciously distributed copies of the Report to selected alumni and benefactors of the College. Dr. Paschall acknowledged this courtesy in his eloquent letter of November 21, 1966:

The College will forever be grateful for the enduring inspiration that surges so powerfully throughout the Report, which culminates in a gentle reflection of the present as it emerges from such a scholarly impact of the past. It is best defined . . . as that unity of purpose, that strength of intellectual dedication, and that constancy of moral rigor which made the College of William and Mary such an intimate 'symbol of force in our past.' This thread of continuity . . . presents a stirring historical remembrance to the imagination, but until this year's President's Report such continuity and purpose has never been so beautifully and meaningfully related and defined. (DYP Papers, Restoration)

Dr. Paschall's perceptions of William and Mary fit very precisely into the concept of saga as defined by Burton Clark- the ongoing embellished history

and traditions which are at the heart of the institution and in the hearts of those who love it.

The bricks and mortar aspect of both the Restoration and the College development was virtually complete by 1970. Most of the major construction and renovation projects were either finished or in the final stages of planning. The long cherished dream of restoring the ancient capitol, first envisioned by Dr. Goodwin in 1926 and imparted to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was almost complete by the 1970's. The physical restoration was most impressive. More than 60 original structures were restored, 84 had been rebuilt on their colonial foundations, and hundreds of buildings of modern construction were torn down or removed from the restored area. Almost all of the major public buildings of the original city plan were restored or rebuilt. In all, the historic area encompassed 173 acres of the original 220 acres of the colonial city.

But more importantly, many of the programs initiated in joint cooperation with the College would reach their full maturity in the 1970's. Perhaps the most important program to the College was the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Established as a joint venture of Colonial Williamsburg and the College in 1943, the Institute brought national as well as international acclaim to the College. Drawing on the unique historical resources of both institutions, the Institute became a world-renowned center for "the furtherance of study, research and publications bearing on American history through the Jeffersonian era" (JEP Papers Institute of Early American History and Culture). Its principle activities were the publication of The William and Mary Quarterly and scholarly monographs on American history and culture and the encouragement of professional studies in this field. Upon

making a review of the Institute's activities, the Self-Study of 1974 would conclude:

The Quarterly has a circulation, including exchanges with other institutions of approximately 4200. Its institutional subscriptions, which inevitably increase the number of person to whom the journal is known, include not only the major colleges and universities in each of the fifty states but more than 250 libraries and institutions in foreign countries. The William and Mary Quarterly is probably the College's most important vehicle for disseminating its name and in some measure projecting its image throughout the scholarly community . (Self-Study, 1974)

While it may not be possible to quantify the effect of the Restoration on the public image of the College, some measure of its impact was shown by enormous growth in public contact. For example, Colonial Williamsburg would record almost one million visitors in 1972. Almost each year thereafter, the visitor tally would top the one million mark annually (President's Reports: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972-80). Another example of this growth in public exposure was the program of student tours. To spur visitation, Colonial Williamsburg initiated a program of special student tours in 1945. Approximately 2,600 youngsters visited Williamsburg in the first year of the program. By 1980, this number had increased to more than 80,000 students annually. Another indication of the public interest was recorded when Colonial Williamsburg reported that more than 22 million visitors had seen the "The Story of a Patriot" (the orientation film) since its first showing in 1957.

What had begun as a search for endowment to save an old college in 1926

was now something far larger and different than the original concept. While the College never did receive any endowment from the Rockefellers, the Restoration did make important contributions to the College. In the 1920's, William and Mary was a small regional college barely surviving on the reputation of its historical traditions. Over the next half century, the College had become an integral part of a unique experiment in historical restoration which gave shape to a institutional image attracting millions of visitors to its campus. In a very real sense, the Restoration served as William and Mary's endowment.

### Organizational Ideology

Central to the development of saga is the force of organizational ideology, the underlying tenets from which the direction and focus of an institution emerge and progress. This ideology encompasses the belief system and educational philosophy of those who have an impact on the institution both from an internal and external perspective.

For purposes of this discussion the organizational ideology will be defined through the examination of the evolution of the formal mission and purposes and aims of the institution. This examination of mission will include: the general curricular focus and the degree of commitment to the liberal arts philosophy in the William and Mary tradition; the size of the College, which has been a central issue in its development of distinction and selectivity; and the balance which must be continually maintained for William and Mary to serve both its national and regional constituencies. For at the heart of the William

and Mary development of ethos or saga since 1906 is the fact that the College is a public institution and subject to the philosophical and financial constraints that are inherent in that status. The discussion will demonstrate that the balance between national and regional focus has tipped in one direction or the other according to the personal philosophy of the president in power as well as the needs and dictates of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

As with the other areas discussed, the antecedents for the mission and ideology of the modern College lie in the eras prior to the time frame being examined. The first mission and purpose of The College of William and Mary was defined in its Royal Charter in 1693 as having been established to "the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propogated amongst the Western Indians to the glory of Almighty God." The College was to be "a certain place of universal study, or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Language and other good Arts and Sciences, consisting of one President, six Masters or Professors, and an hundred scholars, more or less." It was not until 1729, however, that all six of the professorships provided for in the charter were established. These were Divinity, Philosophy, Oriental Languages, Mathematics, the Grammar School and the Indian School (a training school for Indians endowed from the income of the estate of Sir Robert Boyle, the eminent English physicist) (C.C., 1969).

In 1776, Phi Beta Kappa, the first Greek letter fraternity in the United States was formed by a group of students at the College and in 1779 the first Honor system was instituted (Priorities of the College). Also in 1779 a drastic



revision of the curriculum occurred under the influence of Thomas Jefferson who was then governor and a member of the College's Board of Visitors. The Grammar School and the two professorships of Divinity and Oriental Languages were discontinued and the professorships of Philosophy and Mathematics were enlarged to include Fine Arts and Natural Philosophy. New professorships were established in Law and Modern Languages, the first chairs in these disciplines to be established in America (Vital Facts, 1983).

Throughout the next one hundred years the fortunes of the College were intricately connected to the circumstances of the wars in the new United States. The campus building served as a hospital during the Revolutionary War, and was occupied during the Civil War. It was during this period that the Wren Building was burned (for the third time) in an unauthorized raid by the cavalry regiment of the 5th Pennsylvania (McCaskey, 1962). After the College reopened in 1888 as a state teachers college, it began the slow journey toward respectability and financial stability. In 1906, it became a fully state-supported institution and in 1918 became the first and only four year coeducational institution in the state.

Dramatic expansion marked the administration of J.A.C. Chandler from 1919-1934. In response to the men returning from World War I, he began to expand the school, challenging the Board of Visitors to raise one million dollars and inaugurating college extension courses in Virginia. These extension programs quickly grew into the Norfolk and Richmond divisions of William and Mary. Extension courses offered throughout Virginia would become a philosophical as well as practical issue for succeeding presidents until the programs were terminated during Thomas Graves' tenure in the 1970's.

In his inauguration speech in 1921, Mr. Chandler outlined his conception of the mission of William and Mary. It should remain a college, not aspiring to be a technical or graduate school. It should continue to focus upon the liberal arts, raise entrance requirements, resume the teaching of law (an event which occurred in 1922 when the Law School became part of the Marshall-Wythe School of Government and Citizenship) (Vital Facts, 1983). It should offer more vocational courses to women such as secretarial science and home economics, and should emphasize government and citizenship. He then asked rhetorically, "Who should be the constituents of this college?" They should be

all types of students, but there is one type that I am especially anxious to continue to enroll in our student body [and] . . . that is the sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock found in our state . . . the sons and daughters of our farmers, merchants and artisans who heretofore have not gone to college . . . . For this reason the expenses at this institution should always be kept at a minimum. There is and will not be here an aristocracy of wealth. (JACC Papers, Inauguration)

And by paying low salaries and imposing heavy teaching loads he was able to keep tuition fees well below comparable schools. William and Mary soon acquired the reputation of a "poor boy's school" which pleased President Chandler, but was a far cry from the elite and noble tradition of the colonial period (Rouse, 1983).

New courses, primarily of a vocational nature were added each year of Mr. Chandler's tenure — Journalism, public speaking, theater, library science, and pre-engineering to name a few. But Mr. Chandler's vision of the mission of the College met with some opposition from politicians who complained that

William and Mary was growing too fast and duplicating other state schools' programs. Dr. Henry Hibbs, head of William and Mary's Richmond branch in 1925 recalled that Chandler "faced opposition not only in extending William and Mary in Richmond and Norfolk but in Williamsburg as well." There were strong feelings in Virginia that the state had too many colleges already (Rouse, 1983, p. 175). There were also William and Mary loyalists who felt the College was tainting its image by lending its name to extension divisions outside the purview and control of the faculty in Williamsburg (Rouse, 1983). In his tenure between 1919 and 1934, the student population grew from 333 students to 1200 students. The College increased its campus from 330 acres to more than 1300 acres. This impatience to enlarge William and Mary led to criticism from the state auditor in 1933 who charged in a report to the governor that state money and endowment funds were not always used as the General Assembly or the donor designated. He did not, however, accuse Mr. Chandler or the College of fraud or shortage (Rouse, 1983). These difficulties experienced by Mr. Chandler are examples of what he considered to be special bureaucratic problems experienced as a result of the public control of William and Mary.

President Chandler expanded the campus buildings at an extraordinary rate. Jefferson Hall, a women's dormitory in 1921; Blow Gymnasium, 1923; Monroe Hall, a men's dormitory in 1924; Trinkle Hall, a dining hall, 1926; Rogers Hall, a chemistry building, 1927; Washington Hall, a general classroom building, 1928; Chandler Hall, a women's dormitory 1931. The total value of buildings and grounds increased from \$450,000 to \$4,772,311. (Vital Facts, 1983). These buildings represented the extent of major building expansion until the construction of the "new campus" in the mid 1960's.

While Mr. Chandler secured state funds to support the building program, he also secured the services of W.A.R. Goodwin to head his ambitious endowment drive. On June 12, 1923 Chandler informed the Board of Visitors that Dr. Goodwin had begun his work and that he was confident of his success (BOV Minutes). Dr. Goodwin published the remarkably ambitious and sophisticated solicitation piece Romance and Renaissance in which he evoked the hallowed traditions and mission of the College and then boldly outlined the needs of the College — complete with pictures, plans, and prices of various buildings that donors could use to help them make their decisions regarding their support.

J.A.C. Chandler's William and Mary was a radical departure from the "old Virginia traditional men's college" that Smith (1983) discussed as being espoused as a reaction to the loss of status experienced by William and Mary as it became a teacher training institute, but he truly brought William and Mary into the modern era and started her on her journey toward uniqueness and distinction as a publicly supported institution.

Virginus Dabney would later write of Mr. Chandler "he found the college with a small and declining enrollment, and inadequate buildings and facilities . . . [and] . . . while he was responsible for vast improvement in the physical plant of the college, he did little to improve academic standards or to build a faculty of the highest calibre. Very probably he would have addressed himself more intensively to these problems if he had lived" (Rouse, 1983 p. 179).

John Stewart Bryan was remarkably different from Mr. Chandler—even physically they were exact opposites. Douglas Freeman wrote about J.A.C. Chandler. "His small stout figure moved briskly. He smoked his inevitable

cigar with nervous energy . . . He always seemed ready for the next test — seemed in fact — to be straining like a football player for another plunge at the line. Anyone who knew him casually or saw him only on his daily round would say that President Chandler was essentially a driving energizing executive, the modern college administrator incarnate" (Rouse, 1983, p. 172).

This in contrast to six foot four inch Mr. Bryan who was described as a distinguished Virginian and statesman, an 1897 Harvard law graduate who was "at home in politics, statecraft, business, literature and the arts . . . to many faculty and townspeople, the Bryan years seemed a golden age" (Rouse, 1983, p. 187).

The Boston Transcript of October 27, 1934 headlined "Harvard of the South Gets New President and New Program," and reported that the William and Mary which "but for the Indian Massacre of 1622 . . . might have preceded Harvard" had just installed its new president who announced his plans to re-emphasize the fields which were specially stressed in the college's earliest days — namely instruction in history and science and government." The article continued "following the footsteps of the late J.A.C. Chandler, restorer of the College . . . it was not unlikely that he [Bryan] may become what Lowell has been to Harvard or what Jefferson was to the little school that he adopted as Albemarle Academy and made into the University of Virginia." Concerning details for proposed changes in the college the article quoted Mr. Bryan as deferring to Mr. Goodwin for comment in this area. Mr. Goodwin stated:

We who are interested in a changed emphasis in the college feel that ample provisions exist in the State for teacher training and that by reason of its traditions . . . the college should be dedicated

to a different mission more in accord with its pristine purpose. The college should be made independent of State ownership and control.

He then explained that Virginia was well governed and that he meant no disparagement but "the college under State control . . . cannot hope to render the service which she might. She is not free to set desired standards. She is precluded by financial limitations . . . from retaining and securing the teaching force which the present and future demand." An interesting sidelight to this article extolling William and Mary as having time honored traditions -- the Harvard of the South was that the picture accompanying the article depicted the "Famous Rotunda of William and Mary at Williamsburg" -- and it actually was a picture of the Famous Rotunda -- the focal point of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

Mr. Bryan and Mr. Goodwin obviously thought that the funds discussed earlier were forthcoming from some source, and while he was not able to return William and Mary to its "two hundred and fifty year tradition of . . . national leadership" under private control, he worked throughout his administration to upgrade the student body, the faculty and the curriculum. The admissions policies and foci will be discussed later, but in his 1935 Report to the Board of Visitors he announced a new policy of the College enabling it to join with "one hundred and thirty-one outstanding colleges in the United States in cooperating with a select group of thirty public and private secondary schools whereby the graduates of these secondary schools are received into the college without the usual rigid unit specifications which characterize the conventional secondary schools" (JSB Report, 1935). He also offered evidence of improvement in

scholarship. While William and Mary averaged 38% in graduations from the entering class for the ten years ending in June 1939, the ratio increased markedly from 1937 on. In 1937 the ratio was 46%, in 1938, 52% and for 1940 between 55 and 56%. He continued that this compared to an average of 41% for Washington and Lee and 70% for Princeton and 73.3% for Dartmouth. (JSB Report, 1939). It is important to note that Mr. Bryan only chose private schools for comparison, two of them Ivy League. A comparison to Virginia Polytechnic Institute or Virginia Military Institute or University of Virginia (other State supported institutions) may have yielded very different results.

Mr. Bryan's ties to the Ivy League led to an unprecedented visit by the Board of Overseers of Harvard College to William and Mary on April 19, 1941. This governing body of the oldest institution of higher learning in the United States held a regular meeting in the Wren Building. It was the first meeting of that august body to be held away from Cambridge or Boston in over 300 years. The visit was a result of an invitation of Mr. Bryan, himself a member of the Board. The William and Mary Board of Visitors joined the Harvard guests at a reception and in Mr. Bryan's welcome he repeatedly drew upon comparisons and similarities between the two institutions.

In his pursuit of excellence in faculty Mr. Bryan attracted several young Harvard scholars. Among them were James W. Miller in philosophy, Harold J. Fowler in history (an eminent scholar who spent his entire academic career at William and Mary, retiring in 1974) and Charles J. Harrison and Murray Eugene Borash in English. Of all of Bryan's faculty Earl G. Swem brought the widest acclaim with his Virginia Historical Index. Compiled over ten years, it indexed Henning Statutes at Large, the collected acts of Virginia from 1619 to 1779,

three historical and genealogical magazines published between 1858 and 1930 and other historical compilations. It was hailed by the New York Times Review of Books as essential to the study of colonial America (Rouse, 1983).

With regard to curriculum, Bryan worked to relax the college's vocational emphasis and move back towards the liberal arts. In a solicited letter dated November 30, 1939, to Dr. Newcomb, Chairman, Heads of State Institutions of Higher Learnings, who had inquired about the attributes of specializations at State colleges in general and William and Mary in particular Mr. Bryan said in part:

. . . it is futile to expect a student of seventeen to effectively choose a course of life for himself . . . [and] . . . it is here that a Liberal Arts college performs its greatest service for it opens up many avenues of imagination to the plastic mind of youth and draws students to fields of work of which they would never had dreamed had they chosen earlier. (JSB Papers, Works Report)

In his Annual Report of 1938 he pointed out his "long cherished hope . . . that the College of William and Mary may once more take that position of preeminence and leadership in the field of constructive citizenship which characterized it under the administration of George Wythe and St. George Tucker, and in addition may in this day bring again to the field of education that freshness of vision and practical use of study and of thought which marked the contribution of Thomas Jefferson to the field of education (JSB Report, 1938).

Consistent with this highly academic and traditional mission which Bryan espoused and worked toward, was the 1936 Colonial Echo, the college yearbook,



a beautifully leather bound book embossed in gold. It was truly one of a kind- a complete departure from the style, size and format of any previous book. The first pages were printed in Old English script using the Old English letters of "f" for "s" on heavy ivory water-marked paper. The title page said "The Colonial Echo! In which Ye editors attempt to intensify the REVERBERATIONS of the Glorious Past of the College of William and Mary in Virginia." There follows an eloquent tribute to the indomitable spirit of colonial men, "the moving Forces of that spirit which has flamed forth in the Sons of William and Mary in every crisis which this College faced" (also written in Old English). Following these preface pages were color plates of very high quality depicting the campus buildings. William and Mary was very much evoking her colonial traditions and using these images as a standard to a return to the academic and intellectual glories of the past.

In spite of the previously discussed difficulties he encountered in his fund-raising attempts, Mr. Bryan apparently never gave up hope that a large endowment was forthcoming from Mr. Rockefeller or a Rockefeller foundation. With that goal in mind he suggested to the Board of Visitors on October 4, 1937 that they should appoint a special committee " . . . to formulate plans for the College and to seek endowment for the furtherance of such plans." The Board agreed and George W. Works, Dean of the University of Chicago, was solicited to conduct the study. It was funded by the General Education Board which was a Rockefeller endowed foundation.

This report is a clear example of external influence having a significant impact upon the fortunes and future of an institution. While Mr. Bryan's mission was to move William and Mary into national prominence comparable to

a selective private school, the Works Report forward made very clear its perception of William and Mary as a regional and provincial institution whose focus should be service to Virginia. The tone was even somewhat patronizing:

Readers of this type of report may be left with an exaggerated impression of the weakness of the institution because the study is made for the purpose of offering suggestions for the improvement of conditions in a college. But in spite of the deficiencies which are pointed out . . . the College has a good student body, an able faculty, an interested administration . . . [and] its deficiencies are not so serious as to prevent the College of William and Mary from being a constructive force in the life of the Commonwealth of Virginia. The history of the college is intimately connected with the history of Virginia. Alumni of the College have many times made invaluable contributions to the state and nation [and] there is every reason to believe that the College of William and Mary will continue to occupy a conspicuous place in the life of the Commonwealth of Virginia. (p. 3)

The study itself was not highly critical. It noted the discrepancy in numbers and quality between male and female students and said that must be corrected. It also recommended some changes in administrative structure and in curriculum, particularly that a program in Colonial History should be adopted. The Institute of Early American History and Culture was begun in 1943 (JSB Papers, Works Report).

By the end of the 1930's the external image of William and Mary was of a good solid Virginia college with perhaps the potential to grow in distinction

and excellence. The internal image among the faculty and students was very different and morale was high. The institutional saga was beginning. These were highly educated faculty members teaching a higher quality of student (as evidenced by higher graduation rates). The focus was on the liberal arts and there was a move away from the vocational courses including teaching.

A difficult dilemma confronted the Board of Visitors upon Bryan's retirement in 1942. What direction should the College take? Should it continue the mission of Bryan and emphasize the liberal arts following the Ivy League tradition, or should it revert to the Chandler philosophy of expansion and service first to the Tidewater region, secondly to Virginia and lastly to the nation? The Board of Visitors' debate was heated, and finally John E. Pomfret, a distinguished academic, then dean of the graduate school of Vanderbilt, was elected by a one vote margin. Mr. Pomfret was in the Bryan tradition and his vision was similar to that of Mr. Bryan. In his inaugural address he evoked the Jeffersonian ideals of liberal education:

By liberal education Jefferson meant an education befitting a free man, an education not confined as among the slaves of Ancient Hellas, to the acquisition of a craft or skill. This liberal education would concern itself with the development of virtues or excellences in free men who, unlike slaves, must understand the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Such men would have some idea 'of what the world is, of what man has done, has been, and can be.' In short this type of education would concern itself with more than breadwinning. It would strive to mould a man possessed of the excellence of body, of mind and of character.

(JEP Papers, Inauguration)

And in his first Report to the Board of Visitors he outlined his mission for William and Mary.

The College is not primarily interested in equipping students to gain a livelihood . . . . The professional and technical training must be done elsewhere. Knowledge, understanding, training in analysis and synthesis, garnered through the study of liberal arts, should provide the student with perspective and mastery and enable him to excel in his professional training. The College will, in the future as in the past, interpret its liberal arts program broadly — as a means of equipping students to live and work in a contemporary world. (JEP Report, 1942, p. 6)

He stated that because William and Mary was a state institution it should serve, first, those Virginians who are intellectually and morally adequate. But he said that "educationally, it is good for students from all parts of the nation to commingle . . . . The out-of-state students make a great contribution to the Virginia student, and . . . the process is reciprocal. It would be tragic for the College should it ever be doomed to provincialism" (p. 10).

But while Mr. Pomfret had lofty and intellectual ideals for the programs of the College he was also very concerned about democratic ideals. In this same report he said "It would be unfortunate . . . if this College should ever become a heavily endowed institution. Outward manifestations of wealth, such as luxurious physical plants and similar trappings are apt to attract a class of students whose standards of living are so high as to discourage all from coming save those of 'very comfortable' backgrounds. Thus, another type of

provincialism would develop . . . that would be unhealthy for the institution . . . The College has attracted students principally from the large middle class and its tradition is democratic." He then mentioned the College social fraternity system, saying it was non-exclusive and noting that a new lodge plan to replace a house plan "should insure against the use of social exclusiveness" (p 13).

And finally with regard to size, Mr. Pomfret cautioned that the College must exercise awareness regarding . . . its growth although "education in a democratic society should not be denied to anyone who can benefit from it."

He concluded:

In the Post-War era the College must persevere in its plans to mold a democratic institution, with a student body that is able and ambitious, and representative of all classes of society. It must never become a playground either for the socially irresponsible or for anyone else. (JEP Report, 1942-43 p. 16)

Mr. Pomfret was following the academic vision of Mr. Bryan, but his personal philosophy of education appeared closer to Mr. Chandler's. Mr. Bryan had formed the agreement with thirty elite private schools to admit their students without the usual admissions requirements, and he held elaborate and sophisticated "revels" and galas frequently which effectively countered the "poor boy's" school image that had been so dear to the heart of Mr. Chandler. Mr. Harold Fowler, Dean of the Faculty, recalled Mr. Bryan's "revels" — elaborate costume balls held at Christmas time for the faculty and student body. President Bryan would act as "Lord of the Manor" and would sit with his party on the stage, acknowledging the guests as they were presented to him. Mr. Bryan also held memorable June Balls in the Sunken Garden, with a dance

floor at one end and tables set up at the Wren Building end of the Garden. Nationally known "big bands" would provide the dance music, and Mr. Fowler always suspected that most of the expenses came out of Mr Bryan's own pocket (HLF Oral History). Mr. Bryan also initiated the Yule Log Ceremony. A huge Yule Log was brought to the large fireplace of the Great Hall, and the students would gather to sing carols and to cast a sprig of holly upon the burning embers— portending good luck in the new year. That tradition has continued to 1984 with each president adding his own personal touch. Dr. Graves, for example, read How the Grinch Stole Christmas each year to the absolute delight of the student body. Mr. Bryan was moving William and Mary toward private status in spirit if not in actuality, but Mr. Pomfret brought back the democratic ideals correctly associated with a state-supported institution.

In The Distinctive College (1968) Clark stated that:

faculty dedication seems the key component in the making of a college saga . . . the committing of staff to the institution. Emotion is invested to the point where many participants significantly define themselves by the central theme of the organization. The organizational motif becomes individual motive . . . men behave as if they knew a beautiful secret that no one outside the lucky few could even share. An organizational saga turns an organization into a community even a cult. (p. 9)

In Mr. Pomfret's 1944 Report to the Board of Visitors, he eloquently eulogized John Stewart Bryan who had died on October 16, 1944:

Mr. Bryan regarded the selection of staff members as of singular importance, and no appointments were made without wide search

and consultation [and] as a result the faculty evidenced an intense spirit of humanism and broad cultural attainment . . . . During the whole administration a fine harmony prevailed with the faculty and it manifested itself . . . by an intensive devotion to the College. There existed among the Faculty a willingness to assume tasks and responsibilities beyond the usual confines of academic duties. President Bryan, above all, desired the Faculty to be a co-partner in his efforts to raise the College to the level of a thoroughly first class institution. (JEP Report, p. 22)

An organizational saga of and distinction was evolving and nothing in the first years of the Pomfret administration disrupted the development.

Throughout World War II, the College was in a holding position, educating primarily women and housing a Chaplain school. Pomfret resumed his pursuit of excellence in academics, but he also was especially concerned about the number and quality of the male applicant pool. One solution offered by the Board of Visitors in 1939 was the appointment of Carl Voyles as Athletic Director with the goal of building a nationally competitive football team. After setting up a very strong program Mr. Voyles left and was replaced by "Rube" McKay, who continued to field very strong teams throughout the 1940's. Unfortunately, it was revealed in 1951 that some high school transcripts and grades of players had been altered, and a national scandal resulted. The scandal and Mr. Pomfret's role will be discussed in a subsequent section, but as a result of the situation Mr. Pomfret submitted his resignation in September 1951.

The circumstances surrounding Mr. Alvin Duke Chandler's appointment

as twenty-second president created a furor within the faculty that Mr. Chandler was never quite able to overcome. W. Melville Jones, who served as Dean of the Faculty from 1958-1964 recalled the series of events in his oral history. A faculty committee made a presentation to the Board of Visitors on October 9, 1951, and immediately afterward reported to a faculty meeting that they were most encouraged about their reception at the Board meeting. Dr. Jones recalled they all felt they truly "were going to have the opportunity to work with the Board on this thing" (p.76). However, immediately after the faculty committee presentation, the Board of Visitors went into executive session and elected Alvin Duke Chandler. By the time the faculty meeting adjourned, the radio was announcing Dr. Chandler's appointment. "That was the thing that hurt us so badly and upset us so much . . . that they had given no indication whatever of this kind of action to the faculty. It was like a slap in the face, you see, to the faculty" (WMJ Oral History, p.77).

The appointment of Alvin Duke Chandler was as radical a departure from Mr. Pomfret as Mr. Bryan's appointment had been to Mr. Chandler's father, J.A.C. Chandler. Mr. Chandler entered under the cloud of the football scandal and he immediately set about dealing with that situation. In a convocation attended by all students, on October 23, 1951 he stated:

The basic mission of the College is to furnish guidance for a greater understanding which leads to the production of a disciplined, independent, and inquiring mind. Certain points in connection with the athletic . . . policies of this College are fundamental . . . All students will be required to meet the same admission and degree requirements. Athletic contests will not be



scheduled with schools other than our natural rivals. The control of athletics rests with the President and faculty.

He then cited the admissions policy that had been instituted by his father in 1933, and noted: "that was the beginning of the selective system of the admission of students at the College of William and Mary. The selectivity of students has advanced with the years and improved with time . . . . The College of William and Mary is a liberal arts college with well-rounded extracurricular activities all of which are focused on an orderly and understanding mind, the development of character, leadership and self reliance" (ADC Papers, Convocation). He later listed "natural rivals" as the University of Virginia and Southern Conference Schools (ADC Papers, Flat Hat). Following this Convocation, Mr. Chandler sent a report to alumni which gave generally the same information in greater detail. He further stated:

there will be no 'double standard' for dealing with students, whether they participate in dramatics, the choir, or athletics. There will be no regimentation of the student body in various segments — there shall no longer be considered such factions as the 'theater group' or 'the football players'. It is natural that people with certain common interests should associate with each other socially; but, from the point of view of the College, such groups will not exist as classified segments. (ADC Papers, Alumni, Office of Communications, November, 1951)

In his first annual Report to the Board of Visitors in 1951, Mr. Chandler discussed his conception of the mission of William and Mary.

The mission of the William and Mary system — the college in

Williamsburg, the Richmond Professional Institute and the Norfolk division is to stimulate, guide, develop and equip students for effective and purposeful living in contemporary America as well as in a world fraught by ever new but ever challenging problems and opportunities. (p. 1)

He reported that the College was greatly overcrowded. In 1930 there existed facilities for 1200 students, and no new construction had taken place since then, but the College now served 1580 students. "The point has now been reached where improvements in the educational program and physical facilities of the College are imperative. One of the first requirements of the College is a program of new professorships and the procurement of additional outstanding men and women teachers on the faculty" (p. 8). He continued "My interest in low faculty turnover and high morale comes not from any sentimental feeling . . . rather . . . that it is a most essential ingredient of good teaching and good student morale" (p. 6). Some faculty had felt the admiral was unsuited for the presidency, and sought teaching positions elsewhere when he was appointed (Rouse, 1983).

In his 1952 Report to the Board of Visitors Chandler outlined in quite specific detail his perception of William and Mary's role in higher education.

(1) The College of William and Mary should continue to be a college of 'universal learning' and a good portion of the work done by every student should be in the Social Sciences, the Humanities, and the Natural Sciences. This broad base and foundation for education is one of our heritages. (2) The College has endeavored, and will continue to endeavor to serve the state of Virginia . . . while its

primary purpose is to serve the state as a whole, the College is strategically located to serve especially the Tidewater region in senior college work. (3) The College should engage in a variety of fields of education. Since we in America have no leisure class, it is important that we promote a fixed purpose on the part of students to prepare themselves for a profession. (p.2)

He then outlined specific goals such as improving library facilities, and supporting specific programs such as the Institute of American History and Culture and the Law School. He then stated:

A devoted faculty, an excellent library, good courses of instruction adequate and well equipped buildings and laboratories are essential, but they do not provide the whole of education for men and women. The fundamentals of character are essential and must be stressed. I trust this College will always continue to exercise a good moral influence such as will help to produce God-fearing men and women of high character. (p.5)

One of the areas into which he ventured in an attempt to be a "good moral influence" created a level of student unrest that was unprecedented in the history of William and Mary. The specifics will be discussed in detail in the section on student life.

Mr. Chandler continued to espouse his vision of the mission of the College in his Annual Reports to the Board. In 1953, he stated "Our goal is that of a truly great college. The restoration of the College of William and Mary to its unique place of prominence in American education is a challenge to this administration" (p. 4). Toward that goal he outlined the guideposts he was

striving to follow: (1) the encouragement of sound scholarship; (2) the strengthening of extracurricular activities on campus; (3) the encouragement of the building of healthy bodies; (4) the emphasizing of the importance of right moral and spiritual outlooks. And he noted that one-third of the state's population lived within a 75 mile radius of Williamsburg, and again reiterated the College's responsibility to Tidewater. However, he charged "William and Mary . . . is more than a regional college. It has, and should continue to maintain national recognition and reputation. By attracting students from all regions of the nation and abroad, the dangers of provincialism and intellectual narrowness are somewhat dissipated" (p. 4).

In a letter to alumni that same year (February 28, 1953) he outlined problems that were impeding William and Mary in her pursuit of excellence. He reported a serious shortage of classroom space, living space and faculty office space. The library was overcrowded and the facilities for graduate study needed to be expanded. "The situation is critical; the needs are immediate as well as of long range nature. With the nation's birthrate increasing constantly, and with more and more young people attending college, William and Mary must expand . . . if it is to meet its obligations to the citizens of Virginia (ADC Papers, Office of Communications).

In the 1957 Report, Mr. Chandler began to express some discouragement with respect to his goals and accomplishments. He stated: "Our greatest problem for the future is the rapidly-expanding student population, and the ever decreasing availability of competent faculty dedicated to learning" (p. 1). He stated that the demand was exceeding the supply, and that there had never before been such a pressing need for teachers "who are willing and ready to

blend the substance of the old with the new in a rapidly changing world" (p. 1).

In this same Report he reminded the Board that he had made "statements of objectives" in his 1952 Report, and commented, "It is my belief that we have made some genuine progress toward these goals, even though it has been slow, laborious and retarded on occasion" (p. 2). He then directed his attention to the expansion of William and Mary. "The College of William and Mary is interested in growth. It is dedicated to the growth of its faculty, the growth of its students, the growth of its services, and the growth of the facilities necessary to serve a progressive educational community" (p. 3). And he concluded:

The sound foundations upon which the educational programs are built and the capabilities and devotion of the faculties presage continued growth and influence as The Greater College of William and Mary moves into an era of rapidly-expanding enrollment pressures. It is my sincere hope that staff and facilities will be provided to meet the challenges which we now face. (p. 6)

In his 1958 Report, Mr. Chandler expressed frustration, seemingly for a lack of funding and support for facilities, although he did not specify. He opened by repeating two quotes that he made in 1953. "A truly great college comes into being by a fusion of power from outside of its academic walls with the power which is generated within the immediate college community." And he continued, "Related to this is a basic principle which I quote on every appropriate occasion, 'A college or university which suffers from malnutrition may become educationally a corrupting influence'" (p. 2). He continued "In several of my annual reports I have stressed that there exists a tremendous gap

between our educational potential and our accomplishments. Likewise, there is a similar gap between the demands of the College and the facilities available to fulfill these demands" (p. 2). He stated that the "status quo by its very nature leads to deterioration . . . we must progress toward higher goals of achievement . . . (which) will require greater dedication, increased financial support, and above all, a broadening perspective on the part of the entire college community. A continuing sense of responsibility and cooperation is vital to the development of our institution" (p. 3). He finally concluded that all of these problems he'd been reporting for years were the result of two basic deficiencies at William and Mary.

The record shows that the College throughout its history has recognized the responsibility for developing facilities for study in new fields of learning as they appear, but we have neglected to cultivate the resources necessary to follow through. One reason is that we have never had a real master plan of development for the College. Secondly, under a system of State operation, there exists a lack of flexibility for implementing plans and procedures. If we are ever going to live up to our heritage, the College of William and Mary cannot operate on the 'standard rations' of a state college. (p 5)

In one short paragraph Mr. Chandler summarized his perception of the unique problem of the growth and development of selectivity and distinction in a public institution. William and Mary had the glorious traditions and important heritage embodied in an historical saga, but it needed financial support and administrative stability in order to become a major institution in modern higher

education. It would fall to the Paschall administration to move forward in dealing with these deficiencies.

The faculty never did fully forgive Mr. Chandler for the circumstances surrounding his appointment, although it was clearly not his fault (Rouse, 1983). This was never more evident than in the preparation of the 1954 Self-Study. On January 15, 1952, Mr. Chandler proposed to the Faculty Advisory Committee that a comprehensive self-evaluation of the College be made. This group then submitted these statements for approval.

- (1) The study is desirable.
- (2) The Faculty Advisory Committee should maintain a broad advisory role rather than take an active responsibility for heading the self-survey.
- (3) It should not become a burden for the faculty and should not interfere with work.
- (4) Entire faculty and qualified students should be drawn upon for committee organization.
- (5) The Board of Visitors should be informed and a liaison set up wherever appropriate.
- (6) Alumni and student participation is desirable where feasible.
- (7) Existing committees and documents should be incorporated where possible.
- (8) Departing seniors should be asked to write evaluations.(ADC Papers, Self-Study)

Items two and three are a sharp contrast to the faculty "willingness to assume tasks and responsibilities beyond the usual confines of academic duties,"

that Mr. Pomfret said prevailed under Mr. Bryan's administration. The faculty and Mr. Chandler also outlined the scope and purpose of the Study:

- (1) To determine the objectives of the College as a whole and of each of its parts.
- (2) To ascertain how successfully and by what means these objectives are being reached.
- (3) To locate and define the strengths and weaknesses of the College and devise plans for preserving and correcting them respectively.
- (4) To assess our financial and physical resources, policies, and methods and see where they need strengthening (ADC Papers, Self-Study).

The Self-Study was a difficult process from beginning to end. The end result was that it was never published, although typed and mimeographed copies were made available in limited numbers. And that typed copy was fifty pages in length and twenty-five of the pages listed the organizational structure of the Self-Study group. Committee assignments, goals, and methods were described in great detail leaving only twenty-five pages actually reporting on the Study. It was, not surprisingly, very general and quite a useless document for fulfilling the four objectives outlined by the Faculty Advisory Committee.

There was dissension among the faculty throughout the entire process, and a very negative and almost hostile undated first draft on instruction was submitted to the Steering Committee. It began:

The standard teaching load of fifteen hours, which is antiquated and completely out of line with the practice of most of the better



colleges of America, is the principle enemy of faculty effectiveness . . . . The committee recommends that the teaching load be revised to a maximum of twelve hours. (ADC Papers, Self-Study)

Other recommendations included fewer committee assignments, a more regular system of granting sabbatical leaves "not merely for persons who propose research projects but for all members of the faculty in their turn." One recommendation even dealt with the "improper lighting and inadequate ventilation in classrooms" (ADC Papers Self-Study). The final draft dealt with the reduction in teaching load in this fashion: "The Committee does not believe a flat reduction would be either practical or efficient, though it recognizes that a fifteen hour standard is generally regarded by the academic world as a common symptom of mediocrity and therefore probably affects adversely our power to attract and retain superior teachers and scholars" (Self Study, 1954).

The major focus of the dissension, however, was in the Statement of Aims and Purposes. There were no fewer than ten drafts in Mr. Chandler's Self Study folder — the majority submitted by different members of the Aims and Purposes Committee independently of each other. An example; Dudley Woodbridge, the dean of the Law School, submitted his own recommendations regarding aims, stating in an attached memorandum (dated October 16, 1954) that he had "not found it helpful to look over other statements as they are too general and platitudinous" (ADC Papers Self-Study).

Kenneth Cleeton, the director of the Executive Committee of the Self Evaluation, reported the dilemma to Francis Keppel in a letter dated January 7, 1953. Mr. Keppel, who was dean of the Graduate School of Education at

Harvard, was being retained as outside consultant to arbitrate the dissension. Mr. Cleeton informed Dean Keppel that William and Mary had been classified as a liberal arts school, but that work was also offered in Jurisprudence, Education and Business Administration. He also mentioned the limited number of Master's programs. He continued, "As you may surmise, one of the major problems of the Evaluation is to write an acceptable statement of the objectives of the College. Some of us (i.e. faculty) believe the liberal arts concept under which the College has operated is much too narrow and rigid to suit the needs of individuals living in a modern society." [there are some however] . . . who would prefer a strict liberal arts program with no technical or professional courses" . . . (ADC Papers, Self Study).

Mr. Cleeton also wrote a very angry memorandum to Mr. Chandler in February, 1953 relating the incidents which had taken place at an Advisory Council meeting. The issue was again the Statement of Aims and Purposes and several faculty members expressed the opinion that the Statement should be "voted on by the whole faculty" and that the Executive Committee was "setting College policy", and that they were suspicious of "goings on" in the Executive Committee. They felt the faculty statement of Aims and Purposes "had been put in the ash can." Cleeton reported that he had pointed out the imprudence of submitting alternative statements of objectives before the faculty and then asking them to vote for one or the other. He also admitted that the "Executive Committee was not pleased with their statement on aims and purposes and that the Executive Committee had been working on an improved and expanded statement. I had the feeling that some of the statements made were criticisms of the President's actions, probably a

criticism of the fact that he had been attending Executive Committee meetings" (ADC Papers, Self Study).

The final draft contained a very general statement of aims and purposes:

The mission of the College has two equally important aspects:

- (a) To provide for Virginia, the surrounding region, and for the nation a distinctive combination of certain kinds of education characterized by superior quality, not easily matched elsewhere; and
- (b) To provide in eastern Virginia such educational services as are needed locally and can best be furnished by the Commonwealth through the agency of the College of William and Mary. (Self Study, 1954, p. 27)

The hand of the president was heavy in the development of that statement if his later Reports to the Board of Visitors were any indication. The Self Study also stated that a college of Liberal Arts and Sciences should be the heart of William and Mary. "This College should be distinguished for the excellence of its instruction in all its departments" (Self Study, 1954, p. 28).

And perhaps most controversial were the recommendations regarding the establishment of separate schools in Law, Business and Education rather than continuing them as departments under the Arts and Sciences umbrella. (The separate schools were established: the Marshall-Wythe School of Law in 1952, the School of Education in 1966, and the School of Business Administration in 1968) (Vital Facts, 1983). Several faculty members wrote dissenting opinions to this recommendation. In a letter to President Chandler dated February 2, 1954, Frank B. Evans III wrote:

If these schools were only nominally separated from the College proper, the result would be a pretentious and top-heavy administrative structure unjustified by the small benefits which might accrue. If on the other hand the activities of these schools were really separated from the Liberal Arts and Sciences, I think we would be substituting a common and inferior kind of education for the distinctive and superior kind we now have. (ADC Papers, Self Study)

A precise and sharp distinction can be drawn between the Chandler administration and those of Mr. Bryan and Mr. Pomfret regarding image. In the 1930's and 1940's the self-image of the College was very positive and clearly articulated. However, the College was not seen by its public as that strong and excellent an institution. The self-image was stronger and more positive than the external image during that period. During the Chandler administration the opposite was true. The self-image of William and Mary was at a low ebb during this period. The faculty was not united and morale was low. It will be discussed later, but Dr. Chandler was a most unpopular president among the majority of the student body, and he himself was frustrated with the facilities and lack of progress toward expansion made during his administration. However, as shall be shown, during these same years the external image of William and Mary was very positive and the College was assuming a highly visible posture as a unique and selective institution. The publicity, generated mainly as an adjunct to that surrounding Colonial Williamsburg, created a most positive perception of the College.

Throughout his administration Mr. Chandler focused on public relations

and publicity, probably as a result of the national and highly negative publicity generated by the football scandal. He was continually trying to organize a separate public relations department but was never successful. There was a flurry of activity in 1952, when several alumni wrote to inquire about positions which might be available in the public relations area. Chandler's replies said nothing definite had been decided, but that he would contact them at a later date (ADC Papers, Public Relations). Then, again in 1958, there was another spurt of letters from alumni asking the same questions. Mr. Chandler's replies were the same, and no separate department of public relations was set up during this period (ADC Papers, Public Relations).

The national image of William and Mary was enhanced by a fifty page article in the October, 1954 National Geographic magazine. A significant portion of the article was devoted to William and Mary, first giving a synopsis of the illustrious history and then noting "Now, with retired Vice-Admiral Alvin Duke Chandler . . . at the helm, the college seems headed for dynamic days. As one of his aides remarked to me, 'The "Duke" is as full of ideas as a Christmas goose' . . . He drives us hard, but nobody harder than himself" (Bowie, 1954, p. 473). The article described the campus in glowing terms "But with a student body of some 1600, the college is popping at the seams . . . . Chandler said we hold classes everywhere, . . . in the gym, in the Wren Building from its attic to its cellar, anywhere we can find a desk and some chairs" (p. 473). At Chandler's suggestion, the authors talked to Henry Billups "the college's old Negro bell ringer, mail carrier, and general factotum" (p. 473). Mr. Billups' service to William and Mary spanned five presidents' administrations back to 1888. Mr. Billups was truly part of the saga of William and Mary. He said "I rung that bell

when this young Chandler got to be president, and I rung it for his father when he was a student. Had to take care of this whole building then . . . had to build all the fires for the professors by 8 o'clock and saw the wood. I used to saw 30, 40 cords of wood every winter — but I never got tired" (p. 473).

The article continued that Mr. Chandler's goal was to make William and Mary once again the kind of training ground in leadership that it was in Jefferson's day, and proceeded to discuss the Law School and the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The authors concluded overall that "William and Mary must be a singularly relaxed, informal, and friendly place in which to live and work" (p 475).

As will be seen in a later discussion, numbers of applications increased dramatically during Chandler's tenure particularly from out-of-state females which Chandler attributed to the influence of articles such as this one in National Geographic (ADC Report, 1958).

In 1960, Chandler sent a copy of a momentous memorandum to the Board of Visitors. He suggested "that you read it thoroughly. It has many implications and I believe it should be discussed by the Board at its next meeting . . . ." The memo, dated September 20, 1960, was directed to the Presidents of State-Supported Institutions of Higher Learning and was from the State Council of Higher Education. It said that the Council was setting up a study group to "prepare plans under which several State-Supported institutions of higher education of Virginia shall constitute a coordinating system." It continued that "while the ultimate responsibility clearly belongs to the Council, it desires that this should be a cooperative study" (ADC Papers, State Council).

This inauspicious beginning portended a most significant event which

would have an impact upon William and Mary's mission and image for a time, and it was to give Mr. Chandler the opportunity to fulfill his ambition of dramatically expanding the College. Reference was made earlier to the influence outside agencies can have upon the direction and focus of state supported institutions. Such an agency is the State Council of Higher Education, created in 1958 for the purpose of promoting "the development and operation of a sound, vigorous, progressive and coordinated system of higher education in the State of Virginia." Some specific and significant responsibilities include:

- (1) To approve new degree programs proposed by the public institutions
- (2) To approve changes in institutional missions
- (3) To develop a master plan for Virginia's higher education system
- (4) To approve the enrollment projections of the individual institutions
- (5) To collect and analyze data. (DYP Papers, State Council)

Coordination is the key word. Glenny (1959) described Virginia's Council as a "coordinating agency," a "board empowered to coordinate and control selected activities of . . . [the] institutions but restrained from exercising general governing or administrative powers" (p. 2). Glenny's thesis was that "one of the primary reasons for the establishment of coordinating agencies for higher education has been the belief held by some legislators, taxpayers' associations, and chambers of commerce that the public institutions in the state were unnecessarily and wastefully duplicating functions and programs of other institutions, both public and private" (p. 88).

In September, 1959, the State Council of Higher Education authorized the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce to finance and conduct a survey of higher education in the Tidewater area of Virginia. For the purposes of the survey the Tidewater was considered to include the counties of Mathews, Gloucester, James City, York, Surry, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Norfolk and Princess Anne, and the independent cities of Hampton, Newport News, Norfolk, Portsmouth, South Norfolk, Suffolk, Warwick and Williamsburg -- essentially the entire peninsular area east of Williamsburg (DYP Paper, State Council). After this exhaustive survey the State Council Director, William McFarlane, wrote to the William and Mary Board of Visitors, on January 6, 1960, asking them to consider the following proposal:

What is being proposed is the creation of a system of associated colleges in the Tidewater Area. Within the new system of associated colleges each component unit would have a definite institutional identity either as a two year junior college, a four year undergraduate college, or a comprehensive undergraduate college that is authorized to offer specified graduate and professional programs. Each component unit would have its own name, its own administrative staff for managing authorized programs, and its own instructional staff. All of the component units of the system or constituent college, as they might be termed, however, would be governed by a single board of visitors and administered by one chief executive officer. (DYP Papers, State Council p. 6)

Mr. McFarlane concluded, [the proposal] "would permit greater



opportunity for William and Mary to enhance the very effective leadership in higher education which the college is already providing for the Tidewater area" (p. 7).

Dr. Chandler's reply, dated January 19, 1960 informed the State Council that the Board of Visitors would be willing to administer the colleges, and he stated that the proposal "fits into the agenda of our master plan of development which is currently being formulated, although our definition of our primary service area is somewhat more extensive [than your outline]" (ADC Papers, State Council of Higher Education).

As of March 3, 1960, the General Assembly created "The Colleges of William and Mary," an administrative entity embracing the senior colleges presently existing of William and Mary, the Norfolk Division of William and Mary, and the Richmond Professional Institute, and two new junior colleges, Christopher Newport at Newport News, and Richard Bland at Petersburg, Virginia (Vital Facts, 1980). Alvin Duke Chandler was named Chancellor of The Colleges of William and Mary, and Davis Y. Paschall was appointed as the twenty-third president of the College of William and Mary. As Mr. Chandler left office he wrote to the alumni on August 27, 1960. "At the present time, the College is on the threshold of a new, exciting and productive growth era. An increasingly aware public is demanding more thorough and broader concepts in its educational systems. Our 'Alma Mater' with its magnificent heritage passed on through the centuries will not avoid the challenge or pass up the opportunity which lies ahead" (BOV Minutes, August 27, 1960 p. 96).

Unfortunately for Mr. Chandler's objective, the opportunity only lasted for two years, but during that two years Mr. Chandler's dream of expanding

William and Mary became a reality. The Daily Press reported on March 3, 1961 that "Enrollment Hits Record 12,614 in W-M System." The day-full time student enrollment was 2,342 (with 1,471 enrolled in evening and extension courses). The largest enrollment was at Richmond Professional Institute with 4688 students attending day, evening and extension classes.

In late 1961 the State Council recommended dissolving the The Colleges of William and Mary. Specifically, the Council recommended to the Governor

(1) that a separate Board of Visitors be created to administer the affairs of the Norfolk College and that the Board be instructed to rename the college.

(2) that a separate Board of Visitors be created to administer the affairs of Richmond Professional Institute.

(3) that the present Board of Visitors of The Colleges of William and Mary administer the affairs of the College of William and Mary, the Richard Bland College, and the Christopher Newport College (DYP Papers, State Council).

In endorsing the Council's recommendation for disbanding the System Governor Albertis S. Harrison, in an address to the General Assembly on January 15, 1962, spoke of the mission of William and Mary.

The College of William and Mary . . . is to all our hearts and minds a distinctive institution in the history of this Commonwealth and nation. Its prestige and traditional role in the education of Jefferson, Marshall and so many of our Founding Fathers . . . commend it for special consideration at this time. Whereas, the glorious priorities of such a heritage make it a priceless possession,

the challenge is to fulfill its true mission in the future. This mission was summarized by President Paschall in his recent inaugural address. 'Let us apprise business industry government and all the professors that it is the basic image and mission of the College of William and Mary in Virginia to provide the graduate who is the educated man — one so steeped in the knowledge and values of a liberal education as to enable him to build the skills of future specialization without losing the perspective of the good life.' [William and Mary] should now enjoy a new birth as a truly great undergraduate institution of liberal arts and sciences, strengthening and improving the advanced programs it now has.

(DYP Papers, Reorganization)

While Governor Harrison fully endorsed the dissolution of The System, there were mixed reactions among Virginians. The Peninsula Chamber of Commerce strongly opposed the reorganization. In a news article in the Daily Press on November 18, 1961, a spokesman for the group indicated "William and Mary should be one of the dynamic educational institutions in the nation -- not just a small select Ivy League College." But the Society of the Alumni adopted a resolution supporting the proposal to separate the schools. A Richmond News Leader editorial on January 9, 1962 endorsed the proposal "because it would permit William and Mary to concentrate its entire energies on the ancient Williamsburg College. It is no secret that behind these multiple reorganizations is the determination of President Paschall to be master of his own house . . . . There cannot be but one operating boss for an institution. And the Daily Press on March 4, 1962 reported that "William and Mary in Williamsburg will [now]

develop an academic program of arts and sciences based on excellence." The article noted that the College would not abandon its master plan for the physical development of the Williamsburg campus and predicted an increase in enrollment as new dormitories and class buildings were erected. But the most critical and perhaps most telling editorial was in the Richmond News Leader on December 12, 1961 and stated in part:

For reasons we never have been able to understand, William and Mary never has come up to its magnificent potential as a liberal arts college. It has one of the most beautiful campuses in the world, it has age, tradition, some fine men up top. But somehow the combination that adds up to greatness has eluded them. In recent years, a president who was a scholar but no administrator was followed by a president who was an administrator but no scholar. Dr. Davis Y. Paschall, inaugurated this fall, has had no opportunity as yet to demonstrate his competence in either field, but we have high hopes for his administration. It may be that, at long last, a new day is dawning for William and Mary. (DYP Papers, Newsclippings)

Davis Y. Paschall received his Bachelor of Arts from William and Mary in 1932 under J.A.C. Chandler, and at the time of his appointment as President was Superintendent of Public Instruction in Virginia. In that capacity, he had become well known among General Assembly members and from that standpoint, he was a natural choice in Virginia for a college needing strong support from its state legislature. He had, since his graduation, retained close ties to his Alma Mater, and said upon his appointment, "I'd rather be president

of William and Mary than President of the United States, I have come home again" (Rouse, 1983, p. 205).

Paschall's inaugural address on October 13, 1961, he defined the basic image and mission of William and Mary as quoted earlier in Governor Harrison's speech, and then specified how William and Mary could pursue this mission:

(1) We must reaffirm and revitalize the principle that this College is a 'teaching institution.' The greatness of Jefferson was in large measure attributable to two of his teachers here, William Small and George Wythe — a clear case of a good mind under the influence of truly great minds.

(2) In this day when the undergraduate degree is referred to as 'commonplace' let us here resolve to make it unique in America. Instead of minimizing the basic courses of the beginning college years in a wild rush . . . to specialization, we must re-think their import in a College of Good Arts and Sciences. (DYP Papers, Inauguration)

This pursuit of excellence in undergraduate programs would remain central to Dr. Paschall's vision for the College, but in his Five Year Report published in the Alumni Gazette in October, 1965, he indicated that

while the College does not aspire to become a complex university . . . it cannot afford, in this period of rapid explosion of knowledge and change, and amid the educational demand of its region to remain exclusively a College of Arts and Sciences restricted to undergraduate curricula.

In between these extremes, the College purports to have

several graduate programs at the doctoral level, and a large number at the masters' level . . . [which will] be distinguished by excellence and quality . . . and will be designed to operate to the enhancement and enrichment, rather than hurt the undergraduate program. (p. 11)

And the College did dramatically expand its graduate programs during these years. The first earned doctorate degrees, the Ph.D. in Physics and Marine Science, were authorized in 1964, and the Ed.D. and Ph.D. in History were added in 1966. Master's level programs were added in almost every discipline. (Vital Facts, 1983).

The early and middle 1960's were also a period during which the enrollment of William and Mary became a significant issue. The number of applications to the College was increasing dramatically, putting severe demands on the Admissions Office (which will be discussed in a later section) and putting demands on the administration to increase enrollment to meet these demands. Dr. Paschall was firmly committed throughout his tenure, however, to restrict the growth of the College. He spoke to the issue in his 1965 Report (the year when applications for admission reached an all time high).

The College will not . . . become an institution of the size normally expected for a state university, nor will it so restrict its enrollment as to fail to serve the legitimate needs of the state that are expected of it. (p. 11)

And he condensed his educational ideology into the statement:

The College recognizes the importance of maintaining an informal

*friendly atmosphere, characteristic of the smaller institution, in which students and faculty know each other under conditions conducive to a respect for the individual rather than permit a loss of this advantage under the impact of monstrous enrollment. (p. 11)*

Dr. Paschall was also able to convince the State Council of the uniqueness of William and Mary, and they agreed in 1966 with the principle of "orderly growth in enrollment." In its Virginia Plan for Higher Education published in 1967, the Council also stated that it did not expect William and Mary to become a comprehensive university although it "feels the College should maintain a steady growth pattern and develop additional selective undergraduate and graduate programs . . . . The Council believes the College can retain its distinctive characteristics as a residential institution with high standards and at the same time expand its educational services for the rapidly growing Peninsula area (p. 2).

Thus, by the middle 1960's the image of the College had shifted from being seen primarily as an institution serving the needs of the state to one with a selective and distinctive character. However, the State continued to remind the College of its regional responsibilities.

This dilemma of state responsibilities versus growth toward national prominence and the pursuit of excellence was at issue in the 1964 Self-Study. As in 1954, the Self Study group was not able to reach concensus on a Statement of Purposes and Aims (this was eventually done in 1966). It was also central to the evaluation of the Visitation Committee of the Southern Association in 1964 which said in part:

*William and Mary . . . finds itself at crossroads in decisions as to*

policy and purpose. The committee . . . not only from the Self Study Report but as a result of interviews and further investigation found that there were gaps within the understanding of the purposes of the institution and of the directions it might take.

(TAG Papers, Self Study)

The *Statement of Purposes and Aims* which was offered in the 1964 Self-Study was not presented to or accepted by the Board of Visitors. The Visiting Committee said a Statement of Purposes and Aims must be accepted and suggested the Self Study Committee rework its Statement. The Statement as drafted by the faculty committee for the Self Study was, in the words of the Visiting Committee "an admirable statement of educational philosophy in nearly all respects." However, the Committee questioned whether or not the statement should clearly recognize the fact that the College of William and Mary is a state institution, (the draft in the 1964 Self Study made no mention of the College's public status) supported by taxation and consequently obligated to serve those functions and those elements of the constituency of the state.

It would appear, then, that at that point there existed some discrepancy in mission as perceived by those inside and those outside the institution. The Statement of Aims and Purposes as finally adopted by the Board of Visitors on January 14, 1966 clearly acknowledged the state responsibilities. It said in part:

Its purpose is twofold: to educate the student for a useful and meaningful life for himself and society, and, as an institution, to influence and improve the society of which it is an organic part . . .

In addition to the goal of affording the student an



opportunity for a broad basic education that can be applied practically to a useful purpose, the College must . . . be an effective unity and force in improving the society of which it is so vital a part. The latter purpose is specifically implied by the realization that the College is a State institution, supported by public funds, and is, therefore, obligated to serve certain functions and elements of constituency by legally constituted authority. This implies a consciousness of public responsibility and a readiness to provide educational leadership and services to the region as well as to the state and nation.(DYP Papers, Self Study)

Rapid growth in programs and enrollment and facilities necessitated implementing organizational and administrative changes twice in Dr. Paschall's eleven year tenure. The first reorganization was recommended by the 1964 Self-Study and endorsed by the Southern Association Visiting Committee. This reorganization drastically reduced the number of officers who reported directly to the President and created a new position — Dean of the College — who was second in the administrative structure and assumed some of the duties of the president. This reorganization, in effect, was the first dramatic move in William and Mary's history toward a sophisticated and defined administrative structure. Prior to the change, there appeared to be a "folksy" atmosphere prevalent in the President's conduct of business affairs. Everyone reported to him and he was, as presidents before him had been, very involved in administrative trivia and details. This reorganization was a big step away from regional provincialism.

In the fall convocation of faculty and students in 1964, Dr. Paschall

spoke of the changes:

*If the new directions amount only to firm adherence to a storied past, the College will fail to meet its educational obligation in a rapidly changing world. Were the College, on the other hand, to disassociate itself from the past and respond exclusively to present demands, it would depreciate and devalue itself tragically. It must, therefore, muster the wisdom to retain those tried and proven values of its past and, at the same time, to meet the challenge of a future that is already upon us. (DYP Papers, Reorganization)*

The reorganization of 1968 recognized even further the big business that the College had become. University status was recognized by the State Council and the Board of Visitors in 1967. At that time, an important special concession made by the State Council was the recognition of the Board of Visitors' request to keep the official designation "College" as it was named by the Royal Charter in 1693 (DYP Papers, State Council).

Briefly, this reorganization further restricted the number of persons directly reporting to the president, created an Administrative Council composed of main line administrative officers to act in an advisory capacity to the president, abolished the position of Dean of the College, and created a new position — Vice-President of the College — the first in the history of the College (DYP Papers, Reorganization).

Though Dr. Paschall was committed to restricted growth in enrollment in order to maintain the selective and distinctive liberal arts college that was his vision of William and Mary, he was equally committed to expansion of

facilities.

He discussed the campus growth in Highlights of Progress 1960-70 a Report on the Decade which was published shortly before his retirement in 1971.

During the 1960-1970 period, \$36,000,000 has been expended or committed in construction completed or underway -- more than twice the amount spent for facilities by the College in its long history from 1693 to 1960. From 1934 to 1964 -- a thirty year period in which enrollment more than doubled -- no new classroom building was completed. (p. 11)

He then described the terrible overcrowded conditions he encountered in 1960 and then listed the new facilities which included: William Small Physics Building, 1964; duPont Dormitory - for Women, 1964; Earl Gregg Swem Library, 1966; College Bookstore, 1966; Robert Andrews Fine Arts Building, 1967; William and Mary Commons (cafeteria) 1967; twelve fraternity complexes 1967; John Millington Life Sciences Building, 1967; Hugh Jones - Math and general classroom building, 1968; William and Mary Hall - Convocation and men's physical education, 1969 (p. 10). This was an astonishing period of growth which would create some problems for the next president, Thomas A. Graves, which will be discussed subsequently.

Interesting to note is that in the development plan for the construction of the new facilities paid attention was paid to a legend for which there is no historic verification but which became part of the William and Mary saga. The legend said that young Thomas Jefferson, while a student at the College, ventured the hope that the college would "always look upon the country."

During the 18th century, when the remark was allegedly made, the "College" was the Wren Building, so the development plan respected the idea that when one looks out upon the "Jefferson Prospect" from the western portico of the Wren Building one's view is of a beautiful Sunken Garden surrounded by English Boxwood and Crepe Myrtle, this despite more than fifty buildings which constitute the William and Mary campus (as opposed to three when Jefferson studied there) (Richmond Times Dispatch, May 7, 1967).

The external image of William and Mary during this decade was one of strength and positive force. The admissions picture will be discussed later but it became one of the most selective schools in the country during this period according to national college ratings publications and national publicity was highly favorable. Columnist Russell Kirk developed a devotion to the College in the late 1960's and wrote two columns about it during 1968. In his syndicated "To the Point" of February 23, 1968 he said "Any genuine college of liberal arts and sciences should be a place of dignity, tradition, quiet and academic leisure (a very different thing from academic idleness). In these matters, the advantages of William and Mary are great. Had I to make the choice, I had rather dwell in Williamsburg than in Cambridge, Massachusetts." In another column about the pleasures of Williamsburg he remarked about the College:

Very English in its patrimony, William and Mary also represents the old culture of the southern states. Like the Old Dominion, the college retains its character and its courtesy in good natured defiance of the age of automation and the secular city. (Kirk, 1968)

In that same column Kirk also discussed his understanding of the

importance of architectural continuity to the image of an institution. He remarked: "Its more recent buildings are in a modern style, what with the cost of Georgian design nowadays; but the color of their brick harmonizes pleasantly with the Wren Building, the Brafferton and other historic survivals".

Dr. Paschall also mentioned the architecture of the new campus in Highlights of Progress, 1960-1970 stating that the State building and engineering officials did "in appropriate respect to William and Mary" permit the use of the Flemish Bond brick -- the same as on the old campus. The State of Virginia was amenable to safeguarding the traditions and heritage of the College -- a result of the successful image of William and Mary as worthy of that "respect".

And Governor Mills E. Godwin, an alumnus, on January 11, 1969, at a meeting of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Revision, referred to William and Mary as "the Alma Mater of a Nation" a designation which is frequently evoked on ceremonial occasions (DYP Papers, Mailing of Various Publications).

In a chronicle of the organizational ideology which led William and Mary to its 1980 position of distinction and selectivity, Dr. Paschall appeared as someone in the middle of a continuum with Mr. Bryan and Mr. Pomfret on one end and the Chandlers on the other. His vision of William and Mary was that of a small selective liberal arts institution, but he also recognized that the College had to move forward to meet modern responsibilities. Shortly before his retirement, in Highlights of Progress 1960-70, he said with regard to future directions:

they must at all cost portend high standards, quality and

excellence, rather than quantity, and, while preserving the modern university status attained, accord priority consideration to the 'undergraduate' and avoid the temptation for 'colossus' in enrollment or 'multi-university' in goal. (p. 5)

Thomas A. Graves, the twenty-fourth president of the College, addressed the issue of the William and Mary mission in his first speech to the students and faculty at the opening convocation on September 14, 1971.

The heart of William and Mary's mission to me is in the undergraduate college, with its emphasis on full-time and residential studies leading to the bachelor's degree in art science and business. This is the central core of the liberal educational experience that we share here, as students and teachers. At the same time we are a university -- small enough still, I hope, to allow each of us to identify with and relate to each other and with the institution, large enough to attract to the College the resources both material and human, that are the building blocks of academic excellence . . . . I hope that we have here . . . an atmosphere of excitement, the kind of special magic that is found when teachers and students together are sharing an academic adventure . . . . I hope that we may strengthen our graduate offerings, in the arts and sciences and in the professions of law business and education, in support of our undergraduate offerings; but if we are to fulfill our special mission, let us be cautious about growing much larger . . . . Within the framework of a small liberal university with limited objectives . . . I recognize that we are also a state institution. As

such we have the responsibility and privilege of serving the citizens of Virginia. (TAG Papers, Convocation, p. 2)

In his inaugural address on Charter Day, February 5, 1972, Dr. Graves reaffirmed his conception of the William and Mary mission adding "The critical point to me is that we define our objectives as a college, in a limited and realistic way, and then work together to meet them, with a goal of excellence in everything we do. It is a question of aspirations and motivation, convictions and confidence." He also recognized the importance to William and Mary of the "position that the College enjoys in its geographic and historic environment" . . . adding that he was only beginning to realize the full educational benefit of the unique partnership that the College enjoyed with Colonial Williamsburg. He reiterated his commitment to remaining "essentially a small, residential full time university, holding to the present undergraduate size . . . . Beyond our present size, something of that special magic is lost, and with it would go the chance for excellence in the educational environment of this particular college" (TAG Papers, Convocation).

During this same period, the *William and Mary section of the Governor's Management Study of 1971* said in part: "The organization appears to be effective. Efforts are being made by the administrators to preserve its colonial heritage by limiting and stabilizing enrollment and constructing physical facilities that cannot always be justified by acceptable criteria. Further, curricula are being expanded to include post graduate work in the sciences". (TAG Papers, Administrative Council, January 11, 1971). It would appear that as Dr. Graves began his tenure, the internal perception of the William and Mary mission and ideology was in line with that of external forces which had a

financial and philosophical impact upon the future direction of the institution.

A result of Dr. Graves' vision of William and Mary's pursuit of academic excellence was his recommendations to the Board of Visitors regarding the College's fairly extensive program of Continuing Studies. In 1971 the School of Continuing Studies Faculty Minutes of February 26, 1971 reported the off campus extension enrollment was 2141 in 99 class sections. Dr. Graves' recommendations were accepted by the Board of Visitors in February, 1972:

- (1) That the off campus Extension Dimension offerings be phased out.
- (2) That all courses offered by the College, either for graduate or undergraduate credit be confined to the Williamsburg campus, to Christopher Newport College and to VARC (Virginia Associated Research Campus).
- (3) That the designation of the School of Continuing Studies be abolished. (TAG Papers, Administrative Council December 7, 1971).

In place of the Extension Division the Board placed responsibilities for adult continuing education in a new office -- the Office of Special Programs. In his 1974 Report to the Board of Visitors Dr. Graves referred to this new office; "As a state institution William and Mary has a responsibility to serve the adult population of this area by offering non-credit continuing educational opportunities to citizens of Tidewater and the Peninsula" (p. 10). The key word is non-credit, for the Office of Special Programs was to offer enrichment and self improvement programs, not academic courses for degree-seeking students. Through this action, Dr. Graves took a giant step away from service



to the region as a significant aspect of the mission of the College. Essentially this action was taken so that the College could exercise more control over the quality of the courses being taught under the William and Mary banner, and also to control the quality of students who were receiving a William and Mary degree. This was a most significant step in the progressive journey to excellence and recognition as a selective and distinctive institution with a national focus.

Of great significance in 1972 was an administrative reorganization which included the establishment of the Office of the Vice-President for Development. Prior to the creation of this position, fund raising was a function of various administrators whose primary responsibilities were in other areas, such as the Alumni Executive Secretary. Fund raising was not a high priority and William and Mary was almost totally dependent upon state funding. A major three year fund-raising Campaign for the College was launched in 1976 to support faculty professional development, student financial aid, and enrichment programs (Vital Facts, 1983). The Campaign raised twenty million dollars which brought William and Mary into a common arena with private colleges, as well as providing for the College its first opportunity to fund projects or support research without the rigid reporting and justification procedures required by state bureaucracy.

In 1972 a Self-Study was undertaken which again proved to be a growth and learning process for the College. Of major significance was the fact that the Statement on Aims and Purposes was endorsed by all parties -- the students, faculties, administrative personnel and Board of Visitors -- with little disagreement. This was in contrast to 1954 when such rancor and disruption

occurred resulting in the fact that the Self-Study itself was never published. In 1964, the Statement on Aims and Purposes was not adopted by the Board of Visitors until 1966, after the Southern Association Accreditation Visiting Committee mandated that one must be endorsed. It would appear that by 1972 there was greater consensus, perhaps a result of a clearer, and more frequently articulated ideology by the President.

The Statement of Aims and Purposes established that William and Mary is a small university supported by the Commonwealth of Virginia under the supervision of the Board of Visitors. The goal and heart of the mission is the development of individual capabilities through liberal education. Liberal education means an introduction to areas of inquiry which

*heightens one's ability to cope with his environment and . . . modify his behavior in order to accomplish his objectives [It can provide] familiarity with a broad range of knowledge and skills which improve one's decision-making abilities [and can give] exposure to a range of value systems and encouragement to construct a personal system of beliefs as a foundation for personal happiness . . .*

*William and Mary seeks to develop independent, responsive, and responsible individuals . . . . The College of William and Mary is a university of unusual strength and promise. It is large enough to provide a diversity of opportunities and interactions, yet small enough to be humane, responsive and innovative. Its engagement in the creation, criticism and sharing of knowledge, art and values provides the setting for a variety of activities that embody the spirit of liberal education. (TAG Papers, Aims and Purposes, p. 2)*

The only reference to special service for the community stated: "For residents of the peninsula area of Virginia, the College of William and Mary provides imaginative educational and cultural opportunities"(p. 2). The mission had become more generalized, with less emphasis on vocational programs and more global with little emphasis on service to the surrounding region.

A unique status was afforded William and Mary by this Self-Study; that of a "miniversity" an original term used to define an institution operating in contrast to the multiversity which was the product of the spectacular growth of universities during the 1950's and 1960's. An essay, describing William and Mary as a miniversity, was included in the Self-Study, although it had no official status or endorsement, because the Steering Committee believed it could "serve as a useful accompaniment to the [official] statement of aims and purposes." The essay, which was written by a faculty committee, noted first that William and Mary might have become a multiversity too had it not "been for one of the most fortunate developments in our history" the spinning off of the Norfolk Division (now Old Dominion University) and Richmond Professional Institute (now Virginia Commonwealth University) in 1962. Had that not happened William and Mary enrollment would be 27,219 and "would be not only the university colossus of Virginia" (1973 enrollment at the University of Virginia was 12,300 and at Virginia Polytechnic Institute it was 9,568) "but one of the largest multiversities in the nation" (p. 8).

The essay continued that to a considerable extent the miniversity "is a return to the pre-World War II small non-comprehensive state university (p. 8). In that era the typical professor was

emotionally committed to and deeply involved in undergraduate

education but also strongly dedicated to giving the best possible training to the small band of graduate students who came under his tutelage over the years. This professor felt an abiding loyalty to *and affection for his university . . . he regularly attended faculty meetings and played a vital role in the departmental and faculty affairs at his university.*

[the] present William and Mary in its university status, its coeducational student and residential life, its non-comprehensive character, its emphasis on undergraduate education in the liberal arts and sciences, and the size, extent, and quality of its graduate and professional programs is almost exactly the duplicate of the well-respected pre-World War II state university. (p. 7)

The Virginia Plan of 1973 of the State Council of Higher Education supported the mission as defined in the Statement of Aims and Purposes. It stated in part; "The College of William and Mary is a highly selective, coeducational, full-time residential university, with primary emphasis on a liberal education in depth and breadth at the undergraduate level. It is a state university and at the same time is national and international in character and contribution" . . . . It continued; "The unique characteristics of William and Mary are found in such qualities as the high selectivity of students resulting from limited enrollment and heavy applications . . . the strong liberal arts tradition . . . and the relatively moderate size of the institution and its classes . . . (TAG Papers, State Council p. 2).

However, in 1973 the State Council authorized and financed an exhaustive report by Donald Shaner and Associates, Chicago, on the state of

higher education in Virginia. The Shaner Report made over forty recommendations regarding the tax supported higher education system in Virginia. Several of these recommendations were potentially damaging to the newly defined and refined mission of William and Mary. The Report's overriding conclusion regarding the College was that it had twice as much classroom space as it needed, and that enrollment had been purposely kept low and selective even though "no determination of need has been made for the kind of enriched program which William and Mary seeks to offer. It now admits a little over 1000 new students a year but no work has been done to determine whether the need for this level of enriched quality program is represented by 100, 200, or 10,000 students in Virginia" (TAG Papers, Shaner Report p. 32).

Dr. Graves made a presentation to the State Council of Higher Education in Earl Gregg Swem Library on October 2, 1973 in which he dealt with issues raised by the Shaner Report without, however, mentioning the Report by name. He reaffirmed the mission of the College as outlined in the 1972 Statement of Aims and Purposes and allowed "that the special mission for William and Mary creates some problems and concerns. It is unfortunate, . . . that we must turn down qualified undergraduate Virginia applicants each year. This supports the fact that there is a great demand for this approach to education." He then stated that there was nothing magic about the number 1000 in an entering freshman class. The limitation was a result of lack of available space, adequate resources, and lack of space in living halls. He then acknowledged that the College currently had sufficient classroom space to take approximately 2000 more students in total. He said this was a result of a lack of master planning in the 1960's "at all institutions and throughout the state . . .

there was great growth, but it was uneven growth, within colleges, among living halls, classrooms, office space and other facilities." But William and Mary had no excess residence hall space. "In fact, we are jam-packed, housing . . . students off-campus, in apartments, frame houses and . . . at Eastern State Hospital" (TAG Papers, State Council, 1973).

He then turned to a Shaner Report suggestion that Christopher Newport College be closed and all 1900 students be enrolled at William and Mary. He said this suggestion was totally unrealistic because most of the students at Christopher Newport would not be admitted at William and Mary under then existing admissions criteria, and if admissions standards were lowered the new criteria would have to be applied statewide creating admission problems elsewhere in the state without resolving Christopher Newport's problems. He then spoke briefly about the future and excellence of Christopher Newport and informed the Council that the William and Mary system of education was a unified system and that if one part (for example if the admissions criteria were lowered to admit 2000 more students) was changed "then you change the student performance, the faculty expectations, and finally the character of the faculty and students. The result of this approach would be that all institutions would be about the same, and the diversity that is such an important part of our system would disappear". He then briefly outlined ways that William and Mary was attempting to solve its problems, including offering part time Master's level work and increasing the Law School enrollment from 450 to 600, and making considerations for applications from commuting students. He concluded: "These are the ways the College plans to solve its space over-capacity in classrooms, to be of service to Virginia residents, and to retain its

mission which we believe is desired by the Council, the General Assembly, and the citizens of Virginia . . . . There is some magic about the special mission of William and Mary. We believe that you believe that this mission is important, too (TAG Papers, State Council).

Other state supported institutions were, in varying degrees, criticized by the Report, and the state presidents apparently convinced the chairman of the Higher Education Study Commission that the Report would hurt higher education's image if made public. It was, therefore, buried in the state archives where it remained until 1978 when a member of the General Assembly released it in its entirety. Resulting publicity, however, was mitigated by the fact that many of the situations which had been criticized were no longer of concern. For example, William and Mary's enrollment was 4494 in 1978 (3992 in 1973), and Christopher Newport was an independent institution in 1978 and no longer part of the William and Mary system. When questioned by the newspapers, the College reported it was continuing to work on space allocation; this seemed to mollify state newspaper reporters.

After 1973 there was an increasing focus upon long-range planning. A report issued by the Long Range Planning Committee (composed of faculty members) reported that in October, 1975 the total head count had increased about 3% per year from 1968-1974, and stated that a moderate growth rate "is not only possible but probably beneficial." It stated that limited growth could enhance the overall educational program in two ways; (1) by providing an opportunity to move toward an optimum enrollment with respect to costs (2) by providing a greater degree of flexibility within the educational program (TAG Papers, Long Range Planning).

And in a statement to the State Council on October 5, 1976, Dr. Graves made a strong plea for more financial support and less bureaucratic interference. He said that in order to keep up a sense of momentum and of educational adventure an educational institution like William and Mary cannot stand still. "We need to initiate new, and to improve existing programs continually, in order to be responsive to evolving educational needs; we need to make the College's educational offerings as effective as possible; to use our physical plant as efficiently as possible. All of these needs . . . are legitimate and directly related to our mission" (TAG Papers, Priorities).

In April, 1977, Dr. Graves issued a detailed "Listing of College Priorities over Next Six to Eight Years." Included as priorities were, leadership, educational and administrative programs, college community, faculty resources, student resources, relationships, and long range planning (TAG Papers, Priorities).

Throughout the middle and late 1970's, the emphasis continued to be on the pursuit of excellence in the liberal arts tradition. In his 1974-75 Report to the Board of Visitors Dr. Graves focused his entire report on the Faculty of Arts and Sciences because "as the official statement of mission, approved . . . by the State Council of Higher Education, makes clear, the heart of the educational mission of William and Mary, its major strength and priority, and the way through which it makes its primary educational contribution to Virginia and to the nation, is the Faculty of Arts and Sciences" (Graves Report, 1974-75).

Dr. Graves also supported and espoused his philosophical ideology in public settings. In a speech to the Newcomen Society of North America on March 5, 1976, he said:



Today William and Mary is a modern university, in service to the Commonwealth and to the Nation. It is a unique State institution that is highly selective, coeducational, full time, and residential, holding generally to its present size and character. Its primary emphasis is on a liberal education . . . but it is proud of its graduate programs . . . our mission is to prepare young men and women to live and to make a living. (TAG Papers, Newcomen Society, p. 19)

Academic excellence continued to be the first priority. The Richmond Times Dispatch reported on January 22, 1976, that a study conducted by Bates College showed that the College of William and Mary had some of the toughest academic standards in the country. The study examined twenty-six colleges in what were considered peer group institutions "prestigious liberal arts universities of moderate size including - Dartmouth, Amherst, Brown, Tufts, Vassar, Williams, Bryn Mawr, Bowdoin and Bucknell. William and Mary, Bates and Hamilton were determined to award the lowest percentage of "A" grades in the entire group (TAG Papers, Newscippings).

The Presidential Debate in 1976 between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford was held in Phi Beta Kappa Hall, and provided the College with positive national publicity as well as an opportunity to espouse its historical traditions. Research pieces on a debating society on the campus (the precursor of the Alpha chapter of Phi Beta Kappa) and on the history of William and Mary as the "Alma Mater of a Nation" were expertly prepared for press release. Dr. Graves was quoted that William and Mary was "a College community, small enough to provide for a set of relationships that allow true teaching and learning to take

place, large enough to have the resources to strive toward excellence" (TAG Papers, Ford-Carter Debate p. 3).

In 1976 Dr. Graves most eloquently explained his ideology in a speech at the Founders Day of The College of Charleston. He said in part:

So let us do all we can to encourage our students . . . to embrace the fundamentals of a liberal education. Help them to experience the joy and wonder of reading. Encourage them in their writing to communicate in the unlimited arena of ideas with imagination and creativity running free. Help them to accept the wisdom of the ages and of the great discipline of the mind. Urge them to become informed of our history as a universe, a world and a country and to use this knowledge to build their future . . . Help them to appreciate the wonder of laughter and the beauty and the infinite joy of all that is good in our lives and in our country. (TAG Papers, News clippings)

In The Distinctive College, Clark found that the charisma of a particular leader was instrumental in the development of the saga of the three institutions he studied. In examining the sociological concept of charisma, however, he noted that in organizations, charisma is as much a function of the perspective of the subordinates as it is of the man's personal qualities. He also revealed that in higher education, men who appear strongly charismatic are not usually selected as presidents because "such men are inappropriate for the stability, continuity, and maintenance of the existing power structure" (p. 241). In assessing the personal influence of the recent presidents of Willam and Mary it appeared that the Board of Visitors of the College had not selected men who

appeared "strongly charismatic" (with the possible exception of John Stewart Bryan whose tenure was often referred to as the Golden Age of William and Mary) (Rouse, 1983). However, the educational philosophy of these men had a great impact upon the direction and focus (i.e. mission) of the institution during their tenures.

The aims and purposes of administrators moved the College in radically different directions on an almost decade by decade basis. After J.A.C Chandler had effectively brought the College into the modern age by expanding the enrollment from 300 to 1,200 students and the campus from 300 acres to more than 1,300, John Stewart Bryan dramatically changed the focus of the institution from vocational and professional preparation to an almost classical liberal arts curriculum. It even appeared, for a time, that William and Mary was interested in abandoning its state connection and adopting private status. Mr. Bryan sought an endowment for this purpose throughout his entire administration, but John E. Pomfret, his successor, clearly stated his disapproval for "heavily endowed institution(s)" in his first Report to the Board in 1942. Mr. Pomfret's educational philosophy closely followed that of Mr. Bryan regarding curriculum, but he was a believer in democratic ideals, and a strong advocate of the public status of William and Mary.

Alvin Duke Chandler's philosophy and goals for William and Mary were very similar to those of his father, and he struggled throughout his tenure to expand the College's facilities and enrollment. The state funding was not what Mr. Chandler felt was necessary, causing him to remark "If we are ever going to live up to our heritage, the College of William and Mary cannot operate on the 'standard rations' of a state college" (ADC Report, 1958, p. 5).

Following Mr. Chandler's resignation, a telling editorial appeared in the Richmond News Leader, welcoming the new administration of Davis Y. Paschall, and speculating that William and Mary had not reached her full potential because she had been led by an academic who was not an administrator and an administrator who was not an academic (during the previous two administrations) (Richmond News Leader, Dec. 12, 1961).

Dr. Paschall appeared to follow a middle road between the extremes of expansionist JAC Chandler and the elitist private school mentality of John Stewart Bryan. He was committed to the liberal arts philosophy, to a small and personalized institution, but he thought the image and distinction of the College could be enhanced through the expansion of facilities. And because of his strong connections to the General Assembly he was to procure the funding which had eluded Mr. Chandler. Unfortunately this attempt to travel the middle road left some confusion throughout the early 1960's regarding the mission and goals of the institution. This was probably a result of the pressures being exerted during this period - increase enrollment or hold the line, add graduate programs or retain the classic undergraduate curriculum, adopt university status or remain a college - all of which were decisions made during the late 1960's. The 1964 Self-Study made the point that this confusion was "not peculiar to this institution . . . [but was] in large part a product of the rapid and confusing social, technological and ideological changes which mark our modern world" (p. 4).

By 1971, when Dr. Paschall retired, the College had essentially chosen a course which Dr. Graves accepted and supported. It was to be primarily an undergraduate teaching institution with strong but limited graduate programs,

and it was to follow a policy of "limited growth", and was to focus primarily on providing a liberal education for young people enabling them to "live and make a living."

Throughout every administration the ideology and philosophy of the president was mitigated or enhanced by the Board of Visitors under whose authority the presidents operated. And because of the public status of the College, the presidents were also required to convince outside groups, namely the State Council of Higher Education and the General Assembly, of the efficacy of their focus and direction. It was, in the final analysis, only at the discretion of these agents that the missions and goals of the College were implemented by the administrators.

### Admissions

The public policies and internal processes of the admissions office have supported and enhanced the stature of William and Mary as a selective institution. Historical records indicate that from 1888 requirements for admission were listed in the college catalogues. The 1888 catalogue required "all candidates for admission will have to pass a reasonable examination in Orthography, Reading, Penmanship, Arithmetic, Geography, and English Grammar" (C.C. 1888 p.19) That statement was published in the College Catalogue for every session until that of 1896-97 when the following statement appeared:

To be admitted as a student of the College, the applicants must be at least fifteen years of age; but the faculty may dispense with

this requirement in favor of one who has a brother of the requisite age entering at the same time. (C.C., 1896 p.24)

The next change occurred in 1906 which was the year that the College became totally state supported as a normal school for males. In that year the College apparently established the requirement of high school graduation.

Students who are neither college graduates nor graduates of Normal schools must meet the following: (1) a Working knowledge of English Grammar and Compositions; (2) either American or Virginia History; (3) Arithmetic, introduction to Algebra, introduction to Geometry; (4) the equivalent of a year's work in either Physiology, Physical Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, or equivalent work in any two of these combined; (5) a fundamental knowledge of Latin Grammar, and one year's work in either German, French, Spanish, or Greek; (6) Elementary Freehand Drawing (equivalent work in some other subjects will be accepted); (7) ability to read at sight from the most advanced school readers.

If the applicant for admission has been a student at any other incorporated institution, he should produce a certificate from such institution, or other satisfactory evidence of general good conduct. (C.C. 1906, p.32)

In 1907, the College eliminated the requirements for admission and substituted requirements for degree candidacy:

To enter upon the courses leading to A.B., the student must have had (1) High School grammar and composition; High School

rhetoric, a thorough acquaintance with one play of Shakespeare (six plays read as parallel); a general knowledge of either American or English Literature; (2) one year of high school work in Civil Government, United States and General History; (3) Arithmetic, Algebra, and Plane Geometry; (4) One year's high school work, five times a week, in either Physical Geography or Physics, or Chemistry or Physiology, or Zoology, or Botany; (5) A fundamental knowledge of Latin grammar and four books of Caesar; (6) A year's work in either French, German, or Greek. (C.C., 1907 p.9)

In 1909, entrance requirements were clearly stated in terms of presentation of a high school diploma with the following credits as a minimum: three in English, three in Mathematics, one in History; with an additional three in Latin required of candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts and one of science and two in Latin or two in Modern Languages required of candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Science. Additional units, to make a total of fourteen, might be selected from English, Mathematics, Science, History and foreign languages. Provision was made for the admission of both conditional and special students, and those who were not graduates of high school could gain clear admission by passing entrance examinations (C.C. 1909).

These requirements were the most stringent and specific ever mandated in the history of the College, including current catalogues in 1984 which listed no specific requirements for entrance. However, this policy was modified in 1912 by reducing the amount of mathematics required to two and one-half units, and it was further changed in 1920 to require a total of fifteen units. The requirements were also modified to permit the acceptance of three units in

any foreign language for either degree. In 1922 the College increased its credit requirement to sixteen, but left unchanged its specification of three units in English, two and one-half units in Mathematics, and one unit in History (C.C. 1912, 1922).

This policy continued in effect until 1933 when President Chandler reported to the Board of Visitors at its meeting of June 9, 1933:

I have decided to launch forth at whatever cost it may be - on the selective process of the admission of students . . . . I wish to pursue the Dartmouth plan to a great extent (1) Scholarship (2) Personality (3) Character. I would not accept any person on certificate who does not graduate in the upper half of his class. If any of the lower half should insist on coming, they would have to take examinations. I would not take any student who was not interviewed by an alumnus or representative of the College. The question of personality should figure very greatly in the admissions of students. Finally, I would have the principal of the school and the four teachers . . . who had taught the student in the last year in the preparatory schools to send me a certificate stating whether they had always found the student truthful, and whether they had found any inclination to deceive or evade, whether they felt that the student was always trustworthy, and finally, whether the student when left upon his own responsibility under the honor system would be an honorable individual. I hope very much that you will approve of this plan. (BOV Minutes June 9, 1933, p.407)

The Board of Visitors' action also recorded in the minutes, "The



recommendations of the President as to new requirements for entrance were adopted. The Presidents' recommendations are as follows: Beginning September 1933 students entering the College upon graduation from High School, must rank in the upper half of their respective graduating classes, and must meet the requirements of the College as to personality and character" (BOV Minutes, June 9, 1933, p.413).

President Chandler's report to the Board followed a long series of relatively violent disciplinary disturbances culminating in the expulsion of a large number of male students. J. Wilfred Lambert, a 1927 alumnus of the College (and life-long William and Mary professor and administrator who retired as Dean of Students in 1973) related these episodes in his oral history. In 1926 an anonymous underground newspaper was published, and as a result several students were expelled. A large segment of the student body went on strike in support of the expelled students. In 1932, there was a particularly arrogant headwaiter who dealt with the students in a "most autocratic fashion." A large group of students decided he needed "cooling off" and set about abducting him to dump into the fishing pond near the cafeteria. The headwaiter held off the group for a while with a meat cleaver, but eventually the deed was accomplished. Several students were expelled as a result and this time the student body launched a three day protest and strike. Mr. Lambert also alluded to a rather large scale "bootlegging" ring operating out of the College during this period (JWL Oral History).

The report to the Board was based upon the recommendations of a discipline committee of the faculty which stated:

From its experience in handling discipline cases, the Committee

believes that the recent disturbances in the student body have grown out of certain features, namely:

- (1) Admission on high school certificates or on transfer certificates of students who are not college material.
- (2) The retention of students who have shown by their achievement and conduct that they are not profiting from the College instructions and are, therefore, a potential detriment to the establishment of desirable learning and concepts of conduct.

To meet this situation, the Committee wholeheartedly endorses the policies of the President in establishing more careful entrance procedures, and recommends that students who are not profiting from their instruction or who are inimical to the ideals of the institution, be required to sever their connection with the institution. (JACC Papers, Discipline Committee)

An undated report issued by Dudley Woodbridge, Dean of the Law School during this period stated, "Were the legality of this policy to be tested, it could not be upheld as the College cannot legally bar graduates of accredited Virginia high schools" (JACC Papers, Self-Study). The report recommended that while "the policy does aid materially in maintaining standards of selection, it [should] be expeditiously waived if there is danger that a Virginia resident might force the issue."

Thus, the origin of the image of selective admissions at William and Mary was selective more in name than practice because the requirements were ignored if any serious inquiry was made on behalf of a rejected student. It would also appear that the adoption of the "selective" process could have

resulted from the discovery of bootlegging on the campus.

Nevertheless, enrollment figures for this period indicated that the College experienced a substantial reduction in enrollment from 1932 to 1933. Enrollment in 1932 was 1,602 and 1933 enrollment was 1,269.

While the Depression might have been a cause of the drop in enrollment for this period, figures for other state supported institutions (Table I) indicated that William and Mary's enrollment dropped 20% from 1932 to 1933 while the University of Virginia's fell 9% and Virginia Military Institute and Virginia Polytechnical Institute experienced a growth in enrollment.

TABLE I

Undergraduate Enrollment

	<u>W &amp; M</u>	<u>UVa</u>	<u>VPI</u>	<u>VMI</u>
1932-1933	1,602	1,475	1,288	356
1933-1934	1,269	1,345	1,366	367

It appeared, therefore, that the selective admissions policy was having some impact upon the enrollment and its immediate effect may have diluted and lessened the quantity, if not the quality of the applicant pool. In Mr. Chandler's report to the Board of Visitors in 1934, he specifically mentioned the large drop in enrollment from the previous year but gave no indication of any reasons for it (JACC Report, 1934).

By 1940, President Bryan and the Board of Visitors had become extremely concerned about the difference in number and quality of the Virginia male applicant pool as compared to the other three applicant groups (in-state females, and out-of-state males and females). A report submitted to Bryan in 1939 delineated the extent of the problem. This report listed the male enrollment of all Virginia colleges, in 1938-39, a total of 3,620 men. The report further stated that of 4,600 male high school graduates in 1940 only 30% were predicted to go to college (the percentage had been consistently maintained for the previous ten years). The report concluded that the Virginia colleges which could accommodate a male enrollment of 3,620 were actually competing for 1,380 students (JBS Papers, Male enrollment, no author or date).

A letter from Dean of the College, James W. Miller, to President Bryan expressed alarm that tables listing grade point averages by sex "bring out with great clarity what we already knew, namely that our women students are doing much better than our men . . . . Roughly, [the] percent of men who fail [courses] is three times that of women who fail (JSB Papers, Male Enrollment, May 1, 1940). In the President's Report to the Board of Visitors of 1940, Mr. Bryan reported that the College, to date, had 977 applications from women and only 321 applications from men. He noted:

It will be observed that there has been a slight drop in the number of men students while the number of women students has been kept practically at the same figure. It is thoroughly understood that the restoration of a preponderance of men students is a most important objective for the College and it should be borne in mind that the present reputation of William and Mary and its appeal to men

students are markedly higher than at any time in the past six years. Doubtless this change has been brought about by the standing and reputation of the College as a center for education, by the great number of tourists who hear of the College as they visit Williamsburg, [and] by the increased activity of our alumni.  
(JSB Report, 1940)

The changes were also attributed to implementation of ideas outlined in an extensive report prepared by a specially appointed committee charged with designing an organizational plan for increasing the male enrollment of the College. Their committee report, entitled "A Progress Report From The Committee Appointed to Prepare an Organized Plan to Increase the Male Enrollment of the College", outlined four areas of focus, and offered highly specific suggestions for improvement in the four areas. These areas were: (1) Alumni participation; Alumni were recruited and provided with detailed instructions on how and when to approach applicants. (2) The publication and distribution of bulletins that "will adequately but concisely and attractively described the purpose and work of the College, and that will be particularly designed to make an appeal to men students" (p.1). The resulting brochure won national recognition as the best piece of college publicity in 1940. (3) Student Aid; The amount of money designated for financial aid was increased, and new merit Scholarships were established honoring Cary T. Grayson, a distinguished alumnus of the College. These \$500 per year scholarships were only available to men. Another financial incentive was the establishment of competitive chemistry scholarships. (4) The development in cooperation with the Restoration "of a systematic plan to bring to the college a group of high school

and preparatory school students" (JSB Papers, Male Enrollment, February 3, 1940 p.3.)

A survey, (Factors which Influenced 182 Men in their Selection of William and Mary), of entering males was conducted in 1940, and results supported the notion of an image of William and Mary as a selective academic institution. Of the 182 responses, 67 of them listed academic attractiveness as a reason for attending the College. Forty-six of the respondents listed alumni influence and 44 listed location and impressive campus as their primary reason for attending (JSB Papers, Male Enrollment, no author, no date).

A most significant decision regarding athletics was made as a result of this intense focus on improving the male enrollment of the College. The intercollegiate sports program had never been high priority at the College. In the 1940 survey of entering males, only seven listed athletic programs as a reason for choosing William and Mary. The President and the Board of Visitors concluded that improvement in the intercollegiate athletic programs would have a positive impact on the recruitment of males. Accordingly, the Board hired Mr. Carl Voyles to be Athletic Director and charged him with the responsibility of building a strong and nationally competitive football team (BOV Minutes, September 15, 1938). The repercussions of that decision will be discussed in a subsequent section. Commenting on Mr. Voyles' appointment Mr. Bryan reported "The problem of athletics, as the Board well knows, has given us . . . concern for many years . . . This problem . . . involves the deeper and more far reaching consideration of attracting young men, both who are athletes and those who are not. I can say to the Board without the slightest hesitation that the choice of Carl M. Voyles gives the best assurance we could have of a

satisfactory solution of this matter (JSB Report, 1940, p.3). In Mr. Bryan's 1940 Report to the Board, he reported:

As always, we are faced by the problem of enrollment. This year, following the efforts of Mr. Carl Voyles, the new director of Athletics . . . there has been a marked increase in boys from Virginia. These young men are of unusual caliber and have this further advantage - they come from homes in this vicinage . . . There is no limit to the number of women who could be accepted here because William and Mary with its location and its instruction is able to give women a degree and quality of education which no other college in the state . . . affords at present. (p.2)

He also reported that for the 1940-41 session the College received 340 preliminary applications from men and 1,025 from women.

Just as it appeared that the recruiting efforts being made were coming to fruition, World War II intervened and the male enrollment plummeted. During the war, female enrollment doubled, and there was a Navy Chaplain School on the campus, so programs and finances were not effected by the drop in male enrollment. But the momentum gained in the early 1940s in recruiting males was lost.

Immediately after the war returning veterans were the focus of programs and policies. President Pomfret commented on the challenge of meeting the needs of these veterans.

If the educational institutions successfully meet the challenge thrust upon them by the veterans, they will rise to a new plateau of public esteem . . . For the first time, thousands of young men have

the opportunity that they have dreamed of; that of attending college without heavy financial pressures. A nation's gratitude . . . has brought into being an educational and social experiment of tremendous significance. (JEP Report, 1945)

A special admissions policy was instituted, mandating that all veterans, regardless of academic standing upon withdrawal, were to be re-admitted in good standing. This policy ignored the "selective" admissions policy still specified in the catalogues and abandoned it by 1950 (C.C 1944-50). In 1946, there were 1,029 applications from men of whom 539 were offered admission. There were 571 applications from women and only 60 were offered admission, apparently in an attempt to balance the male/female enrollment which, at the end of 1945, included 308 men and 842 women (JEP Report, 1945). By the 1946-47 academic session, a total male/female reversal had taken place, and the enrollment was 1,264 men and 643 women. "A session unparalleled in the annals of the College; all enrollment records were shattered" (JEP Report, 1946, p.3).

By 1951, when Alvin Duke Chandler became president, the admissions office was becoming a separate unit from the Registrar's office, and the first Dean of Admissions, H. Wescott Cunningham, was appointed. Mr. Cunningham, a 1943 alumnus, was President of the Student Body in that year. He held the Dean's position until 1960, when he was named coordinator of the newly opened Newport News division of William and Mary, Christopher Newport College.

The Office of Admissions evolved into a professional and separate office during the decade of the 1950s. The 1952-53 Self Study Report indicated that "the admissions procedure suffers from a lack of a clear cut statement



regarding authority to make final decisions. It should be made clear to the (faculty) Committee on Admissions that duties are solely advisory" (p.38). They recommended that a Dean of Admissions be appointed to have final authority to make decisions and that he should be directly responsible to the President of the College (ADC Papers Self-Study).

With regard to enrollment and admissions policies this Self Study reported:

It is advisable to increase the present rates of men students to women students until the ratio is approximately 60-40. The present ratio (2 to 1) of Virginia students to out-of-state appears wholesome, and is in line with the mission of the College to serve as an institution with both local and national significance. (p.35)

On the negative side they reported:

The fact that the College is able to insist on rather high entrance requirements for out-of-state students coupled with the fact that many more out-of-state women than men apply for admission has resulted in a rather undesirable situation with respect to the academic performance of our men students as compared to that of our women. One solution to this predicament would be found in making the College more attractive to Virginia men who have high academic capabilities. (p.35)

This discrepancy in the quality and quantity of the applicant pool between in and out-of-state student groups was discussed in a personal interview with Mr. Cunningham. He stated that essentially there were different admissions policies for each of the four groups, and as Figures 1 and 2

**FIGURE 1**  
**FRESHMEN APPLICATION TOTALS BY GROUP 1945 - 1980**  
**COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY**

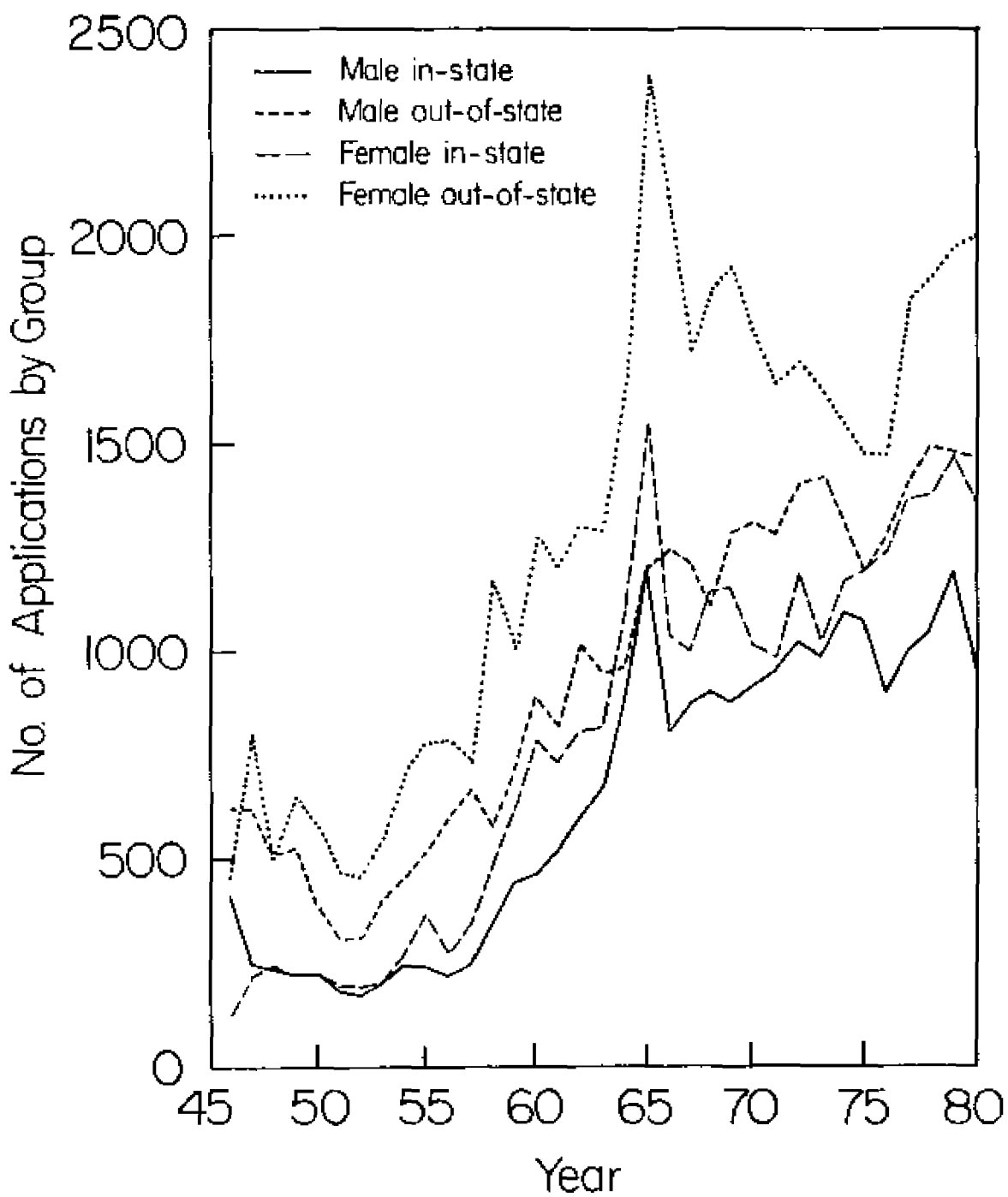
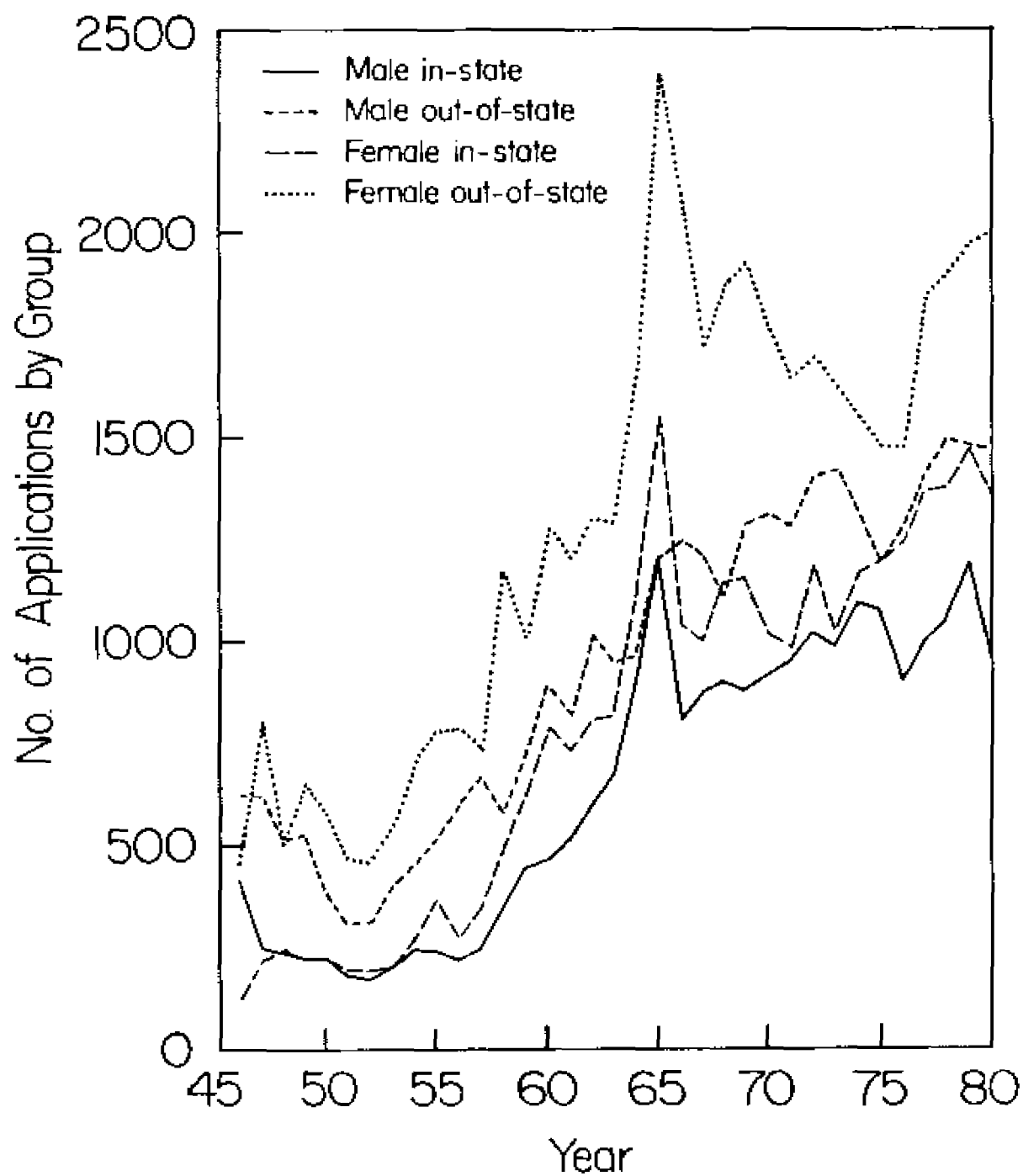


FIGURE 2  
RATIO OF ADMISSION TO FRESHMEN APPLICANTS 1945 - 1980  
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY



show, the numbers of applicants and the ratio of admits to applicants varied considerably between the in and out-of-state male and female groups.

This created difficulties because the caliber of enrolled students differed (as mentioned by the faculty in the Self Study), and the Admissions Office was practicing discriminatory admissions policies. However, Mr. Cunningham suggested that a strong image of admissions selectivity developed during this period primarily because of the highly selective nature of the admissions process for the out-of-state female group. He reported that only about 15% of those in this group who applied were admitted and that this generated publicity which implied that it was very difficult to be admitted to William and Mary. This image was in spite of the fact that it was considerably less selective for the other three applicant groups. He recalled a magazine article published in "some women's magazine" in the fifties which chronicled the author's daughter's college application process. He remembered it being titled "How Cathy Got to Vassar" (or something similar) and the focus of the article was that Cathy "got" to Vassar because she was rejected at William and Mary. Mr. Cunningham laughed and recalled the "hot" telephone call he received from the Director of Admissions at Vassar which considered itself most selective during that period (personal interview, November, 1983).

In October 1948 William and Mary had been accepted into the College Entrance Examination Board. At that time, publication of the Scholastic Aptitude Test was a minor function of the organization. It was basically a research organization and membership was by invitation. As reported in the minutes of the Board of Visitors "those accepted are recognized as outstanding institutions of higher learning (presently 175 colleges)" (BOV Minutes,

December 14, 1957 p.433). In 1957, the Board passed a resolution that all candidates for admission to the undergraduate College from out-of-state must present SAT results as part of their admission credentials beginning with the 1958-59 session (BOV Minutes, December 14, 1957). At the September 6, 1958 meeting the Board expressed the desire that eventually the SAT test would be given to Virginians as well, and this policy was implemented in the class entering in 1961.

The male/female ratio was also discussed at that September meeting, and the question asked whether it was still William and Mary policy to maintain 60% men. The College in 1958 had 125 more men than women which was the largest imbalance "in twenty years except for the brief period when the World War II veterans were enrolled" (p. 86). President Chandler responded that a 60/40 ratio of men to women "had been in the Board of Visitors Minutes for more than 20 years" (p.86). The in-state/out-of-state ratio was also discussed because 40% of the 1958 entering class were from out-of-state. Mr. Chandler urged the Board not to rigidly set in-state/out-of-state percentages because "William and Mary is an asset to the state from a national viewpoint" (p.86).

Mr. Cunningham made an extensive report to the Board of Visitors at the January 5, 1957 meeting at their request because a "review of drafts show that the ratio of men and women at the College of William and Mary . . . [is] not in compliance with the Board's action of some years ago regarding this matter" (the establishment of the 60/40 male/female ratio) (BOV Minutes p.337). Mr. Cunningham opened his remarks by stating that the figures were encouraging. About 60% of the average enrollment of a freshman class was from the top quarter of the high school class and that in every case 90% was from the top

half of the class. He stated that 1955 showed the "leanest pickings" (p.338) because that was the smallest group of high school graduates since World War II, and was also a reflection of the low points in birth rate figures of the depression years. He further stated that William and Mary was "still appealing to high-type students" but that he felt that the College was obligated to Virginia citizens first. With regard to the 60/40 male/female ratio Cunningham projected that it would be reality within three or four years.

William and Mary began recruiting activities during this period and Mr. Cunningham outlined ambitious plans for 1952-53 in a report submitted to Mr. Chandler in July, 1952. Among his objectives: (1) attempt to visit every accredited high school in Virginia; (2) visit every accredited private school for men in Virginia; (3) accept invitations to all College and Career Day programs in Virginia; (4) attempt to attend as many out-of-state College and Career Day programs as distance and number of candidates justify (ADC Papers, Admissions). And as early as 1957, college day programs were being set up throughout Virginia by the Scheduling Committee for the Association of Virginia Colleges. This region by region schedule allowed admissions officers to travel a designated circuit rather than criss-crossing the state at the whim of high schools (DYP Papers, College Day Program, 1957).

President Chandler summarized the admissions evolution during his ten year administration in his Report to the Board of Visitors in 1960. He reported that the admissions picture had undergone tremendous changes since 1951, both in quantity and quality. At the beginning of the decade, in 1951-52, the College admitted 458 freshmen, a ratio of one out of 2.6 screened from 2,422 preliminary applications. Comparable data for September, 1960 indicated that

one out of eight applicants could expect admission, and that 675 candidates were selected from 7,000 preliminary applications. Dr. Chandler allowed that "to some extent this increase may be attributed to college age population growth, and an ever increasing percentage of that age group." He added: "To a greater extent it may be attributed to the favorable publicity which the college has received both locally and nationally in the past decade" (p.6). He further stated:

In the same period the admissions standards have risen steadily. Selection of freshmen is being accomplished through extensive investigation of each candidate's potential measured in terms of previous academic work, distribution of course work, performance on standardized aptitude tests, personality evaluations from secondary schools, participation in extra-curricular activities, reading interests, and ability to express one's self cogently through expository writing (p.6).

Dr. Chandler was exaggerating the admissions status in the Report to the Board. The number of freshmen he cited as being admitted was actually the number of freshmen enrolled for those years. The number admitted in 1951 was 735, and 1066 students were admitted in 1960-61. He also counted transfer applications in his report of numbers of applications. There were 196 transfer applications in 1951, and 347 transfer applications in 1960.

The new administration of Davis Y. Paschall in 1960 included the appointment of a new Dean of Admissions, Robert P. Hunt. The admissions office began to assume an influential and more visible position in the academic community. New and more spacious offices in Ewell Hall were assigned

because of the increased volume of visitors.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s the idea of selectivity was primarily limited to discussions and reports of numbers of applications and the percentage of those admitted from the applicant pool. During the 1960s, the definition of selectivity was expanded to include not only quantity but also the quality of the admitted students. The admissions officers and academic faculty began to take a hard look at the credentials of entering students and how those students performed at William and Mary. A study, entitled "A Study of Reliability of the SATs", November, 1961, measured the reliability and predictive validity of the Scholastic Aptitude Test of The College Entrance Examination Board (SAT) which had, that year, become mandatory for all applicants. The study revealed correlation coefficients between SATs and freshman quality point average (Q.P.A.) in the low .40's with the total SAT having a slightly higher coefficient (.44) than either the verbal or math sections tested independently (.38 and .41 respectively). The study also included an expectancy table which predicted chances of obtaining a freshman year Q.P.A. of 1.00 (on a 3.00 scale with 3.0 being A., 2.0, a B and 1.0, a C) or better with selected SAT total (verbal and math) scores. These scores ranged from a 7.2 chance in 100 when the SAT total was 700, to 93.1 chances out of 100 when the SAT total was 1,500 or higher. The study further indicated that a student needed an SAT total score of 1,100 or higher in order to have a 50-50 chance of obtaining a Q.P.A. of 1.0 during the freshman year (TAG Papers, College Entrance, 1955-78).

Results of a 1962 survey by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation of 248 colleges indicated that 32.7% of the William and Mary freshman class in



1962 had maintained "A" averages in high school while only an average of 17% of those in other colleges had maintained "A" averages. At the low end of the scale, only 10.4% of the William and Mary class had "C" averages in high school while an average of 23.2% of the surveyed students maintained "C" averages. The William and Mary News Bureau sent these results to local and surrounding newspapers on April 8, 1962 (DYP Papers, Admissions).

A study, entitled "Study Regarding Academic Performance", was conducted by the William and Mary Counseling Center in 1964 to determine the relationship between the SAT, secondary school class rank, and freshman grade point average at William and Mary. The correlation coefficients ranged from a low of .32 between SAT Verbal and freshman grade point average, to a high of .58 between the SAT Total plus class rank and freshman grade point average (DYP Papers, Admissions).

In a major report to the Board of Visitors in 1963, the Admissions Office reported that applications were increasing dramatically and recommended that new admissions regulations be implemented. It was titled the Selective Process of Admissions: (1) Students should apply early, preferably before December 1 (an Early Decision process was initiated the next year); (2) Students must graduate in the upper half of their high school class; (3) Since more students apply than can be admitted the College will select those who present the strongest qualifications in scholarship, character, personality, adaptability, performance in extra-curricular activities and breadth of interests; (4) While no specific prescription for high school curriculum was mandated, preference will be given to candidates who present at least four units in English, three in a foreign language or two units in two foreign languages, two units in history,

three in math and two in science. In addition, candidates should present evidence of good moral character, and characteristics such as determination, enthusiasm, self-discipline, imagination, and ability to work with others. They should also exhibit a record of interested participation in extra-curricular activities. All candidates were also required to submit SAT scores (BOV Minutes, January 5, 1963).

The early and middle 1960s were the most difficult and most selective years of his admissions tenure (1961-1980) according to Robert Hunt. Numbers of applications were increasing dramatically as the World War II "baby boom" came of college age, and William and Mary had made the commitment discussed earlier to remain a small liberal arts institution with the emphasis on undergraduate teaching. State Council Reports from the period 1960-1965 indicate that the total enrollment of 18-21 year olds enrolled in four year public institutions increased 45% from 62,900 to 91,498 (Higher Education Enrollment, 1972). During that same period enrollments at the University of Virginia increased 44% from 3,069 to 4,436 (Office of Institutional Research at the University of Virginia, personal communication, 1984). However, enrollment at William and Mary increased only 27% from 2,221 to 2,794 from 1960-1965 (Office of Institutional Research, College of William and Mary, personal communication, 1984).

Dean Hunt reported in a personal interview that the anger and hostility on the part of parents and friends of rejected students was very intense and there were also political pressures brought to bear because of the public status of William and Mary. On February 3, 1964 the Virginia General Assembly offered Senate Joint Resolution No. 23, concerning admissions policies at state

institutions of higher education which said in part:

Whereas admissions policies should remain flexible in order best to serve the citizens of Virginia, promote the basic purposes of the institutions, and maintain the standards of quality education; now therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of Virginia, the House of Delegates concurring, that the General Assembly of Virginia hereby expresses its concern that state institutions of higher education give priority considerations to applications from qualified Virginia high school graduates when determining admission of entering students to said institutions.

The resolution also requested that the state institutions make a careful review of their admissions policies to see if "a need exists for any changes in such policies and practices so as to admit more qualified Virginia students." Finally, the General Assembly requested that each Board of Visitors make a report to the Governor not later than January 1, 1965 "as to their action pursuant to this resolution" (DYP Papers, Enrollment).

In June, 1964 the State Council of Higher Education issued a report listing the qualified Virginia high school graduates not admitted to Virginia public colleges of their choice in June, 1964. Table 2 lists the schools and numbers not admitted:

TABLE 2

Number of Applicants Not Admitted  
to College of Their Choice

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William and Mary	866
Richmond Professional Institute	122
Medical College of Virginia	9
Mary Washington College	17
Virginia Polytechnic Institute	164
Madison	60
Longwood	100
Radford	<u>396</u>
Total	1,734

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Note: For the colleges who did not return a list of names of rejected applicants it is assumed there were no such rejections.

This data indicated that almost half of the number of students who were not admitted to their first choice college had chosen William and Mary as their first choice.

In his report requested by the General Assembly, Dr. Paschall noted the marked increase in the number of applications for the years (1964 and 1965) and indicated only approximately one out of ten applicants in 1965 would be enrolled while in 1956 about one out of three were enrolled. He noted that in 1960 the Board of Visitors had requested that the administration bring the overall William and Mary to a 70% Virginia/30% out-of-state ratio (from

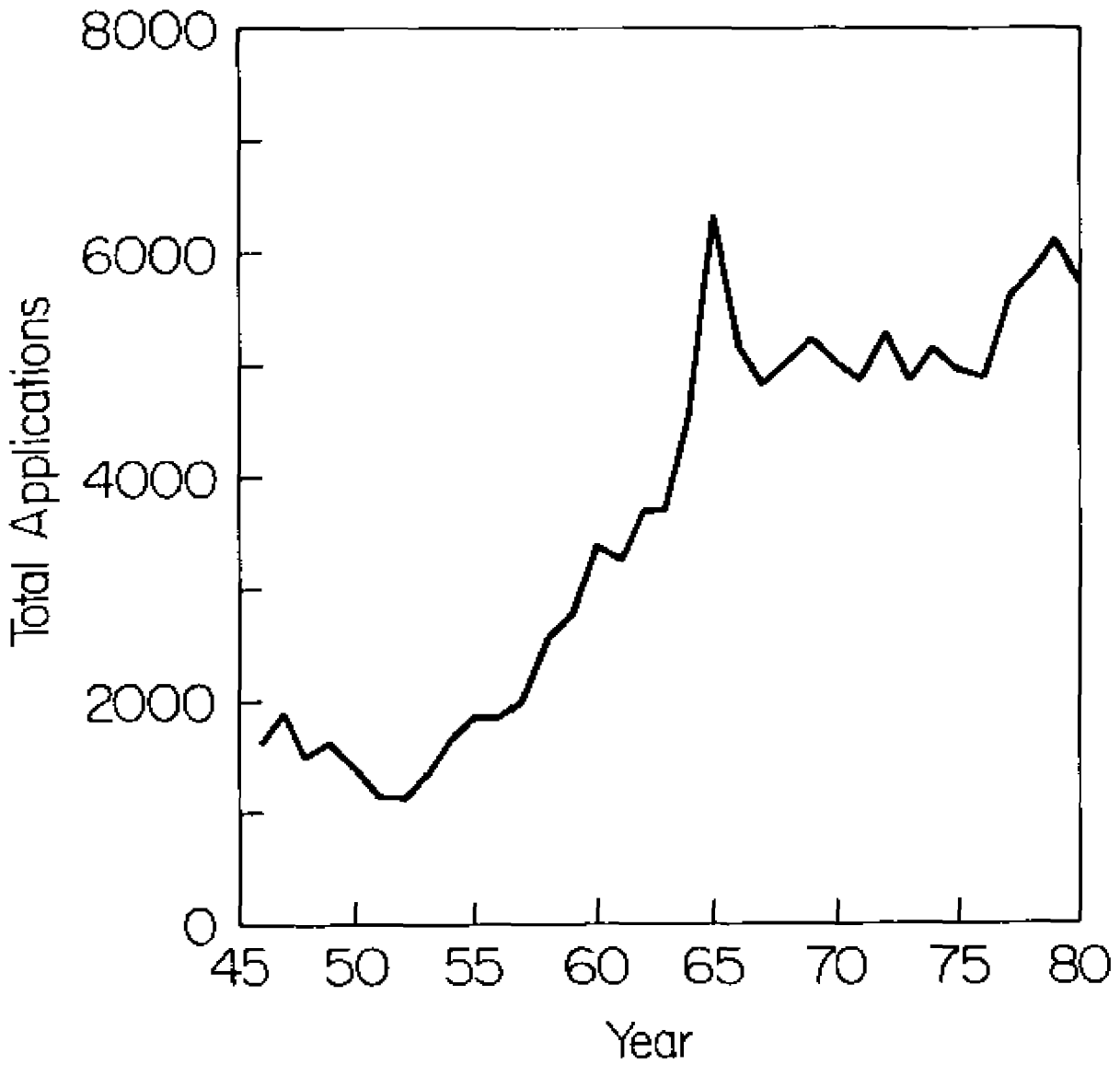
approximately 60/40 at that time). He indicated that that had been accomplished. The Board of Visitors also reaffirmed at that meeting the advisability of maintaining a 60% male/40% female ratio because "since becoming coeducational in 1918, experience has definitely indicated the wisdom of having a larger number of men than women students" (p.5). Dr. Paschall also reported that at its November 14, 1964 meeting, the Board of Visitors had adopted a policy whereby applicants having a Williamsburg mailing address were not permitted to live in college housing. The Board of Visitors also had stipulated that the Admissions Office must afford "priority preference to the admission of as many qualified students from Virginia, particularly those just graduating from secondary schools. This has resulted in a sharp reduction in transfer students permitted in September" (p.6). And he added that in order to cooperate with the governor's request for the College to admit more students in September, 1965, William and Mary would be taking emergency measures both in housing and classroom arrangements. He indicated that the College could enroll 115 additional women and 48 additional men, but noted "that this further enrollment imposes an additional burden on the already severe shortage of classroom facilities" (p.7). And Dr. Paschall used this forum as an opportunity to strongly defend the critical need for classrooms at the College of William and Mary citing the "twenty-nine year lag in instructional facilities. From September, 1935 when the enrollment was 1,205 to September, 1964 when the enrollment was 3,066, only one complete classroom building was constructed on campus" (p.8). He quoted from a State Council of Higher Education - Space Utilization Study which was compiled from data obtained in 1962 indicating that William and Mary, "among four-year residential institutions of higher

learning, has the smallest amount of teaching space per full-time equivalent student, and the least number of student stations. But it utilizes its available space more frequently and more efficiently" (DYP Papers, Admissions Policies, p.8). The dramatic growth in facilities resulting from his impassioned plea and the repercussions of that growth for the next administration were previously discussed.

All indices of selectivity increased dramatically throughout the 1960s. Figure 3 indicated that the rise in the number of applications rose from 3,410 in 1960 to 5,236 in 1969. A record number of applications, 6,341, was received in 1965 when only 17.2% of the applicant pool was admitted (Figure 2) and 71% of those admitted enrolled (Figure 4). Figure 5 depicted the remarkable increase in SAT scores for all groups throughout the decade. In comparing this SAT rise with the number of applications after 1965, it would appear that only admitting 17% of the applicant pool had an effect on self-selection, and the slight drop in applications by the end of the 1960s reflected a significant increase in the quality of the applicant pool.

In addition to pressure and questioning from the General Assembly and the State Council regarding William and Mary's admissions practices and policies during these years, the Board of Visitors often requested Dean Hunt to discuss the admissions situation. Dean Hunt explained, in a personal interview, that he was certain that, as admissions became more and more selective, the Board was receiving the same type of pressure that he was from alumni and other constituents who were appalled at the level of competition that was operating at the College. Dean Hunt recalled that one of the most memorable and successful presentations he made to the Board of Visitors was on June 14,

**FIGURE 3**  
**FRESHMEN APPLICATION TOTALS 1945 - 1980**  
**COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY**



**FIGURE 4**  
**PERCENTAGE OF ADMITTED FRESHMEN ENROLLED 1945 - 1980**  
**COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY**

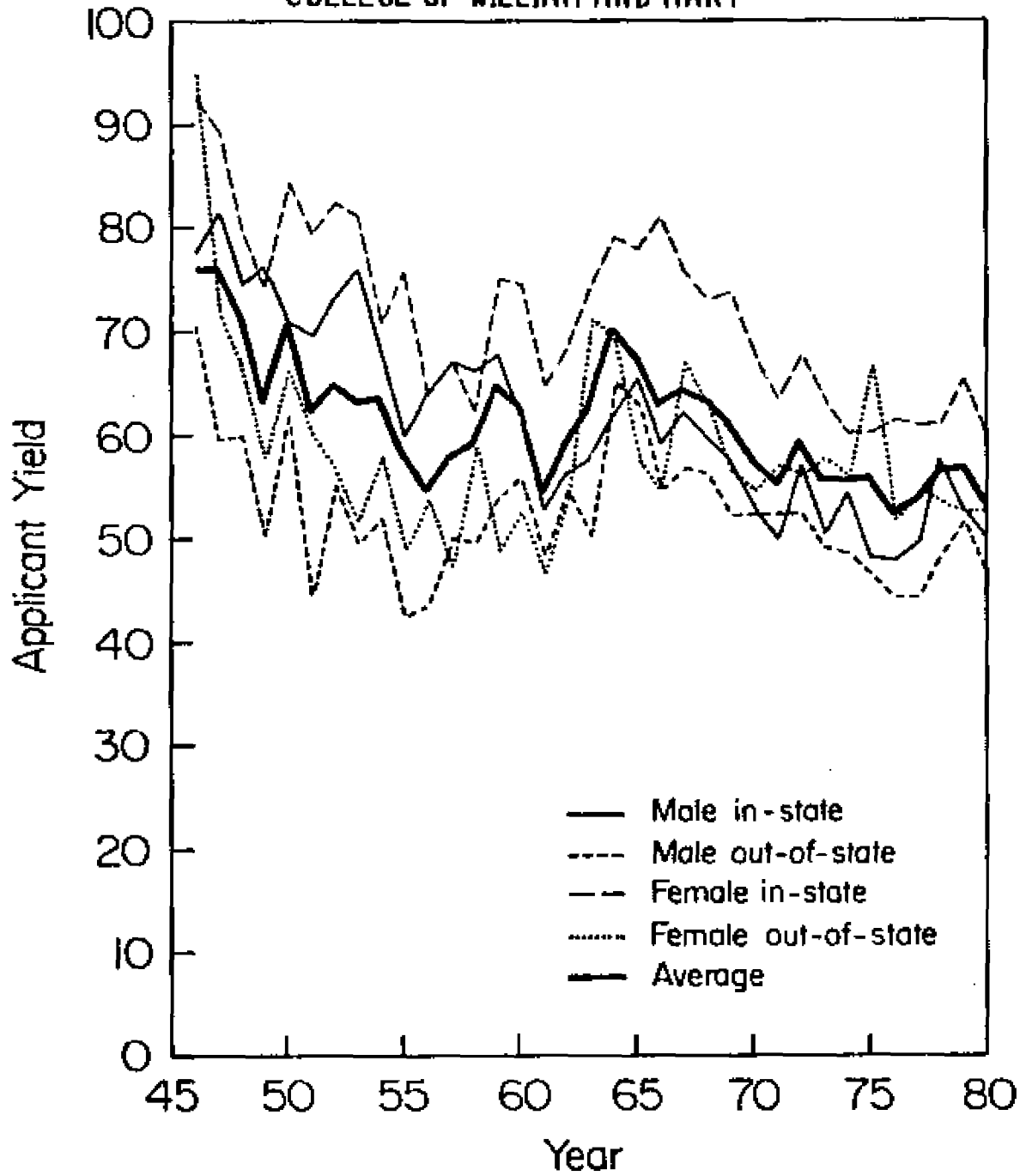
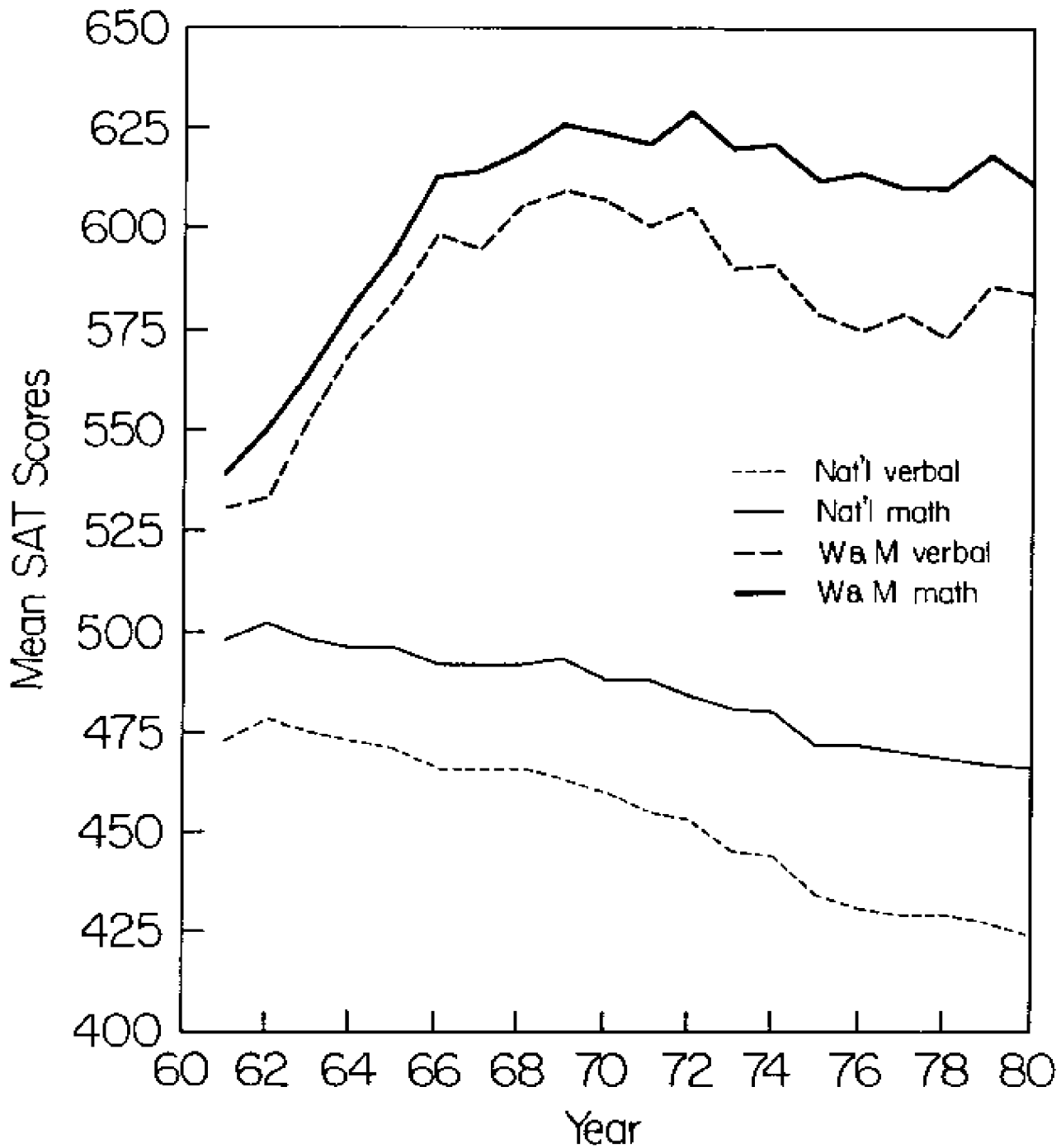




FIGURE 5  
 NATIONAL AND WILLIAM AND MARY SAT MEANS  
 1960 - 1980



1967. He decided that perhaps the most dramatic way to convey the difficult process of decision making would be to request that the Board of Visitors become a mock admissions committee and make some admissions decisions. He therefore presented application information (without identifying information) of fifteen women, and the committee, by majority vote, was to admit five of them. While the Board Minutes do reflect the fact that this presentation took place, they do not reflect the "heated" discussions that took place as the "admissions committee" tried to reach consensus. Dean Hunt felt it was a most instructive experience and recalled the Board concurring in that assessment (personal interview, November 1983).

While the actual selectivity of the admissions process changed drastically from 1960 to 1969, the description of the Selective Process of Admission changed very little during the ten year period. Basically, the description was quite similar to that adopted by the Board of Visitors in 1963. The only significant difference was that in 1960 there was a lengthy description of the importance of good moral character and personal qualities "that will make for friendly and congenial relations in the College group (C.C. 1960, p.72). In 1969 those paragraphs were deleted, although the 1969 catalogue also stated "Characteristics such as determination, enthusiasm, self-selection, imagination and ability to work with others are considered important" (C.C. 1969, p.81).

By the late 1960s the national reputation of selectivity had solidified. The American Guide to American Colleges began rating colleges according to their degree of selectivity in four levels - most selective, highly selective, very selective and selective. In 1965, William and Mary was listed in the third level,

very selective. By 1968 the College was listed in the highly selective category where it has remained. Barron's Profiles of American Colleges offered a similar College Admission Selector, although 1971 was the first year it was included. William and Mary was listed in the second most selective group - highly competitive (the higher category was most competitive) where it has remained. And in the eighth edition of the Comparative Guide to American Colleges (Cass and Birnbaum, 1976) there are 35 colleges and universities in the top group of "most selective" institutions, all private and none in Virginia. The next category is "highly selective" with 59 schools listed, 52 of them private, and seven state supported, including The College of William and Mary.

Admissions issues and controversies became much more specific in the 1970s. In the middle and late 1960s, when large numbers of students were being denied admission to the College, there were pressures and explanations and rationales offered to alumni, Board of Visitors and outside agencies. In the 1970s these pressures continued but specific problems also became issues for the Admissions Office. Of particular significance were issues concerning the male/female ratio and discriminatory admissions policies, minority recruitment and admission, athletic and other special admits and, to a lesser degree, the diminishing college age population. Also of significance was the increased level of involvement of the faculty (the Admissions Policy Committee) in formation of admissions policy and direction. They also acted in support of the Admission Office in interpreting admission data to the faculty at large (and upon occasion to the Board of Visitors).

The 1969 Report of the Admissions Policy Committee offered a sound explanation for the slight drop in high school decile ranking the enrolled

students. They reported that while the percentage of students who matriculate from each of the top five deciles remained fairly constant, there was a slight increase in the percentages who were not in the top five deciles. "This is attributable to the admissions personnel being able to contact a larger number of private secondary schools, many of whom have excellent students who may rank in the seventh or eighth decile" (APC Report, 1969, p.6, DYP Papers Admissions).

In 1970, the first brochure aimed at recruiting blacks was published. It was titled, "The Changing Scene at The College of William and Mary," and said in part: "We are few in number but we are heard. A recently appointed black admissions officer and members of the Black Student Organization are carefully assessing the current scene at William and Mary with concern for the College's future development. You can become part of that development" (DYP Papers, Admissions). The 1970 Report of the Admissions Policy Committee dealt exclusively with the status of minority recruitment, and offered recommendations for future direction. The Report noted that in spite of more extensive contact with predominately black high schools "it has become increasingly apparent that their (admissions personnel) efforts have not attracted a significantly larger number of applications. The number of blacks enrolled at William and Mary during this period was approximately 40 students. The Committee made several recommendations to aid in the recruitment of more blacks, the most significant being that a black admissions officer should be added to the Admissions Office staff (this was accomplished in 1970)(DYP Papers, Admissions). The recruitment of blacks to William and Mary was a continuing problem throughout the 1970s culminating in a federal

court decision which set enrollment goals for all Virginia state-supported schools including William and Mary.

The male/female ratio issue was also an issue for the Admissions Policy Committee. In 1972 they reported: "The College is moving toward a 50/50 male/female ratio; dormitories have been reassigned to make this possible. To alter the earlier imbalance more women have been accepted in this year's entering class" (DYP Papers, Admissions). A report by Dr. George Healy in The College Record, stated that in 1972 an entering class of 1,050 freshmen was expected, an increase of 160 students over the class entering in 1971. He noted that the class would contain 54 more women than men "thus bringing the enrollment for the entire undergraduate college somewhat closer to a desired even balance between men and women" (The College Record, Vol. 1, Number 10, April 21, 1972). Again in 1978 the Admissions Policy Committee Report dated March 28, 1978, dealt with the male/female ratio question. Specifically at issue was "whether the high proportion of women in the freshman class is a temporary fluctuation or indicative of a general trend." They reported that an analysis of the number of men to women in the freshman class from 1974 through 1977 revealed a definite trend. The 1978 freshman class included 58% women while the class of 1974 was only 50% women. The reasons offered included the following: the William and Mary situation reflected of national trends; i.e. women were enrolling in colleges in higher proportions than men. In 1972, 49% of all American college students were women, in 1962 40% were women, and in 1952 only 35% were women; the image of William and Mary as a selective, small, residential, full-time institution offering a quality liberal arts education was having a positive influence in attracting higher numbers of

female applicants. The report continued that while certain suppositions might be made regarding the impact of an uneven sex ratio, they could find no "compelling reasons to adopt an admissions policy aimed at equalizing the ratio of males to females . . . [because] the subcommittee has not been able to document the expressed negative impact a higher proportion of females will have on the College." They concluded, however, that a continued increase in the proportion of females "could have an impact upon the quality of the applicant pool." They, therefore, urged the Admissions Office to carefully monitor the quality of the applicant pool and periodically reassess the impact of the male/female ratio (DYP Papers, Admissions).

During this same period, in a memorandum to the Provost, Dr. George Healy, dated August 9, 1977, Dr. Graves used a brief uncited article to explain William and Mary's male/female ratio as being in "keeping with national trends . . . women now outnumber men by 200,000 in university undergraduate schools . . . . Women have become the majority group among college student under 22 years of age, a census study of the nation's school population said" (TAG Papers, Admissions). A memorandum from Dr. Graves to Dr. Healy, dated September 14, 1976, reported that the number of applications from Virginia men was down 18% for that year. He also reported that 62% of accepted women enroll while only 48% of the men do so. The class was 56% women and 44% men. "I view this as a critical matter of great importance to the College" (TAG Papers, Admissions). In 1976, the total number of men who applied to state supported four year institutions in Virginia was 31,587 while 34,151 women applied. Male applications constituted 48% of the total number applications, indicating that the percentages at William and Mary were not

totally a result of state-wide population demographics.

*On May 20, 1977 Dr. Graves informed Dr. Healy:*

I have the impression that we have a deterioration, or at least a softness in the applications from Virginia males . . . . We . . . need to review and take strong affirmative action on the public relations aspects of our admissions operation, especially within Virginia and especially with regard to Virginia men. The impression . . . is still very strong in some parts of Virginia, and among some good friends of the College that we really are not interested in applications from students who are not absolutely outstanding academically.

*(TAG Papers, Admissions)*

The image of selectivity had apparently been so successfully developed that it was to have a continuing impact upon the number of applications in the middle and late 1970s. Self-selection was operating and comparison of SAT credentials for the admitted group versus the applicant pool in 1977 revealed the means of the groups varied by only 25 points on each test. (Admitted group, SAT Verbal-576, SAT Math-612; Applicant pool, SAT Verbal-551, SAT Math-586).

Perhaps in an effort to ameliorate this image of being too selective Dean Hunt sent "An Important Message to Directors of Guidance" on November 18, 1979. In it he discussed "life" at William and Mary and the academic challenges at the College, and he addressed himself to admissions procedures.

The College continues to attract an outstanding group of applicants each year, making the selection process competitive for students and difficult for us. The Admissions Staff works carefully to make

fair and consistent decisions, especially in situations where there are numerous applicants from one secondary school; however a 'quota' system for individual high schools has never been in effect. (TAG Papers, Admissions)

But while the concern about failure to gain increasing numbers of male applications continued, the notion of sex discrimination in admissions was the issue of the Annual Report of the Admissions Policy Committee in 1976. It reported the measures which had been taken to end sex discrimination in admissions policies: (1) Titles of Dean of Women's and Men's Admissions were eliminated; (2) Sex independent procedures and criteria for rating were eliminated; (3) Division of responsibilities within the office on the basis of sex were eliminated; (4) Reference to marital status was removed from the application form; (5) The word sex was added to sentence "Admission is open to all without regard to race, creed or color;" (6) Women's sports were to receive equivalent grant-in-aid consideration (DYP Papers, Admissions).

The Admissions Policy Committee issued a report on October 31, 1977 which established guidelines for the admission of athletes. Specific procedures were outlined including deadlines for applying and the credentials necessary for automatic admission under grant-in-aid or grant-in-aid equivalency. The Policy Committee also set the number of students in each sport who could be admitted under the guidelines (DYP Papers, Admissions).

And in 1973, this committee submitted to the Board of Visitors a new policy statement for the admission of all undergraduate students. The principal differences between this statement and the one adopted by the Board of Visitors in 1963 were:



(1) A distinction was made between matters of policy and matters of procedure, and only matters of policy were included in the 1973 Statement;

(2) The Statement included less specific and transitory data with the rationale that this would allow it to retain its viability for a longer period;

(3) The Statement incorporated a series of diverse aspects of obligations and considerations of the College as a selective state university desiring both strong bonds to its past and a stronger vision of both excellence and diversity for its future. As a state supported institution the College would be responsive to the needs of Virginians but as a selective institution it would look for students who can bring academic excellence to the College community (Board of Visitors Minutes, May 18-19, 1973).

Publicity during the 1970s ranged from an article in the Chicago Tribune listing the ten best bargains in college education, including "the historic College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, the second-oldest college in the United States, and the only state-supported school on the list" (Newman, D.J., February, 1977), to a series of articles in the local press which dealt with "Special Admissions."

The special admissions publicity was generated after a subcommittee report of the Admissions Policy Committee was issued in April, 1978. The report found that minority students and athletes "have a significantly lower grade point average after two and four semesters than do their regularly admitted counterparts". The Report continued that the two alternatives facing the school were: to back off of special admissions or "spend some additional hard cash on programs to assist these students once they get here" (TAG Papers, Admissions). The Richmond Times Dispatch reported on April 14, 1978

that this Report could have a devastating effect upon the recruitment of minority students. Leroy Moore, Director of Minority Student Affairs, was quoted. "For . . . four years [I] have worked against a 'growing stigma' that minority students . . . cannot get admitted to William and Mary and if they do will never be able to graduate" and he continued that now he was "afraid I'll just have to start over," in the recruitment of minority students. The article also noted that the SAT averages of blacks were "well above the average scores of students attending most other Virginia colleges, and that the grade point averages were well above that required to graduate from William and Mary (Kale, April 14, 1978).

As the 1970's ended, concern regarding the declining college age population was being expressed by the administration. A memorandum dated January 4, 1977 from Dr. Graves to Dr. Healy informed him that by "1980 there has to be a clear and dramatic leveling of and possibly dropping off of applications to the freshman year across the country." Dr. Graves was basing this assessment upon information gathered at a meeting of "50 top leaders in higher education." He continued that he hoped that William and Mary "will be making over the next 2 to 3 years every reasonable effort to undertake vigorous and creative publicity and recruiting to attract to the College, both from Virginia and outside, more than our share of what will be a declining market potential" (TAG Papers, Admissions 77-78).

In assessing the impact of admissions policies and processes on the development of William and Mary's image as a selective institution, several points can be made. Of primary significance is the fact that from its earliest days the College saw itself as special and distinct, and established admissions

criteria which for the prospective time periods were quite stringent. Even in 1888 the College was specifying that sound academic preparation was necessary for admission to and success at William and Mary.

As early as 1933, Dr. Chandler and the Board of Visitors adopted a policy named "selective admissions" implying that every applicant was not going to be admitted, and that "selections" were going to be made based upon specific written criteria. In the early 1950's when approximately 70% of the total applicant pool was being admitted Dean Cunningham's report to the Board of Visitors was most optimistic and he stated "that William and Mary was still appealing to high type students."

Related to this internal perception that William and Mary was selective was the fact that the College was able to project an external image of distinction. Throughout its recent history, the College has (as shown in Figure 2) four very different admissions ratios of applicant to admitted student. The admission of out-of-state females has been the most competitive, and in Dean Cunningham's opinion the public perception was that it was as difficult for all students to be admitted as it was for that particular group. This enhanced the development of the William and Mary image as a selective institution throughout the 1950's and 1960's and contributed to the self-selection that was operating in the 1970's.

During this period the interest of the administration and the Board of Visitors in the admissions process was also a factor in the development of the image. The decision-makers of the College were intimately involved with the course and focus of admissions. From Dr. Pomfret's interest in recruiting Virginia males to Dr. Graves' concern about the declining college age

population it was obvious that admissions was a high priority item for these administrations. The Board of Visitors, too, maintained a careful and critical involvement with admissions, and requested that major reports be presented every year. The faculty also saw admissions as within their purview, and made policy recommendations to the Board of Visitors which interpreted or supported the admissions philosophy. Related to this was the fact that from 1949-1980 there were only two Deans of Admissions. This allowed for a degree of continuity which was unusual and the deans were able to give an historical perspective to the admissions evolution which was significant in the formation of new policy.

Of major importance, too, is that after adopting and endorsing policies which promoted or enhanced selectivity, the administration and Board of Visitors were able to convince various constituencies that the policies were appropriate and justifiable. This was especially significant in the mid-1960's when other state supported schools were expanding their enrollment to meet increased demand. William and Mary was able, at that time, to make and hold to a commitment of limited growth, and the public, the State Council and the General Assembly were supportive of this unique experiment in state supported education. In 1965, William and Mary received a record number of applications (6,341) but actually admitted a smaller class (1,091) that had been admitted the year before when there were 4,590 applications (an unusually large class [1336] was admitted in 1964 because of the opening of a new residence hall for women).

The admissions spiral which increased so dramatically in the 1960's leveled off in the 1970's - a result of the success of the development of the

image of selectivity. A comparison of credentials revealed that by the second half of the decade the scores of the applicant pool were very close to those of the admitted group. And a comparison of the William and Mary SAT mean with the national mean revealed differences ranging from 60 to 200 points (Figure 5). By 1980, the number of applications had stabilized at a level which dictated that approximately one-third of the applicant pool was being admitted. Applying Thompson's (1982) thesis that the most judicious way to quantify selectivity was to use the percentage of applicants admitted to Moll's (1979) assessment that fewer "than forty colleges enjoy the luxury of admitting one out of two of their candidates" (p. 5), it can be assumed that by 1980 William and Mary was selective and was being perceived by its publics as being selective.

### Student Life

Much of what constitutes an institutional saga is a result of rituals, ceremonies, and attitudes of enrolled students who are drawn by the image of the institution. As Clark stated in The Distinctive College,

The students are important to the character of the system in that they are the material for much of its work, they define for insiders and outsiders what the enterprise is largely about, and they can usually manipulate the system . . . Most important is that they come with personal inclinations and then informally relate to one another in patterns that uphold the predispositions or alter them. As a result of the inputs, options and self-maintaining structures,

the student body becomes a major force in defining the institution.  
(1968, p.253)

An accounting of some of the highlights and crises that have occurred in the historical period under study can add another dimension to the William and Mary progression toward an image of excellence and distinction.

An article in the Richmond News Leader on December 19, 1960, compared student life among the Colonial colleges, recalling that while most colonial boys thought themselves fortunate for having the opportunity to attend college, the reality was a life that was severe, consisting of fourteen-hour days, corporal punishment and very little recreation. However, the article stated: "At William and Mary, wealthiest of early American colleges, students erred in gentlemanly Southern ways, kept race horses, backed horses in races, kept fighting cocks, played billiards, or sauntered the time away on college steps." There is no record that the students who attended William and Mary in the 1940s participated in any of these activities, except sauntering the time away on [the] college steps. And there is ample evidence (including many pictures in the school yearbook, The Colonial Echo) that one of the enduring traditions at William and Mary was sitting on the steps of the Wren Building.

In fact, an example of the casual and informal atmosphere which prevailed at the College is a Notice to Parents and Students sent August 24, 1943. "Owing to a delay in obtaining certain priorities for renovation and equipment purposes pertaining to the use of the dining halls, and the consequent delay in the installation of such equipment, the opening of the first semester has been postponed for one week" (JEP, Papers, Office of Communications).

Student life during the 1940s was less a reaction to any administrative or

philosophical ideology, and more a reflection of the dramatic events which transpired during the decade. The 1942 and 1943 Colonial Echos depicted a life rich in community spirit and traditional ceremony. Freshmen rituals were quite serious, including wearing "duc" caps (green and gold beanies) throughout the first semester (or until Thanksgiving weekend if William and Mary beat the University of Richmond), and bowing before the statue of Lord Botetourt in the Wren Yard. An infraction of the "rules" for freshmen resulted in an appearance before the Freshman Tribunal which appeared from a yearbook picture to be quite a formal event. It was held in the Wren Great Hall and the freshman (in "duc" cap) is standing before a seated semicircle of students dressed in black robes and looking quite solemn. One student stated "To be brought before the Freshman Tribunal was 'worse than spending a night in a haunted house'" (p.267). Punishments meted out included having to perform menial chores for upperclassmen or wearing strange outfits about the campus (p.285). The yearbook in 1942 stated "An incoming freshman is at once impressed by the cordiality of everyone on campus . . . For a few weeks . . . even the toughest of the freshmen are meek when speaking to upperclassmen . . . but after a few days, meeting 'big wigs' and deans alike strolling about campus is an everyday occurrence" (p.268). By the end of first semester the freshmen had been systematically indoctrinated into the William and Mary culture. The yearbook also recounted the formal orientation period. In a crowded four-day period new students went on a picnic, toured the Restored Area in Colonial Williamsburg, and attended a banquet. After registration, "and normal college life is begun, the whole group of newcomers are again banqueted at a gay reception given by the President of the College" (p.269).

The athletic program, particularly football, was heavily emphasized during the early 1940s. In Mr. Bryan's Report to the Board of Visitors in 1938, he assured them that the choice of Carl M. Voyles as Athletic Director would improve the athletic picture "not solely . . . for the amusement or gratification for the alumni" but to help solve the continuing problem of attracting qualified young men to the College. Mr. Voyles' first recruiting year was 1939, and he brought in the "fabulous freshmen" most of whom were still in school in 1943 when William and Mary was 9-1 in football beating such opponents as George Washington 61-0, and Oklahoma 14-7.

But Mr. Voyles was not only interested in big time athletics. In an article he wrote at the invitation of the sports editor of the Richmond Times Dispatch (March 22, 1940) he discussed the football program and said it would be very strong. But he said he "would much prefer telling you about our physical education program at William and Mary" because only about 15% of the students are in intercollegiate athletics and the other 85% must also have the opportunity for participation. He then discussed the strong physical education and intramural program stating that over 80% of the William and Mary students participated in intramurals (JSB Papers, Publicity).

The male/female ratio was a problem not only for the administrative levels but for the students. The 1943 Colonial Echo discussed the Work-Study Program this way; "Happy Day! The enrollment figure for 1942 surprised everyone, since the men outnumbered the women. . . . The increase was largely a result of William and Mary's 'War Work' plan which permitted men to attend classes three days a week and work for the government at the Naval Mine Depot for three days a week" (p.297).



These yearbooks portray an idyllic lifestyle virtually untouched, as yet, by the coming trauma. The War is mentioned in 1943 "we settled down . . . to make the most of studies and friendships in the unknown quantity of time left us to enjoy them . . . . In a personal interview, "Scotty" Cunningham, one of the "fabulous freshmen" and President of the Student Government in 1943, stated that many of the men were allowed to finish out the year, (1943) so life continued with some degree of normality. The Air Force Reserve and the Army Reserve were called up in February, however, and "those who were left behind wandered sadly back to a campus that wasn't quite the same, wondering whether it was worse to go or to be left behind" (Colonial Echo, p.310).

The years 1945-1947 were dominated first by the War and then by adjustments which were made as a result of severe overcrowding when veterans returned to college in large numbers under the GI Bill. In his report to the Board for 1944, Dr. Pomfret reported that "the College has maintained intact its program of liberal education (male enrollment dropped from 782 in 1942 to 281 in 1944). . . although the number of advanced courses has been decreased but no department of study has been withdrawn." And he noted that because of the Navy Chaplain Training School, the largest number of persons housed, fed and otherwise served at the College was the largest in its history. He concluded that "through the exercise of its normal functions and . . . adjustments of its resources to the immediate needs of the Army and Navy the College continues to serve its country. It is aware, however, and takes pride in the fact that its greatest service, in this war as in the wars of the past, is rendered through its alumni, students, and professors in the armed forces" (JEP Report, 1944).

In 1946 and 1947 the male enrollment was 1300, while the female enrollment remained stable. Approximately 900 of these men were veterans and Dr. Pomfret reported to the Board of Visitors in 1947 that their academic work had been exceptional and he believed that the G.I. Bill had proved a good investment for the country. Scotty Cunningham, in his oral history, discussed this phenomena during this period, of the veterans on the campus with the younger girls. He said it knocked out the social life for awhile. He recalled "veterans in those early homecoming parades wheeling twins right down the middle of the Duke of Gloucester Street, being a part of the parade" (HWC, Oral History). In that same report to the Board of Visitors, Dr. Pomfret discussed student activities noting that the Flat Hat, the College newspaper, had won several awards for excellence among college publications; the varsity football team had won the Southern Conference Champonship, and the tennis team won the NCAA Championship.

Football and the Flat Hat both were involved in controversies during the 1940s which brought national attention to the campus in Williamsburg. On February 7, 1945, the editor of the Flat Hat, Marilyn Kaemmerle from Jackson, Michigan, published an editorial "Lincoln's Job Half Done" which said in part:

We believe and know that Negroes differ from other peoples only in surface characteristics, inherently we are all the same. The Negroes should be recognized as equals in our hearts and minds; they should go to our classes, participate in college functions and join the same clubs, be our roommates, pin the same classmates, and marry among us. However, this cannot and should not be done today or tomorrow . . . neither they nor we are ready for it.

Regarding intelligence tests she said that black and white Northerners score higher than Southerners, and black Northerners score higher than Southern whites. "The differences did not occur because people were from the North or South, or because they were black or white but because of differences in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities. . . . Not until we eliminate Nazi race tactics in our own every day life can we hope for a victory which will bring peace for the universal Human Race of the One World."

Reaction was very swift and very strong. Miss Kaemmerle was immediately removed as editor by Dr. Pomfret, who then met with the junior editors of the Flat Hat and explained that it would be "necessary for the College in the future to exercise some supervision over that publication. . . . The editorial boards of the paper chose to regard the imposition of any supervision by the College as censorship and voted to suspend the paper" (JEP Papers, Flat Hat Scandal). The editors issued a resolution protecting infringement of the doctrine of freedom of the press as "laid down by our honored alumnus Thomas Jefferson" (JEP Papers, Flat Hat Scandal). Harvey Chappel, a student during the period recalled in his oral history that the students were much more interested in the issue of censorship than in the defense of Ms. Kaemmerle's views. He said that Dr. Pomfret was much more concerned with what she said and added we "had a high old time for awhile." He also volunteered that after the veterans came back there was a more no-nonsense approach at William and Mary. Many were married, they were interested in grades and jobs more than parties and socializing. Miss Kaemmerle's editorial was probably reflective of that serious thinking (RHC, Oral History).

The New York Times on Wednesday, February 2, 1945 stated that the students had shifted the issue from one of race to one of freedom of the press, and that they were strongly defending Miss Kaemmerle's right to keep her editorship. The Times quoted Miss Kaemmerle as insisting what she meant was that Negroes "would not come to William and Mary today or tomorrow but someday when people understand more about what causes racial differences, they'll let them in without any fuss" (JEP Papers, Flat Hat Scandal).

The Virginia papers were unanimously outraged. The Richmond Times Dispatch editorial on February 13, 1945 stated that "it (the article) has made sound and conservative progress toward better race relations more difficult." The Times Dispatch on February 14, stated that "dismissal of Miss Marilyn Kaemmerle as editor . . . is a penalty out of all proportion to the nature of her offense in writing a foolish and ill-considered editorial on the race question"(JEP Papers, Flat Hat Scandal).

In faculty meeting minutes he ordered deleted, Dr. Pomfret told the faculty that they had no idea of the depths of emotion which had been stirred. He said he'd been threatened and cursed over the telephone and had received scores of letters. He reported that the Board of Visitors had seriously considered expelling Kaemmerle from college (Faculty Minutes, December 13, 1945). Newsweek reported that he (Dr. Pomfret) had also intimated that he would resign if the faculty did not support him (Newsweek, February 26, 1945). A faculty majority voted on February 13, 1945 that no censorship was involved because Miss Kaemmerle did not deserve to be editor because she'd made such a gross error in judgment, and also because the Flat Hat was not really press (Faculty Minutes, February 13, 1945).

Eventually, the junior editors voted to accept the "guidance of counselors." They stated in a Flat Hat editorial on February 21, 1945 "We realize how strong student action can be and just how much spirit and interest there is on campus. . . . Many gains were made . . . we have succeeded in retaining a free press, but will now have the counselors for appeal when guidance is needed." The six junior editors formed an editorial board and no new editor-in-chief was appointed.

The Richmond Times Dispatch reported on February 16, 1945 that an antidiscrimination bill showed up in Congress as an aftermath of Marilyn Kaemmerle's editorial in the College newspaper. Senator Sanger, (R-N.D.) introduced a measure which would deny federal funds to any college which "discriminates in any way against any person because of 'race, color or creed' or because of his views on racial matters."

While this editorial generated national and state controversy the 1945, the Colonial Echo only devoted three phrases to it, "Freedom of the press . . . with mass meetings . . . and national interest," although they did feature Miss Kaemmerle as editor in the publications section of that yearbook.

Scotty Cunningham recalled that "things began to look as they once had" about 1949. The general age character of the student body began to resume its prewar posture (H.W.C. Oral History), and the 1949 Colonial Echo lists the highlight of the year as the 7-7 tie in football with North Carolina. "The few students who did not make the trip to Chapel Hill to see the game, listened anxiously to their radios on Saturday, and then waited joyously to welcome the returning heroes."

But the cost of big-time football for William and Mary was to be

exceedingly high. In November, 1949 the Registrar of the College discovered that high school transcripts of certain entering athletes had been falsified in the Physical Education department (before being given to the Registrar) to insure admission to William and Mary. In spring 1950, the newly appointed Dean of the Faculty, Nelson Marshall, repeatedly requested that President Pomfret appoint a committee to thoroughly investigate the athletic program. In April a special faculty committee was appointed. The committee confirmed that high school transcripts were being falsified and that summer school credits in physical education courses had been given to football players who were working at summer jobs in other cities. In June, 1951, President Pomfret called a secret meeting of the College faculty to report serious malpractice in the athletic department. He also reported that he, Dean Marshall, and the special committee agreed that in order to avoid publicity, the following actions would be taken: the resignations of the football coach, R. N. "Rube" McKay, and the basketball coach, Barney Wilson, were to be submitted effective February 1; the permanent separation of the coaching functions and the physical education department was to be effective immediately. W. Melville Jones, a faculty member, said that the reason that President Pomfret hesitated and did not demand their resignations effective immediately was because he was unsure that the Board of Visitors, which was strongly committed to football, would back him (WMJ, Oral History). This plan never came to fruition; however, because Dean Marshall had, by letter, implied that Al Vanderweghe, an ex-assistant coach, was implicated in the malpractice. Vanderweghe demanded a retraction in writing from Dean Marshall, and released the retraction to the newspapers. Very negative national publicity followed immediately, much of it

focusing on the irony of this type of scandal occurring at such a distinctive and traditional institution of academic excellence. The Chicago Daily News devoted five articles to "revealing what happens when a long-honored college goes all out for big-time football. William and Mary with 258 proud years behind it, is finding out and digging out of a scandal involving grade rigging and alteration of records of high school stars" (Chicago Daily News, November 18-22, 1951).

In August, the Board of Visitors held a series of investigative hearings resulting in the censure on September 8, 1951 of President Pomfret for failure to handle "with dispatch" the "entire situation." On September 13 President Pomfret resigned, stating that he did not "possess the confidence of the full membership of the Board of Visitors "and that his continuance as President would not be "in the best interest of the College" (Chronology, Athletics, football, Scandal of 1951).

Nelson Marshall, a key participant discussed the affair in his oral history, stating that Pomfret counted on subordinates to assert themselves and do their jobs, and continued "the Board was just nuts on athletics - the bigger, the better, as far as they were concerned. What it was doing to the College as far as they could see was just getting them more and more publicity." He said the Board just couldn't face up to the reality - namely that a little college of 1,200 couldn't support an enormous football team to "play the likes of Michigan State without some extremes in the way they went about it." He continued that the tone at William and Mary in the late 1940s and 1950s was a "substantial growing pride in the institution." The status of William and Mary was assuming a very important position in the country as a leading liberal arts

college. "We liked to think of ourselves as being in a league with places like Swarthmore, Haverford - just the best of the liberal arts colleges (p.16). This [the scandal] put the college in such a turmoil that it took years to recover (N.M. Oral History, p.3-16).

One significant outcome of the scandal was the adoption of a Faculty Manifesto on September 17, 1951 which was a unanimous public declaration by the faculty of their "convictions about the causes of what has happened and the steps we propose to eliminate these causes as quickly and completely as we can." The statement was a harsh and unforgiving view of the practice and philosophy of allowing big-time athletics to dominate an educational institution. They said:

[the] exaggerated athletic program [has] steadily sapped the academic standards of the College . . . limited scholarship funds which should aid young men and women of intellectual promise and financial need must go to athletes whose sole recommendation for such aid is their athletic prowess. . . . We have seen this athletic program vitiate the most elementary standards of honesty and right conduct. . . . We have seen this. . . ravage the morale of our student body, including the athletes themselves . . . victims of a pernicious system . . . a 'double standard' which operates in the areas of admissions, discipline, financial aid and academic standards.

We do not seek to evade our share of responsibility as a faculty for having failed . . . to halt the insidious growth of these evils. Determined action at an early stage would have prevented



or at least diminished much of the harm that has occurred . . . .

We the undersigned members of the Faculty of the College of William and Mary intend now that the College shall have a sound and healthy program of athletics . . . the program must be . . . truly extracurricular . . . it must be an activity of the general student body; participants must be attracted, admitted, and governed by the College exactly as are all other students. To this goal and to the proud and honorable traditions of the College of William and Mary, we pledge and dedicate ourselves anew.

(Athletic Scandals, football, Scandal of 1951)

The public reaction of the Faculty Statement was highly laudatory. Leading newspapers such as the New York Times carried the story and praised the action of the faculty. Acting President Miller reported to the Board of Visitors that "the faculty achieved its purpose of restoring the prestige of the College . . . . I believe the College of William and Mary is now held throughout the state and nation in higher honor than ever before." (ADC Papers, Men's Athletics, 1951).

Just prior to his resignation, Dr. Pomfret wrote a letter to the Class of 1951 which was published in that year's Colonial Echo. In it he congratulated the highly spirited class for their leadership. (They were a most unusual class in their degree of unity and spirit. An example: they published a high quality and informative eight page newspaper at the end of their freshman year as a report to their parents about "what your sons and daughters are doing at College") (Student Activities, Unofficial Publications). He noted that they were the first students in a decade who had been able to spend four

uninterrupted years at the College, and continued that now "unfortunately the College enters upon another period of instability . . . . The College has grown not only in numbers but in reputation since the war years . . . . As alumni you should set an example for others to follow by insisting that William and Mary represent excellence and high standards in all that she engages upon."

The 1952 Colonial Echo simply stated: "On September 13, 1951, Dr. John E. Pomfret, who had been President of William and Mary for nine years, resigned. The Board of Visitors, upon recommendation of a faculty committee immediately appointed Dr. James W. Miller, chancellor professor of philosophy, as acting president until a new executive could be selected. In a brief ceremony on October 11, 1951, Alvin Duke Chandler, former rear admiral in the United States Navy, was installed as the twenty-second president of the College of William and Mary." The statement then gave career and personal information about Dr. Chandler and then continued, "The first official appearance of the new President before the student body was at a special Convocation on October 18 when he delivered an inspiring address confirming his faith in the College and pledging his loyalty to William and Mary."

As the decade of the 1950s began, Professor K.H. Cleeton conducted a study of the William and Mary student body and made the following observations. Students at the College were generally from homes in the "high socio-economic stations" and were encouraged by their parents somewhat more than other students to attend college. Although their reasons for attending college were primarily vocational, this motive was substantially less strong for William and Mary students than students in other state schools -- a greater percentage of William and Mary students "believed a college education would

be beneficial regardless of their life's career. William and Mary students obtained help, advice and information about specific colleges from the same sources and in similar proportions as other college groups except they, in greater proportion, turned to parents, alumni friends in college and to school principals. Seven very strong reasons influenced William and Mary students to enroll at the College as opposed to other students enrolling in other state supported colleges. These were; kind of college, size of enrollment, quality of instruction, proximity to home, history and traditions, visit to campus, and interest in sports. Students from other schools were more influenced by support from the college, vocational objectives, and interest in particular courses (DYP Papers, Admissions).

Social life among the students was one topic considered in the 1952 Self-Study. The Committee reported that the social life on campus was shaped by "all of the following influences in rather important ways."

- (1) The academic difficulty level of the College.
- (2) The presence of fraternities and sororities on campus, and their rules, regulations and customs.
- (3) Social regulations, especially for women.
- (4) The mores and customs of the culture of William and Mary undergraduates (what meets approval and disapproval).
- (5) The physical facilities and equipment of the College.
- (6) The location of the College, particularly with respect to the influence of Colonial Williamsburg.
- (7) The attitudes of Americans in 1952.

At that point, extracurricular groups included four honorary sororities,

six professional societies, eighteen interest groups, seven religious groups, nine groups in the student government area, twenty sororities and fraternities, intercollegiate and intramural sports programs, music groups, Orchesis (dance), dramatics, and three publications. However, the Committee continued, the spring calendar indicated that outside of fraternities and sororities and religious groups only a few of the other groups scheduled purely social events. This reflected a virtual absence of activities scheduled for the whole student body. The calendar also showed that many concerts, recitals and plays were on Wednesday and Thursday nights, leaving week-end activities limited and unsatisfactory. Unplanned and continuously available activities included bridge, movies, fraternity lodges, coffee breaks. Twenty-five percent of the student body dated on Friday nights and fifty percent on Saturday night and twenty percent on Sunday. The dating customs, as reported in the Self-Study, were very interesting and worth noting. Proper etiquette on the William and Mary campus required that a girl be invited for a week-end date by the preceeding Tuesday, and few girls would accept a date if it was not requested thus. For an all-college dance, the girl expected to be invited at least two weeks in advance. Women students would not go together to the movies on week-ends (or probably to any other all campus affairs such as athletic contests) for fear of losing social standing publicly. If a man dated the same girl for three successive week-ends they were considered to be "going steady" and no one would "cut in". At dances, few dances were exchanged with friends. Blind dates were unpopular. Records indicated that approximately ten percent of women students left campus on the week-end (there was less loss of social prestige if a girl was absent from campus if she was not invited to a

dance, so the percentage rose to twenty percent on those occasions or even fifty percent on a "big" week-end). The Committee observed that the "effects of these customs in limiting social activities should be evident". There were also strong customs relative to faculty student relationships because "there is a tendency on the part of students to label any attempt to become better acquainted with faculty as 'apple polishing'".

The summary of findings of the 1952 Self-Study included:

(1) The social life was largely student group planned and group oriented. Virtually no college planned (i.e. by administration and faculty) all college social activities were available.

(2) Not nearly enough college planned all-college activities of the informal type such as mixers etc. were programmed.

(3) There were too few whole student body activities. Cultural events should be limited. Only week-end events were movies, fraternity parties and restaurants.

(4) There was little evidence that the College itself accepted administrative and financial responsibility for continuous planning and coordinating influence in the social life of the members of the college community.

To meet the need of making a larger number of desirable social activities available to more students, the following solutions were offered:

(1) Dormitory dances and other activities such as record hours, current events and smokers should be fostered.

(2) Mixers should be planned with a view toward introducing students to each other, especially at the beginning of the year.

(3) Social activities should be scheduled to follow certain athletic activities.

(4) Those organizations such as sororities and fraternities which currently restrict their social events to members and guests should schedule more open (to non-members) functions. In 1952, approximately sixty-five percent of men and women were members of the nationally affiliated Greek fraternity and sorority system (ADC Papers, Self-Study).

Contrasting these perceptions of student life and ritual observed by the faculty was the "public image" of student life portrayed in publications. The 1953 College Catalogue began: "The natural friendliness which exists at William and Mary is the distinctive characteristic of the daily life of the campus. The College seeks to foster intellectual interest, cultural appreciation, and a democratic spirit among its students" (C.C. p. 43).

The Catalogue continued by outlining the activities scheduled for the seven-day orientation period, and by listing the various organizations to which students could belong. It stated "Naturally and imperceptibly the student becomes a part of the democratic life of William and Mary which encourages the exchange of friendly greetings with other students, members of the faculty and visitors to the College." (C.C. 1953, p. 43).

Friendly seemed to be the assessment, too, of the article in National Geographic in 1954. In interviews, students reported that divisions and cliques were not easily formed at William and Mary because "Nobody can have a car. We all dress pretty casually. The fraternity lodges are built alike, give much the same kind of dance, and don't put any great emphasis on money or social position" (Bowie, p. 345). Other students interviewed commented on the beauty

of Williamsburg, and the friendliness of the campus.

A serious violation of the Honor Code in 1953 prompted President Chandler to publish a printed formal explanation addressed to the alumni. Evidently, the newspapers were aware of a "cribbing scandal" at William and Mary and were publishing rumors about the alleged violations. Dr. Chandler, quoted the public statement that was released: "Infractions of the Honor Code involving certain students in the Department of Military Science and Tactics have been uncovered. Investigations are being made, and appropriate corrective measures have been and are being taken."

The Honor Code was established at William and Mary in 1779 and was the first honor system in the United States. Honor Council judges are students who are elected by the student body. They conduct the trials, determine guilt or innocence, and recommend punishment. The honor system at William and Mary is introduced to students during Orientation Week and much ceremony surrounds the personal signing of the Honor Pledge by each student. To the majority of William and Mary students, the Honor System is a time honored concept which is an integral part of the William and Mary saga.

This specific incident involved the removal of mid-year examinations from the Military Science Department prior to the examination. Twenty-four students were involved, and each was separated from the College, reported Dr. Chandler. He concluded: "This episode has been one of the most distressing which I have ever had to face. Despite the unpleasantness, however, I believe that the end result is good — good for the boys involved who most surely have learned a valuable lesson, good for the College whose tradition of honesty and integrity, not only stood the test, but has actually been strengthened by the

ordeal" (ADC Papers, Office of Communication).

Examination of student life during the 1950's from the students' own point of view revealed a long period of student unrest and acrimony between students and the administration. At issue were social regulations, particularly in relation to the sale and consumption of alcohol on campus and the restriction of social hours for women. The antagonism apparently was ingrained in both sides early in Dr. Chandler's presidency. He reported in a ten page "Discussion of College Activities in Connection with Student Affairs" that "As early as November 7, 1951 [he assumed office in September, 1951] it became obvious to the President of the College [he is the author] that the students should review what their general conduct and their handling of affairs in the fraternity lodge are . . . . For over three and one-half years the activities of the students in a closely knit area, known as the fraternity lodge area, has been a source of contention and disrespect, and has deliberately bred unhealthy conditions on this campus" (ADC Papers, Student Unrest, p.2).

The "Lodge System" at William and Mary was a compromise solution worked out throughout the 1940s. Prior to 1947 the fraternities had residential houses, which had created some discipline problems for the administration since the College did not own the houses. The College then built fraternity lodges, which were basically big party rooms with kitchens and one small bedroom, usually reserved for the fraternity president. They were built on the campus in close proximity to each other. The creation of a "fraternity row" evidently resulted in new and different problems which were inherited by Dr. Chandler, particularly related to noise and public drunkenness as students traveled from one lodge to another. These problems led Dr. Chandler to inform the students



and their parents in writing on April 16, 1955 that "effective beginning with the 1955-56 school year, it is the policy of the College that the possession or consumption by William and Mary students of alcoholic beverages of any kind or alcoholic content anywhere on the campus or in any college building, sorority house or fraternity lodge is prohibited" (ADC Papers, Office of Communication).

It would be expected that college administrators could prepare and present extensive and elaborate reports to defend or explain their policies or philosophy. However, of significance with regard to these incidents is the level of organization and high degree of sophistication with which the students responded to these new regulations. They called two college-wide meetings which they reported were attended by about 700 students (the press reported attendance at around 1000 students). They wrote extensive minutes of those meetings and released them to the press. The president of the student body wrote to the alumni on January 19, 1955 "These things, social hours, alcohol regulations, as well as some other issues which had been added, perhaps for effect such as student representation on the discipline committee, and the addition of regularly scheduled monthly meeting of the College Senate have stemmed out of a feeling basic in the College. That is, a general dissatisfaction on the part of the students; a feeling of lack of cooperation, and a feeling of fear" (ADC Papers, Campus Unrest). They also conducted a survey of students which they included in a 40 page document titled "Report of the Student Government of the College". The survey indicated that of 1165 students polled, 56% said they would transfer if they could, 72% said they would not recommend William and Mary to prospective students, 77% would not

(in their present frame of mind) give financial support to William and Mary as alumni. The Report stated "Because of his background in the military [Chandler] came to the College with certain conceptions and expectations which are opposed to the operation of an educational institution and the creation of an academic atmosphere . . . . We feel the future welfare of the College of William and Mary is at stake and . . . the educational goals and the academic reputation of the College are in serious jeopardy" (Students-Student Governments). The students not only made this Report available to the press, they sent a copy to the Governor, to each member of the General Assembly, and also made a presentation to the Board of Visitors which began "The students have always been concerned in [sic] the advancement of the College both as to the situation on the campus and the continued integrity of the College in the eyes of the public. In the present misunderstanding this concern has still remained foremost in the minds of the students" (ADC Papers, Campus Unrest). They then outlined specific grievances regarding Dr. Chandler whom they accused of not "relating to the students with an attitude of cooperation and understanding." This presentation also included an exhaustive 30 page "Report From a Fact-Finding Committee" which presented testimony from specific students regarding disciplinary action or reproachment which was deemed unjust, and also outlined (just as Dr. Chandler did) their incident by incident accounting of the three year struggle.

Dr. Chandler's response to this student presentation to the Board of Visitors was swift and long. His presentation included thirteen enclosures with statements from every dean, the College librarian, the Athletic Director, the Bursar, the Director of Physical Plant - all of which were in strong support of

Dr. Chandler, personally and administratively. Dr. Chandler concluded his presentation "if maintaining high moral, ethical, and educational standards on the campus . . . are . . . 'insufficient and unethical' methods of administration then other new and strange objectives and purposes which are not now compatible with ideals . . . must be formulated and applied . . . [I] regret that [you] had to devote [yourselves] to a controversy which had its tap root in the use, consumption and sale of alcoholic beverages on the campus" (BOV Minutes, June 24, 1955 p. 155). The Board of Visitors issued a public "Statement and Findings of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary Concerning Student Complaints and Related Matter" supporting Dr. Chandler, and asserting that his actions were in "the best interest" of the College, although they allowed "It is possible that frayed tempers have led to intemperate discussions between the parties." Apparently, the bitterness connected with the controversy abated after the graduation of the Class of 1955. Yearbooks and newspapers for the next several years reflected a campus dealing with the usual growth processes and complaints. The 1958 Colonial Echo theme was "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" and the Introduction effectively captured the essence of William and Mary's ongoing saga and the students belief in and appreciation for that saga:

The greatest of the past . . . men deeds, and motives . . . live in the College today. They live in significant traditions . . . in the titles and ritual of academic occasions . . . in the mace of student self-government . . . in the names and furnishings of College edifices . . . in the continual existence of traditional organization . . . in the traditions of Homecoming . . . in the high standards and

ideals of academic pursuits. In these symbols tradition continues as a perpetual allegiance to the past.

As the 1960s began, a new administration came to power at William and Mary. In his oral history, Mr. Lambert, Dean of Students, stated that the appointment of Dr. Paschall led to a prompt improvement in student morale (at least for the first few years). "Dr. Paschall went out of his way to encourage students to call upon him in his office and was more approachable than Admiral Chandler" (JWL Oral History).

However, in 1962 a Flat Hat editorial actually praised the contributions of Alvin Duke Chandler who was then being named Chancellor of the College of William and Mary. The editorial, dated March 2, 1962, stated that Dr. Chandler had excelled in the expansion of campus physical facilities, and continued "The size and quality of the student body under Chandler were greatly improved . . . . These advancements are examples of the many long and tiring hours which Chandler has given the College." The editorial praised Dr. Chandler at the expense of the new president Davis Y. Paschall, and asked the questions "How much longer will an oppressive policy toward student activities and self-expression be permitted to create the stultified, apathetic atmosphere which now hangs over the campus? When will intellectual endeavor be recognized as really the final aim of an education and an atmosphere conducive [sic] to real study be fostered . . . . Frankly, Mr. President we feel its about time - after you've been in office for nearly two years . . . for you to begin answering . . . these questions (Flat Hat, March 2, 1962 p.4).

As was true on many campuses the 1960s began very quietly and ended very loudly. In 1960, the Board of Visitors very seriously considered putting "doorkeepers" at the doors of the cafeteria to keep out men who were

inappropriately dressed in "dungarees or bermuda shorts and T-shirts." The idea was rejected as unfeasible because the cafeteria staff didn't have time, and students wouldn't do it. Finally, the decision was reached to send a letter to parents informing them of the regulations regarding proper dress. Then cafeteria workers were to make judgements and mark students names and report them to the Dean of Men (BOV Minutes, August 27, 1960). Again in 1963, the Board of Visitors discussed the issue again — this time a Board member remarked that men were much better dressed at the University of Virginia and Washington and Lee — they all wore coats and ties, and noted that here the "men looked sloppy as the deuce - look like tourists . . . [while] the women are nicely dressed and charming" (BOV Minutes, September 7, 1963 p.295).

The Colonial Echo of 1963 had as its theme —"That the Future May Learn from the Past" — the motto of Colonial Williamsburg. The yearbook began:

Tradition . . . history . . . the lifeblood of William and Mary. We the students, intensely proud of our unique heritage strive to keep it alive and endeavor to instill in our freshmen the loyalty to the past which our college has come to represent . . . . Books, lectures, research aid us in our quest for learning, but by choosing William and Mary as our college we have elected the privilege of learning from our own history . . . that the future may learn from the past . . . and benefit by it.

The big event of 1964 was the nationally televised broadcast of "Hootenanny" from the William and Mary campus. The President's Aides, a

special group of young people selected for their leadership and extra curricular involvement to serve as advisors and hosts for the president, wrote a letter urging Dr. Paschall to allow the Hootenanny program to be broadcast from William and Mary. (There was serious hesitation because some administrators felt the television equipment would harm the gym floor in Adair gymnasium). The letter, dated November 6, 1963 stated, "We feel that William and Mary could not afford to pass up an opportunity to have its name broadcast from coast to coast, reaching millions of persons. The program has already been at the University of Virginia and many prestigious schools across the country. The future national image of this college might well benefit by this national appearance" (DYP Papers, Hootenanny).

Even as late as 1968, a syndicated column by Willard Edwards for the Chicago Tribune Press Service dated October 7, 1968, reported that when Richard Nixon arrived at the Wren Building in October, 1968 for a speech "the usual knot of students waving hostile placards . . . were different — they were well behaved. Their cards bore messages witty rather than vulgar. They did not shout or heckle." He reported that when he inquired, he was told by the students that they had agreed the night before in campus wide meetings "not to emulate the rude and boisterous conduct suffered by Nixon . . . and Humphrey . . . in their appearances on the campaign trail" (DYP Papers, Newsclippings).

But some William and Mary students did become activists in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which would effect some dramatic changes, particularly in the area of social regulations. Throughout the history of the College, very few social regulations were directed at the male students, but the women students were subject to strict regulations regarding curfew and dress. Until

the mid 1960s women were not permitted to wear shorts or slacks or to smoke outdoors on the campus, and until 1962 women were not permitted to talk to men after 7 p.m. on Monday nights.

Beginning in 1967, the Student Association began to petition Dr. Paschall for the easing of curfew hours on specific occasions. The General Cooperative Committee (which was composed of faculty as well as student leaders) adopted a resolution dated November 10, 1967 seeking Dr. Paschall's approval for "men's dormitory residents to receive women visitors in the privacy of their rooms between the hours of 4:30 and curfew on Saturday, November 11, 1967 (DYP Papers, Student Unrest). Dr. Paschall denied the request stating that "the proper procedure for changing rules that warrant modifications is not by violation of same . . ." (DYP Papers, Student Unrest). The Flat Hat editorial of November 17, 1967 reported that the resolution "met an untimely death in presidential hands." The Student Association subsequently established an "open house committee" to direct future proposals through proper channels" to effect changes. On January 11, 1968 this adjunct group presented a Resolution on Open Dormitories Policy which stated "that the College professionally institute an Open Residence whereby a Residence Hall may designate any four Saturdays during the Second Semester as 'Open Residence Dates' . . . Students participating are expected to conduct themselves in accordance with the standard of gentlemanly and ladylike conduct" (DYP Papers, Student Unrest). Dr. Paschall held to the strict regulations throughout 1968-69 with many letters from parents supporting his position evident in his filed papers (DYP Papers, Student Problems).

Then in October of 1969, the Student Association organized an Open

House ". . . on October 25, from the end of the football game until 2 a.m. Sunday morning, during which time any and all women guests of men students will be allowed unlimited access to . . . all men's dormitories and fraternity houses" (DYP Papers, Campus Unrest). As Dr. Paschall reported his actions in November in a letter to parents "on Saturday night, October 25, . . . a considerable number of students . . . [violated the visitation regulation, and] as President of the College, facing a mass situation . . . [I] . . . used a procedure . . . to identify violators; warn them individually to cease the violation, and advise that those persisting would be penalized. . . . Some students . . . ceased the violations. . . . Those who did not suffered an imposed disciplinary penalty" (DYP Papers, Campus Unrest). The individual warning was a hand delivered "Individual Notice to Those Students Who Violate the Following College Regulation: "The student will not entertain or receive guests of the opposite sex in his or her room." In essence the notice informed students that if, after ten minutes, they were still receiving a guest of the opposite sex in their room, they "will be regarded as officially suspended for the remainder of the semester" (DYP Papers, Student Unrest). There was a minor demonstration when the suspensions were announced, but as Dr. Paschall continued in his letter to parents "this group did not attempt to 'seize' the building . . . or to perform acts similar to those of violence perpetrated on other campuses but they refused to disperse." He further informed the parents that several trash can fires were set that same evening but hastened to assure the parents [because] "it is obvious that such behavior is not in keeping with that expected of William and Mary students, I hasten to commend the vast majority of our students who neither condone nor participate in such conduct" (DYP Papers,



Campus Unrest). Mr Lambert recalled that the suspended students were reinstated following a presentation to the Board of Visitors (JWL Oral History).

The Flat Hat was usually quite vocal in support of student activism although from year to year it reflected the philosophy of the editorial staff and therefore was much more outspoken some years than others. One incident that occurred in February, 1969 involved an article that used language that the publications committee of the Board of Student Affairs declared to be "in bad taste" (the language was of sexually explicit obscenities). Dr. Paschall demanded, and received, an apology from the editor on the editorial page, although the wording of the apology was circumspect, "the apology on this page is that of the publisher and not of the editor and his staff" (DYP Papers, Flat Hat, Apology).

Several underground newspapers were published during this period. The March 17, 1968 edition of Iskra reported that William and Mary students were terrible at conducting campus demonstrations and offered tips for improvement "First they should pick a weekend that is not already too busy . . . which should not be hard in Williamsburg. . . . Also a Friday night would be best. This would allow those who did not want to participate to go and study. There should be nothing else to do but go to the demonstration" (Student Activities — Unofficial Publications). Another underground newspaper Alembic, on November 13, 1968 indicated "William and Mary is not Berkeley or Columbia or New York University. In administrative goals and in the intellectual goals of the rank and file of its students, it has more resembled Bob Jones University than the modern multiversity" (Student Activities, Unofficial Publications). And a Flat Hat editorial of October 11, 1968 noted "What William and Mary ought to be . . .

is herself; a resolute capable exponent of the better world, rather than a reluctant, hesitant relic clinging fearfully to the past" (Flat Hat, Editorial Incident).

The other serious controversy in the late 1960s involved the adoption of a Statement of Rights and Responsibilities. A "History of the Statement of Rights and Responsibilities" revealed that in May, 1968 the General Cooperative Committee reported its sanction of the American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) Statement of Rights and Responsibilities to the Board of Visitors. This AAUP Statement was, at the time, being adopted on many university campuses. The Board of Visitors rejected the AAUP Statement and in August, 1968 issued a policy statement of student rights and responsibilities without consulting students or faculty. This statement was drafted by a committee of the Board of Visitors and President Paschall. According to the Flat Hat of September 20, 1968 the essential difference between the AAUP and the Board versions is that the Board Statement "does not concern itself with the overall purpose and functioning of education in the preamble. Instead, it emphasized legalistic responsibilities and obligations." The editorial continued that student and faculty reaction to the Board Statement "ranged from indifference to violent indignation to anger, with the last reaction perhaps most prevalent" (Flat Hat, September 20, 1968).

Major dissent appeared to center around the contrast between the two statements regarding student participation. The AAUP statement stated:

As constituents of the academic community, students should be free, individually and collectively, to express their views on issues of institutional policy and on matters of general interest to the

student body. The student body should have clearly defined means to participate in the formulation and application of institutional policy affecting academic and student affairs.

The Board of Visitors Statement read:

The applicant who is selected for admission exercises a responsibility in notifying the College of his or her intention to enroll, the same being a voluntary choice on his part, thereby indicating acceptance of the standards, academic and non-academic, set forth in the catalogue, the Student Handbook, the Honor System Brochures, the statement and other documents made available to students.(DYP Papers, Student Unrest)

On October 11, 1968, the student body rejected, in a referendum, the Board of Visitors' Statement by more than 84%, and on November 12, the faculty followed suit by passing a resolution urging the Board of Visitors to withdraw the Statement of Rights and Responsibilities, by a 90% vote. In December, 1968 the students picketed in the Wren Courtyard for three days, issuing a statement Why We are Here, which said in part:

We believe our freedom to determine our rights is fundamental in a democracy. When a body of power, not representative of our feelings or not residing in the community assumes the power to dictate what freedom said community can have it acts oppressively rather than democratically. Such an abrogation of the basic rights of man must be strongly opposed. (DYP Papers. Student Unrest)

On December 13, 1968, three members of the Board of Visitors met with student representatives, and on February 7, 1969 the Board of Visitors voted to

revise the Statement and sent the revised Statement to the Board of Student Affairs for discussion before adoption (TAG Papers, Statement of Rights and Responsibilities). The revised Statement was approved by all parties and adopted by the Board of Visitors in January, 1970. In the course of the controversy, however, Dr. Paschall was both praised and vilified from all sides. On April 12, 1969 a group of approximately 50 students signed a letter calling for his resignation stating:

*William and Mary has reached a crisis point . . . what [it] needs at this time is a leader with a vision of educational perfection and the energy and strength to go after the realization of that vision. We find our alma mater, under your leadership, lamentably lacking in this very essential vision and the activity necessary to approach its realization. (TAG Papers, Student Problems)*

However, another point of view was expressed in an editorial in The Daily Oklahoman, on September 9, 1968, which stated that student unrest had reached preposterous dimensions in the last year, but noted that there were encouraging signs of a return to common sense in the fall. The editorial continued that even Columbia had decreed that future demonstrations must not disturb scholarly pursuits and "other colleges are taking similar steps, but it remains for William and Mary (in Williamsburg fittingly enough, where Patrick Henry delivered his impassioned call for freedom nearly two centuries ago) to express the viewpoint in the least equivocal terms. In a detailed 'Statement of Rights and Responsibilities' President Davis Y. Paschall outlines the condition that underlies all the others the 'Right to Orderly Environment'" (TAG Papers, Statement of Rights and Responsibilities).

And fittingly enough the decade ended with Dr. Paschall again writing to parents urging them to appeal "to your son or daughter to adhere to neatness in appearance, and to display on campus those attributes of good taste in dress and appearance as would exemplify your wishes were he or she at home." He continued that personal dress regulations were most difficult to enforce, and noted that legal advice indicated considerable "question as to the validity of dress restrictions, except to the extent to which they prohibit indecent dress or appearance" (TAG Papers, Curfew Matters).

Mr. Lambert commented that while the 1960's were "lively", he always felt that the severity of the protest and activism was much less at William and Mary than at some other institutions. He attributed this to the fundamental character and good judgement of William and Mary students stating, "I don't know how I would define this except in terms of a form of behavior which is 'traditional' at William and Mary" (JWL Oral History).

Thomas A. Graves became the twenty-fourth president of the College in 1971, and in his first annual Report to the Board of Visitors, quietly offered the solution to the curfew and social regulations that had plagued the Paschall administration for five years:

Within student affairs several significant steps were taken to involve the students more fully and responsibly in the affairs of the College. The Board of Student Affairs . . . took an increasingly important role in policy recommendations . . . Questions of curfew and visitation were resolved within the framework of self-determination for students in matters involving the conduct of their own lives . . . and they [students] played an increasing role on

committees of the College considering matters of policy and implementation related to their education . . . all of the decisions in the area of student affairs were reached on the assumption that students, when treated as responsible and mature individuals and citizens, will respond and act accordingly. (p.8)

Dr. Graves expressed his attitude toward student life in an address before the Newcomen Society on June 5, 1976 in which he said "It is important to me that the college years be a happy experience and exciting adventure. It should be an experience that fosters a love of learning, a respect for truth, an insatiable curiosity and the beginning of wisdom " (TAG Papers, Newcomem Society, p.21).

Student life did change appreciably as the 1970s began. The 1972 Colonial Echo reflected the mood after the activism of the late 1960s.

It was an awakening; a consciousness; a baptism. An awakening that meant a new way of looking at the world, and at William and Mary in particular. A consciousness of the importance of individual contributions. A baptism into a time of genuinely lowering our voices. This was a year when William and Mary grew up. (p.3)

A time honored tradition was abandoned in 1972 - that of holding the graduation ceremony in the Wren Courtyard. Every year since 1938, the graduates would march through the hall of the Wren Building and take their places in the Wren Yard. Dr. Paschall's last graduation ceremony, 1971, had been marred by controversy. Prominent black leader Charles Evers was the students' choice for speaker, and he was denied permission by President

Paschall who invited local congressman Thomas Downing instead. The result was that Mr. Evers spoke at Blow Gym in the morning, and "official" ceremonies were held in the Wren Courtyard in the afternoon. Some students refused to attend, some refused to wear caps and gowns, some hissed, some applauded. The 1972 Colonial Echo stated "The only thing in common after that four year trek was a diploma" (p.31).

There is no evidence that the decision to change the graduation site was a result of that disruption however. Reasons cited were crowds (the graduating class numbered 1,210 in 1972), the instability of the weather, and perhaps the most compelling reason, the College, at last, had another suitable place in which to hold the ceremony -- the newly constructed William and Mary Hall.

However, the tradition-minded William and Mary students did not give up without a fight. A proposal was submitted to Dr. Graves by the Board of Student Affairs, petitioning that graduation be held in the Wren Courtyard instead of William and Mary Hall. The petition stated that Commencement exercises should be a more personal experience for the graduating students and their guests. "Although air-conditioned and of sufficient size William and Mary Hall is an impersonal structure and would subtract two critical elements from graduation (1) the traditional beauty of the Yard and (2) the emphasis on William and Mary as a unique college and Commencement as a unique ceremony (TAG Papers Administrative Council).

In his 1972-73 Report to the Board of Visitors, Dr. Graves reported on the relative success of the first year of self-determination. Self-determination was the policy established which charged the students with responsibility of imposing their own restrictions and freedoms regarding life in the residence

halls. He noted that it "went very well overall during the first year . . . self determination is more than freedom and self expression, it requires personal and group responsibility, has its own reasonable and legitimate limits and is in fact a form of governance involving accountability." In this same report, Dr. Graves also discussed the changed role of fraternities and sororities. The percentage of students belonging to these groups had fallen from sixty-five percent in the 1950's to less than thirty-three percent in the 1970's. And the administration had changed from attempting to stifle them to fully supporting their presence on campus. Dr. Graves stated that the College had been forced to ask one fraternity to vacate its lease, due to continuing financial and membership problems and noted two others had serious though less urgent problems. He said the Student Affairs office would be working with these and other fraternities and sororities to strengthen their position on campus, and concluded "Student values are changing here and elsewhere but I personally believe that a fraternity or sorority, with responsible and responsive leadership, has an important role to play at William and Mary."

The Admissions Office conducted a survey of the class entering in 1973 to determine the effectiveness of their programs and processes. Several questions related to reasons for applying and enrolling at William and Mary. For all four applicant groups, in and out of state males and females, the most frequently cited reason for applying and enrolling was the academic reputation of the College. General atmosphere and physical attractiveness was the second most frequently mentioned reason with curriculum a very close third, and optimal distance from home and size also ranking very high. Least frequently cited reasons were family, co-education, and financial aid. The geographic



distribution of the survey participants approximated fairly well the actual distribution of the student body (65%/35% in and out of state) so could be considered representative (Admissions Office - Surveys).

A seriousness of purpose and attitude pervaded the campus during the 1970's. The 1977 Colonial Echo reflected a stark realization on the part of students that their college years had been "safe in a four year artificial environment." The introduction asked what made this year different? Students still "walked barefoot across the brick paths on rain-drenching September days . . . the Honor Code remained intact, and the sunset over Phi Beta Kappa Hall demanded a moment's admiration." The traditions and images were still impressing the newest generation of William and Mary students. But these students seemed unable or unwilling to forget that "an outside world existed." They noted "this year the outside world crept in around the corners of the William and Mary student's isolated little world." The yearbook then presented quite specifically the problems that the College experienced with fundings and state budgets in 1976 noting that the College was forced to "limit spending to essential items."

A serious attitude also pervaded the 1979 Colonial Echo which took as its theme, "Which Way Should We Turn" and discussed the mission of the College, "the fine line that William and Mary walked between remaining the small personal college that it has been in the past, and being pressured by various sources to expand into a more typically large state university" (p. 57). The discussion presented the advantages (a large institution could offer a multitude of varied and unusual courses, thereby attracting a diversified faculty and student body) and the disadvantages (the unified nature would be lost) of growth

and expansion.

The 1979 Colonial Echo also offered a glimpse of representative student attitudes by profiling students from each class. A senior remarked "William and Mary can afford to be very selective. The school has an excellent reputation and its difficult to get in. But once you get in here, its sort of an ego deflator. There's lots of quality—everyone came from the top of his class—so you don't tend to stand out anymore" (p. 334). And a junior transfer student focused on the social life, enjoying it more at William and Mary than her former school. "There's always something going on if I feel like going out, but I never feel uncomfortable staying in on a week-end to study" (p. 348). A sophomore chose William and Mary for its academic reputation but admitted the beauty of the campus also lured him to campus. He enjoyed the two-faceted social life. While the "partlers" social life appeared exciting, the student insisted that walking down DOG (Duke of Gloucester, the central restored street in Williamsburg) Street to "tourist watch" was just as rewarding though "quieter" (p.367). The freshman profiles sounded like recruiting posters for William and Mary. One, originally planning to attend another similar Southern institution (though not state supported) changed his mind when he "fell in love with the campus", acknowledged the great academic reputation, and found the size to be "just right" (p. 390). Another freshman mentioned the great degree of self-structure at William and Mary and noted the small amount of time spent in the classroom which left students freer to study on their own.

And the decade of the 1970s ended in controversy over the same issue which began the 1950s — athletics. This controversy was totally different than the scandal which erupted in 1951 over transcripts and grades. At issue in 1979

was a plan to expand the football stadium in order to meet NCAA guidelines for remaining Division I-A in football. The New York Times reported on February 23, 1979 that more than one thousand students, professors, and townspeople gathered to protest the plan to double the size of the stadium and noted that the last time the "quiet campus in Williamsburg" attracted national attention was in 1951 when the grading and credit scandal was revealed. "Now, students are attending rallies urging that the four million dollars earmarked for a bigger stadium be spent on academic matters". The article concluded: "that's only right . . . Williamsburg is a restoration town — and there's nothing more in need of restoration than the purpose of higher education" (TAG Papers, Newsclippings).

Clark stated that students are important to the character of a system because they are the material for much of the work, and because they define the image for insiders and outsiders. They can manipulate the system to a certain degree, but in order for a saga to keep its momentum generations of students "must be brought in line" (Clark, 1968, p. 253). They must support the ideology and mission and must believe in the traditions.

At William and Mary all of those elements of the student subculture were evident in the period under discussion. They defined the image for insiders and outsiders and manipulated the system to a certain degree, and perhaps most importantly, they believed and supported the embellished history and traditions that were inherent in the ongoing saga of William and Mary.

A comparison of student publications throughout the decades revealed major differences between the focus of The Flat Hat and The Colonial Echo. On the majority of small college campuses, the school newspaper is an internal

organ dealing with specific and parochial concerns of the student body. A more external communication medium is the school yearbook, which is generally more global in tone. At William and Mary this was true and The Flat Hat became the provocative voice of the campus, protesting, questioning and at times creating national controversy. The degree of activism, and the tone of the publication was dependent upon the philosophy of the editorial staff, but at various times, The Flat Hat was a vehicle for espousing racial equality, for advocating change in social regulations, and for keeping the student body informed of administrative policies and changes. Editorials often were critical — even hostile, and freedom of the press vs. control by the administration was a continuing source of controversy throughout the period.

In contrast to this internal medium of expression was the Colonial Echo, the College yearbook, which appeared throughout the period to portray an image of William and Mary that was very positive, conservative, and rich in historical traditions. Many of these yearbooks could have been (and probably were) used as recruiting pieces by the Admissions Office. The Echo represented the segment of the College that was more interested in describing the image for outsiders, and they were perhaps representative of the "vigorous substantial minority" (Clark, 1968, p. 253) who saw themselves as "personally responsible for upholding what the college has become and are ready to take on enemies, real and imagined . . ." (p. 253). Clark concluded that when this occurs "then an organizational mission has become to some degree an organizational saga" (p. 253).

There were identifiable changes which occurred in the student body from 1946-80. Among the obvious were the credentials of the entering student. As

the numbers of applications increased, William and Mary was able to become more and more selective. In the mid-1950's Dean Cunningham reported to the Board of Visitors that 90% of the entering students ranked in the top half of their high school classes, but by the mid-1960's more than 80% of the entering students ranked in the top fifth of their high school class. And the classes in the 1970's appeared much more serious about themselves, their future and the College than those of earlier periods. For example, the 1979 Colonial Echo dealt with the mission and direction of the College, an issue which was only a concern to the administration in prior decades. But in many ways the classes in the 1950's resembled those of the 1970's. The surveys conducted in 1952 and 1973 both indicated that academic quality, size, distance from home, and attractiveness of the campus were primary reasons for students selecting William and Mary.

William and Mary students may have come with "personal inclinations" but they appeared to be "brought in line" (Clark, 1968, p. 253) during their four years at the College, enhancing the image so that the saga continued to flourish from generation to generation.

## Chapter 5

### Summary and Analysis

The purpose of this study was to trace the development of the image of the *College of William and Mary* in order to test the hypothesis: The image of selective liberal arts college is not exclusive to the private sector.

The College of William and Mary was examined as a case study from 1946-1980 as a possible important exception to the generalization made by Jencks and Riesman (1968) who stated:

Still, the academically distinguished college with no graduate school remains an essentially private phenomenon. There are no public Cal Techs or Princetons. The only small public institutions are those that cannot get more applicants. (p. 288)

In tracing the development of the image of William and Mary, the concept of *saga*, is defined by Clark (1968) as an "historically based somewhat embellished understanding of a unique organizational development" (p. 235), was examined and interpreted as it pertained to William and Mary. Clark's explanation of organizational *saga* renders it uniquely applicable to the *chronicle of historical traditions at William and Mary*.

It [organizational *saga*] includes a set of statues and ceremonies, an "air about the place" felt by participants . . . Colleges are prone to a remembrance of things past and a symbolism of uniqueness. The more special the history or the more forceful the claim to a place in history, the more intensively cultivated are ways of sharing memory and symbolizing the institution. (1968, p. 254)

And so it was with William and Mary — the uniqueness of its public status, its unequalled placed in history, its "special mission" was cultivated and embellished over time, evolving in the period under discussion into a selective and distinctive academic institution.

The modern evolution of the William and Mary image began with the administration of J.A.C. Chandler, whose vision for the College resulted in a remarkable expansion of facilities and a dramatic increase in enrollment. Mr. Chandler was interested in providing technical and vocational education to "the sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock found in our state . . . the sons and daughters of our farmers, merchants, and artisans who heretofore have not gone to college" (JACC Papers, Inauguration). He was interested in providing special courses for women who were admitted beginning in 1919. At that time, William and Mary was the only four-year coeducational institution in Virginia and it can be assumed that the quantity and quality of the female applicant pool was very strong. This assumption was confirmed in 1940 in a letter from the Dean of the College, James Miller, to President Bryan expressing alarm that the tables listing grade point averages by sex "bring out with great clarity what we already knew, namely that our women students are doing much better than our men" (JSB Papers, Male Enrollment, May 1, 1940). And while a specific focus of the Bryan administration was the recruitment of male students, Mr. Chandler was concerned about the lack of discipline and seriousness of purpose of the young men already enrolled. After several years of disruption - some of a violent nature - he embarked upon a policy of "selective admissions" which mandated that each entering student must rank in the top half of his class, be trustworthy and be an honorable individual. There was concern about the

legality of the policy, and it was evidently not enforced if any student raised a serious inquiry about his rejection. However, the adoption in 1933 of a "selective" policy by a publicly supported institution was unprecedented and was adapted from the "Dartmouth Plan" of assessing scholarship, personality and character. This philosophy, even in this early period, was one that presumed the unique place that William and Mary should occupy in the state system of higher education.

Throughout this period before World War II, the public image of William and Mary was enhanced by the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. The small regional school that JAC Chandler found in 1919 would begin to attract national attention as part of Colonial Williamsburg's \$100 million undertaking. During the Bryan administration, there was confusion about the role of the College in this enterprise. Mr. Bryan, Dr. Goodwin (and perhaps Mr. Rockefeller himself for a time) contemplated removing William and Mary from state control, making it a privately supported institution. That plan was never implemented, but Mr. Bryan's mission for the College was much more national in scope than regional although the Works Report (a commissioned evaluation report) suggested only that the College "will continue to occupy a conspicuous place in the life of the Commonwealth of Virginia" (JSB Bryan, Works Report). As the 1940's began, then, the internal and public images of William and Mary were not in alignment regarding its stature and potential.

John E. Pomfret's presidency was characterized by three distinct phases; (1) pre World War II (2) the war years and (3) post World War II, each requiring different administrative focus and response. This resulted in a tenure which had no possibility of gathering momentum to move in any one specific



direction. Mr. Pomfret's vision of the mission of the College was consistent with Mr. Bryan's in that his goal was to pursue academic excellence with an emphasis on the liberal arts. His educational philosophy differed from Mr. Bryan's, however, in that he strongly defended the public status of the College, and stated that William and Mary's first responsibility was to Virginians.

In the pre-war period, the atmosphere on the campus was very casual (the College opened a week late in 1943), and except for concern about the male applicant pool, the admissions situation remained stable with the "selective admissions" policy still in effect. The "Fabulous Freshman" (who entered in 1938) were winning football games, and William and Mary was receiving national publicity from the visibility resulting from the increased popularity of Colonial Williamsburg. During World War II, the situation at William and Mary changed drastically. The "Fabulous Freshmen" (and the great majority of other men) went to war, leaving only women and a few soldiers attending a Chaplain School on the campus. Gas rationing effectively halted tourism in Colonial Williamsburg, and the College and town operated in a holding pattern for the course of the war.

After the war, William and Mary made adjustments to provide educational opportunities for the returning veterans. Very few women were offered admission from 1945-47 in an attempt to balance the sex ratio on the campus (only about 5% of the out of state female group was offered admission during these two years). The "selective admissions" policy was suspended through the late 1940's, and every veteran who attended William and Mary before the war was re-admitted regardless of his status when withdrawn. The veterans were obviously older than the College norm and many had families.

They were a serious group devoted to academics and less interested in social activities. Social life continued to revolve around athletics, particularly football which quickly regained national prominence under Rube McKay, and fraternities and sororities. It was during this period that the "Lodge System" was implemented at the College, creating a fraternity row on the campus. This insular attitude was apparently at least a state wide phenomenon. In writing about the period at the University of Virginia, Dabney noted that the prevailing student attitude was "complete opposition to any change whatsoever", and he quoted a student of the period as remarking, "Should the whole continent of Europe be destroyed by nuclear power, it would not surprise me to read letters to the Cavaller Daily which discussed the effect of that catastrophe upon the parking problem and rushing regulations" (Dabney, p.353, 1981).

The image of Colonial Williamsburg continued to bring positive publicity to the College. High school groups began to visit the restored area in greater numbers, and a tour of the Wren Building was included on most agendas. Colonial Williamsburg also expressed interest in having the William and Mary students participate in Restoration activities, and a tour of the restored area and a reception at the Governors' Palace became a tradition of orientation week at William and Mary.

Alvin Duke Chandler was appointed as the twenty-second president of William and Mary in 1951 following the resignation, under fire, of John E. Pomfret. A football scandal had rocked the campus generating national publicity and Mr. Pomfret was censured by the Board of Visitors for not dealing with the issue "with dispatch."

Mr. Chandler's conception of the mission of the College was quite

different from Mr. Pomfret's and Mr. Bryan's. He believed that (1) the College should continue to be a place of "universal learning", (2) that the College's first responsibility was to serve its Virginia constituency, particularly the citizens of the Tidewater region east of Williamsburg and (3) that the College should provide a curriculum that would prepare students for a profession since "we in America have no leisure class." Mr. Chandler also strongly believed in expanding the facilities of the College, although he was frustrated in this endeavor by a lack of support in funding from the state. Regarding the problems in depending upon public support, he remarked "under a system of state operation there exists a lack of flexibility for implementing plans and procedures. If we are ever going to live up to our heritage, the College of William and Mary cannot operate on the 'standard rations' of a state college."

Mr. Chandler's tenure was also marked by frustrating relationships with the faculty and students. Many faculty members felt he was an unsuitable choice for president, having had no background in higher education. Compounding this problem were the circumstances surrounding his appointment. The Board of Visitors had asked the faculty for advice in making the choice, but then pointedly ignored the advice -- choosing Mr. Chandler in a secret executive session only moments after implying to the faculty that the decision was not imminent. The faculty was not supportive of Mr. Chandler and the internal image of the College was at a low ebb during this period. He also experienced great difficulty in his dealings with students. His philosophy of education included the notion that the College should "exercise a good moral influence . . . to help produce God-fearing men and women of high character." From the beginning of his administration, he expressed concern about the noise

and alcohol abuse prevalent in the newly constructed fraternity row, and in 1955 established new regulations which prohibited the consumption of alcohol anywhere on the campus. A full scale paper war followed with both sides (students vs. administration) involving everyone in the state - the Board of Visitors, the media, the Governor, and the legislature. The dissident leaders were all members of the Class of '55 and after their graduation a degree of normality returned to the campus. Mr. Chandler, in his 1957 report to the Board of Visitors noted that student morale was very high, and that all students were respecting the standards set by the administration.

It was interesting to note that this highly vocal and extremely active class which graduated in 1955 entered the College in 1951 when there was a record low number of applicants. Figure 1 depicted the number of applications for each applicant group from 1946-1980. In 1951 and 1952 there were, in each year, approximately 1,100 applications and about 67% of those who applied were admitted. This low period can be attributed to several factors. Eighteen year olds in 1951 and 1952 were born in 1933 and 1934 which was the height of the Depression when the birth rate dropped significantly. Secondly, the football scandal generated highly negative publicity at a national level. The media seemed to find it especially abhorrent that a college with the traditions and distinction of William and Mary had become involved with credit and transcript altering. Thirdly, the 1952 self-study noted that there were no clear lines of authority established with regard to admissions. They recommended that the Dean of Admissions be given final authority, and that faculty should only operate in an advisory capacity.

This was one of the most significant periods in the development of

William and Mary as a selective institution. The entire college became involved in turning the admissions situation around. Research was conducted by Kenneth Cleeton to determine what kinds of students were attracted to William and Mary, and what their reasons for attending were. The Dean of Admissions designed and implemented an exhaustive travel and recruiting plan which included out-of-state travel (there was no 70/30 in-state/out-of-state ratio in effect at this time), and the President became quite involved in cooperative efforts with Colonial Williamsburg which continued to generate positive national publicity including a 50 page article in National Geographic Magazine in 1954 which was devoted to Williamsburg and its College. Between 1955 and 1960 the applicant pool increased from 1850 to 3,400 (Figure 3). Another significant public event which contributed positive national publicity was the 1957 visit of Queen Elizabeth II who gave a speech from the balcony of the Wren Building. The out-of-state female applicant pool increased most significantly and as Figure 2 indicated, by the end of the decade fewer than 10% of that group was being offered admission. The Dean of Admission during this period, Scotty Cunningham, indicated that the level of actual selectivity operating for this particular group created the image of selectivity in the minds of all of William and Mary's constituencies, most particularly those out of state.

But as Figure 2 also demonstrated the level of competition was much less severe for the other three applicant groups, particularly for the in-state group. About 80% of the female in-state applicant pool was admitted throughout most of the decade, and about 70% of the in-state male group was admitted throughout the entire decade.

As the 1960's began, then, the image of selectivity was being generated although the actual level of selectivity was dependent upon which segment of the applicant pool was being examined. In 1960, the total (all four groups combined) ratio of applicant to admitted student was 31% so that by applying Thompson's (1980) assessment of what constituted a selective institution (admitting fewer than half of the applicants) William and Mary had already attained the selective status. But the 1960's brought a dramatic increase in applications from all four applicant groups, and by 1965 applications had reached an all time high of 6,341 (Figure 3).

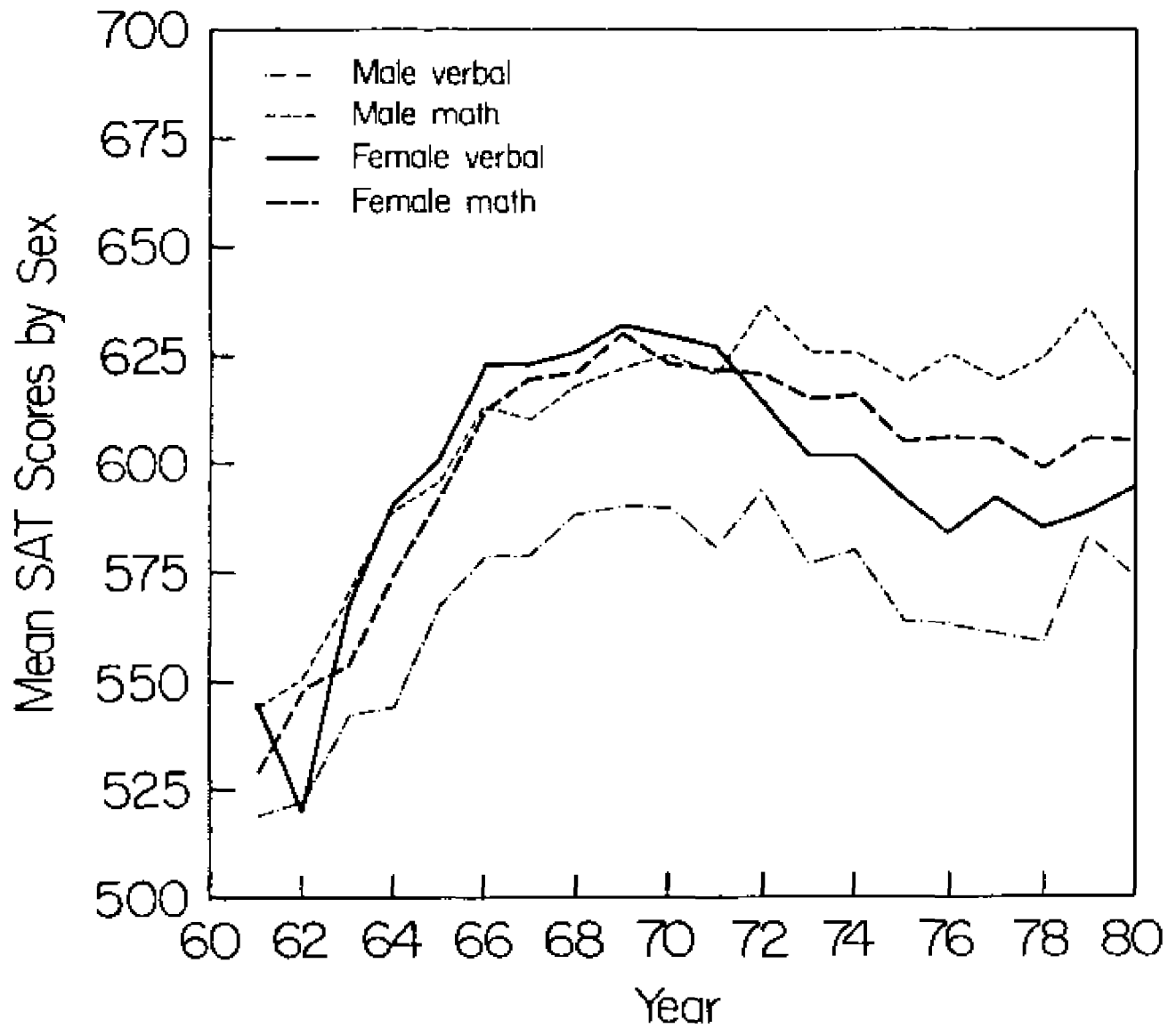
Regarding Dr. Paschall's appointment as president, Rouse (1983) stated: "Still trying to determine its highest purpose the College entered a new era. It had not fully resolved its identity, but it was vigorously examining the alternatives. The two Chandlers, father and son . . . had created a complex of Tidewater campuses . . . Each had dared to do what he felt the times demanded" (p. 204). Rouse was not alone in his assessment that the College had yet to find its highest purpose. Following the dissolution of the Colleges of William and Mary (the five campus enterprise operating from 1960-1962) editorials appeared in surrounding area newspapers urging William and Mary to begin to focus upon its true destiny and heritage - that of a distinctive liberal arts college. And Dr. Paschall's mission for the College was purposeful. At his inauguration, he stated his belief that William and Mary "should now enjoy a new birth as a truly great undergraduate institution of liberal arts and sciences strengthening and improving the advanced programs it now has" (DYP Papers, Reorganization). He also believed in a limited growth in enrollment stating in his 1965 Report to the Board of Visitors that it was important to maintain an

informal atmosphere on a campus which allowed students and faculty to know each other, an atmosphere which would be lost under the impact of "monstrous enrollment". As the "baby boom" reached college age, pressure was exerted on the College to increase enrollment, and it was necessary for Dr. Paschall to convince outside constituencies of the uniqueness of William and Mary, and its special place in the Virginia system of higher education. The Virginia Plan of 1987 submitted by the State Council of Higher Education acknowledged the position of the College stating, "The Council believes the College can retain its distinctive characteristics as a residential institution with high standards and at the same time expand its educational services for the rapidly growing Peninsula area" (p. 2).

And so 1965 was a most significant year in the development of the image of William and Mary as a selective institution. Only 17% of the total applicant pool was admitted, and the public agencies accepted that William and Mary was traditionally going to be selective and would continue to turn away more students than it admitted. As can be seen in Figure 3 the number of applications fell somewhat after 1965, but an examination of the credentials of applicants proved that the quality of the applicant pool improved every year. Figure 6 gave dramatic evidence of the rise in mean SAT scores throughout the 60's, and Figure 7 indicated that there was an appreciable rise in ranks in class of entering students. In 1962 only 61% of entering students were ranking in the top quintile of their high school classes. By 1972 85% were ranking in the top fifth of their high school classes. It was clear that self-selection was going to have an impact upon the number of applications to the College after 1965.

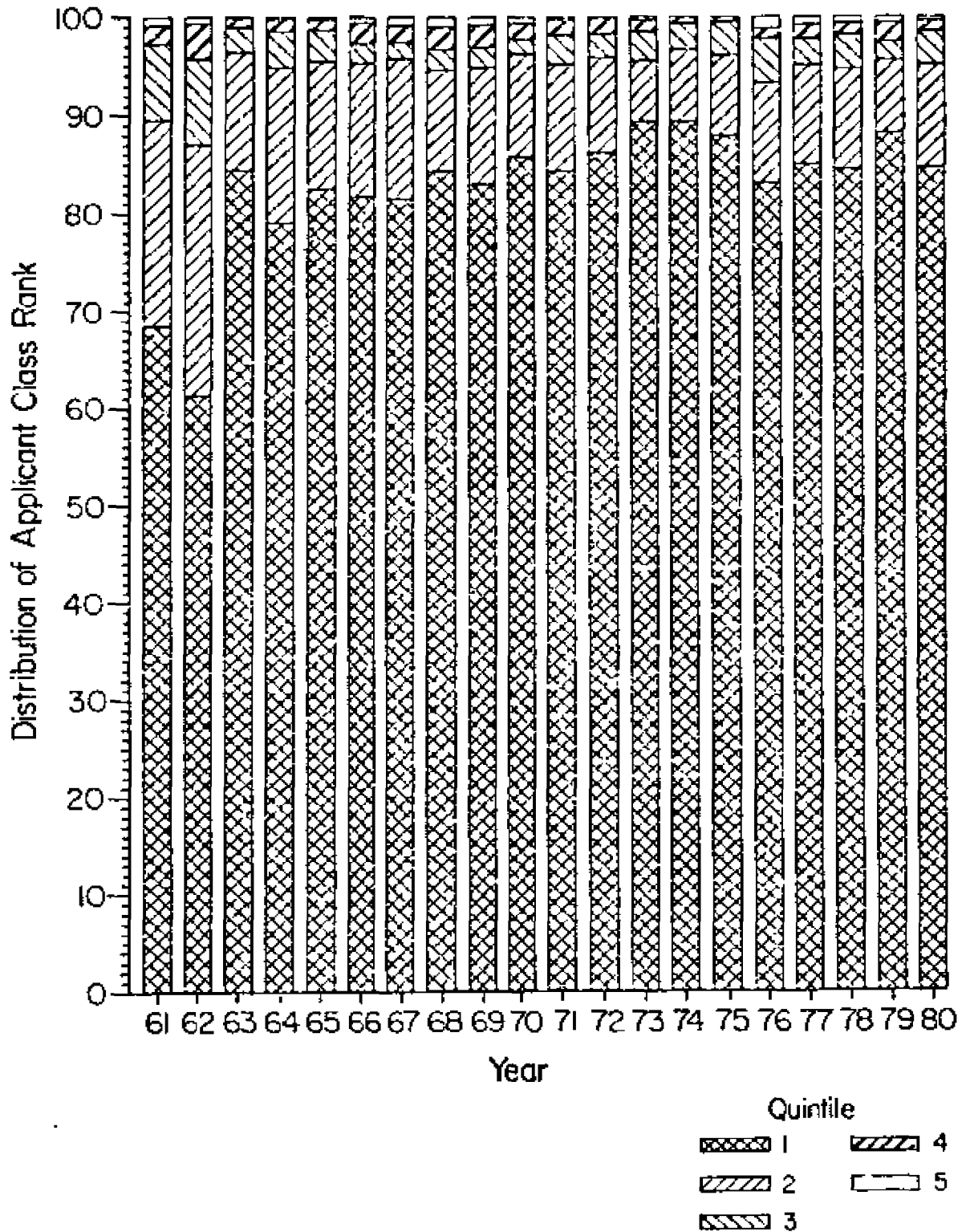
Publicity generated by the College during this period indicated that the

**FIGURE 6**  
**SAT MATH AND VERBAL MEANS BY SEX**  
**ENROLLED FRESHMEN 1960 - 1980**  
**COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY**





**FIGURE 7**  
**FRESHMEN CLASS RANKS BY QUINTILE**  
**COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY**  
**1961 - 1980**



administration was encouraging this self-selection. National publications which rated the selectivity of colleges were ranking William and Mary in the second most selective group, based upon admissions statistics provided by the College. And in Dr. Paschall's Report to the Governor in 1964 he specifically stated that only one out of ten applicants could expect to enroll at William and Mary, and that facilities were inadequate to enroll any greater numbers of students.

The students who were admitted during this period were a bright and active group. Political and social issues dominated the campus. Vietnam, social and dress regulations (particularly for women), student rights and responsibilities, and censorship versus freedom of the press, were among the specific problems which were addressed throughout the decade. As Dean Lambert remarked, however, there was no violence and very little disruption during the period (as compared to many other college campuses). He noted this was a result of the "traditional behavior" of the William and Mary student which he observed for more than 50 years. One necessary component in the formation of institutional legend or saga as defined by Clark (1968) was that the students "must be brought in line" and must accept and support the traditions which are central to the maintenance of the saga from generation to generation. It would appear that even as William and Mary increased selectivity and the entering credentials of each group became stronger the students were quickly brought in line and accepted the ongoing saga of William and Mary.

An example of this support of traditions was the concern and protest expressed when the traditional site of graduation, the Wren Courtyard, was

abandoned for William and Mary Hall in 1972. Inclement weather and crowding were of little concern to students who wanted their graduation to "be personal" and in the unique tradition of William and Mary.

In the 1970's the number of applications continued to increase though not at the dramatic rate found in the 1960's (Figure 3). Throughout the decade there were consistently more applications from out-of-state students than in-state students reflecting the national character which had evolved. Figure 2 depicted the ratio of applicants to admitted student for the period. The 70/30 in-state/out-of-state ratio dictated that about 25% of the out-of-state group was offered admission while almost 50% of the in-state group was admitted. Again applying Thompson's judgement that a selective school is one which admits fewer than half its applicants, William and Mary by the decade of the 1970's was selective for both in-state and out-of-state students.

Applications increased dramatically from 1976 when 4,878 students applied to 1977 when 5,617 students applied for admission. The College administration attributed this increase to the publicity surrounding the Presidential Debate between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford which was held in Phi Beta Kappa Hall on the campus. The number of applications continued to rise through 1979, demonstrating the impact that external forces can have on the image of an institution. This direct positive correlation between this publicity and the increase in applications must also demonstrate the extraordinary impact that the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg has had upon the image of William and Mary. The millions of visitors, and the almost constant national publicity that is generated because of visiting dignitaries, has given the College an unprecedented degree of nationwide visibility.

Selectivity had increased to such a high level in the 1970's that it was frequently mentioned in student publications - students remarking about how lucky they were to be admitted, or how "ego deflating" it was to be in school with others of equal ability and achievement. The students in the 1970's were more involved in substantive matters than previous generations of students had been. They devoted the 1970 Colonial Echo to a discussion of the future mission and direction of the College. They also served on virtually every faculty and administrative committee, and were involved in a decision making as well as advisory capacity.

This student involvement was consistent with the educational philosophy of the twenty-fourth President, Dr. Thomas Graves, who stated in a speech to the Newcomen Society "So let us do all we can to encourage our students . . . to embrace the fundamentals of a liberal education . . . to accept the wisdom of the ages and of the great discipline of the mind . . . [and] to help them to appreciate . . . the infinite joy of all that is good in our lives and our country" (TAG Papers, Newsclippings).

Dr. Graves' mission for the College was clearly articulated and frequently repeated resulting in a clearer understanding on the part of all factions of the College. When the 1974 Self-Study was undertaken, the Statement of Aims and Purposes was quickly endorsed by faculty, students, administrators and the Board of Visitors. It stated that William and Mary was a small university supported by the Commonwealth of Virginia under the supervision of the Board of Visitors. The goal and heart of the mission was the development of individual capabilities through liberal education (TAG Papers, Aims and Purposes).

It continued to be essential for the president to convince outside agencies of the special mission of the College, and in the 1973 Virginia Plan for Higher Education, the State Council supported the Statement of Aims and Purposes as defined by the College, stating in part:

The College of William and Mary is a highly selective, coeducational, full-time residential university, with primary emphasis on a liberal education . . . it is a state university and at the same time is national and international in character . . . The unique characteristics of William and Mary are found in such qualities as the high selectivity of students resulting from limited enrollment and heavy applications . . . the strong liberal arts tradition . . . and the relatively moderate size of the institution and its classes . . . . (TAG Papers, State Council, p. 2)

Contrasting this statement with that of the 1967 Virginia Plan demonstrated that by 1973 the State Council was in agreement with the College that service to the region (Tidewater) was not an important priority of a College which was by this time a nationally prominent academic institution.

Especially significant statistics which reinforce the reality that William and Mary was, at that point, a selective institution are those depicted in Figures 2, 3, 4 and 5. Figure 5 compared the William and Mary SAT math and verbal means with the national means. The discrepancy between scores continued to widen through the entire period as the national averages declined and the William and Mary averages rose dramatically and then stabilized. Figure 3 depicted the dramatic increase in the number of applications over the period, and Figure 2 showed the ratio of admissions to applicants which except

for a brief period in the 1950's was consistently below 50% admitted. Figure 4 indicated the applicant yield averaged 50-60 percent throughout the 1960s.

In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that the image and the reality of selectivity at William and Mary were the result of awareness and commitment on the part of all factions of the institution. The concern in the 1940's for the quantity and quality of the male applicant pool prompted the Dean of the College to conduct research and then to offer very specific recommendations to aid in recruiting. The hiring of Carl Voyles, a nationally recognized athletic director, was directly related to concern about males at William and Mary. In the early 1950's when the number of applications dropped precipitously because of the football scandal and the low birth rate during the Depression, research was again conducted to determine what kind of student was attracted to the College, and extensive travel and recruiting plans were implemented by the Dean of Admissions. In the 1960's when applications reached an all time high, and William and Mary was forced to become most selective (only admitting 17% of the applicant pool in 1965), care was taken to explain and to justify William and Mary's position in the state system of higher education. Had the College not met this problem head on, the possibility existed that the State could have forced a drastic increase in enrollment or that a disgusted public could have turned against the College causing a drastic drop in applications. This would have had disastrous consequences in terms of funding as well as loss of status and position.

In the 1970's administrative and faculty concern about special admissions, specifically athletes, alumni and minorities, helped the Admissions Office to justify its decisions regarding these groups. And as predictions about

the declining college age population surfaced in the late 1970's Dr Graves noted his concern to the responsible parties and urged that special care and attention be paid to the application trends during the critical period.

This institution did not become selective simply because the Admissions Office recruited more applicants. Selectivity is a component of distinction which can only be developed if all factions of the institution believe in and work toward maintaining that distinction -- the task stated Clark "of an institutional group is to have purpose and organization become a saga" (1968, p. 262).

#### Implications of the Research for the Admissions Office

This research traced the development of an image of William and Mary as a selective institution by examining four factors which combined to create a forceful and distinctive public image. The selective image was, by 1970, being correctly perceived by William and Mary's constituencies, resulting in self-selection effectively limiting the number of applications to the College. Students were assessing their chances of admission before submitting an application and selecting themselves out of the competition if their credentials were out of line. One measure of this self-selection was demonstrated by an assessment of the average SATs for the period. In 1970, the SAT average for William and Mary enrolling freshmen was 1202. The average SAT for the entire applicant pool for that year was 1140 - a difference of only 60 points. This difference is considered by the College Board to be statistically insignificant as the standard margin for error on each test (verbal and math) is 30 points.

However, the national SAT average for 1970 was 948 - a difference of over 250 points. This self-selection continued throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, and is an example of the Clark notion that colleges reach a pool of prospective applicants by having official criteria of entry — controlled requirements which sort students away from or toward an institution (1972).

But Clark also suggested that the public image generated by attitudes and characteristics of enrolled students will act as a mechanism of self-selection. He stated: "Like attracts like through mediating images. One effect of public images . . . is to attract new members with orientations and dispositions roughly similar to those on the scene or lost through graduation. Public images have a membership replacing function" (1968, p. 179).

A clear illustration of this Clark principle was found in two recent articles written for the William and Mary student-produced magazine jump!. Of special significance is the fact that these two articles on William and Mary's image were the lead articles in the first two published issues of the magazine. In the December 1983 issue, an article entitled "Who We Are and Why We're Here" (Mears) offered a series of interviews with William and Mary undergraduates to determine their reasons for selecting William and Mary, and to solicit their opinions of the school now that they are enrolled. The similarity of the responses from the various students was remarkable. It appeared that the author attempted to survey a cross section of the different types of students enrolled. In-state and out-of-state males and females were interviewed, but all said relatively the same things. They had selected William and Mary because it was "a prestigious school, relatively cheap, and small enough to allow for individual expression" (p. 5). Their opinions of the student



body were essentially uniform. One student remarked, "The College is of course very tradition-minded and this tends to reflect the conservative nature of most students intellectually" (p. 5). Another stated, "they are basically middle-class and conservative . . . there aren't a lot of deviants or those who really stand out (p. 6). And from a third student, an out-of-state- female who "fell in love with Colonial Williamsburg when she visited" this statement, "Students here are a pretty homogeneous bunch, conservative by nature" (p.7). All of those interviewed conveyed the notion that students at William and Mary are basically middle-class, tradition-minded, personally conservative and dedicated to studying (p. 7).

The stereotype of party school vs. "grind" school was the focus of a second jump article in May, 1984 entitled "W & M vs. UVA Reputation through Repetition?" (Williamson and Abbott). This article compared the public images of the two most selective state supported institutions in Virginia - The College of William and Mary and the University of Virginia. Comparisons are frequently drawn between the two schools because the crossover application rate (e.g. the students who apply to both universities) has averaged about 40% in recent years. And since 1972 when UVA began admitting women, the selection profiles of the two schools have been similar. This second jump article related the personal and academic history of two Virginia high school seniors who had applied to both universities. While the academic credentials of both were essentially equal, their attitudes toward college were radically different as were their college destinations.

The student authors chose a fun-loving Virginia male to profile the stereotype of the student attracted to the University of Virginia, while a

"somewhat bookish and reserved" Virginia female was profiled as being attracted to William and Mary "ever since she visited Williamsburg on a fourth grade field trip" (p. 4). The UVA bound male chose the University because of the stories he'd heard from friends already enrolled. He intends to "have a fantastic time and get a top-rated education" (p. 4). The William and Mary bound female is interested "first and foremost in . . . an education" (p. 4). She enjoys studying and "makes friends more easily in classes than at parties" (p. 4). The authors noted that while both applicants were exposed to similar directive sources when making their college choices, much of that exposure was "grounded in hype and stereotype and . . . they reacted differently to each school's image and made their decisions accordingly (p. 4). The authors charged that enrolled students of both schools are frequently the source of these stereotypes. They stated:

W&M students are notoriously inclined to compare in conversation relative numbers of impossible exams and sleepless nights, and often there is a masochistic element of competition involved. UVA students, on the other hand, swap stories of drunkenness and hangovers. Again, competition frequently comes into play. These tendencies are inculcated into many freshmen as the norm for the respective schools and they become the chief modes of discourse to share with . . . peers. (p. 5)

The significant point of this second jump article is that, in these student authors minds at least, these exaggerated public images are having a dramatic effect upon the decision-making process of college bound seniors. Their implication that only studious bookish type people are interested in William and

Mary is convincing, particularly following the assessments made by students in the previously quoted jump! article. And they further imply that the well-rounded student interested in life as well as education will choose UVA. They cite Edward Flske's Selected Guide to Colleges, 1984-85 as rating UVA higher in every category; social, academic, and quality of life. They found it particularly distressing that the University of Virginia was rated higher in the academic category- the studious types should surely merit a higher academic rating for the College than the fun-lovers merit at UVA, and they were careful to remind the reader that the ratings were based upon assessments made by enrolled students and administrators at both institutions.

A similar perception of the image of William and Mary pervaded recently published guides to colleges which base their descriptions on information provided through questionnaire responses from enrolled students. The Insider's Guide to the Colleges "begins where the standard college guides . . . leave off" (p. ix) by turning to "the people out there in the academic foxholes, the students themselves" (p. ix). The Guide offered the justification that the students are "living the life, after all, and are best qualified to tell about it" (p. ix). The 1983-1984 edition noted that the first thing William and Mary students say about their school is that the campus is "the most beautiful they can imagine" (p. 441). They "describe one another as 'friendly, but reserved', 'overly traditional', 'totally practical,' and of course 'competetive'" (p. 441). The Guide stated that academics come first for most William and Mary students, resulting in a "considerably less rigorous social life than one might expect from a southern school" (p. 442) and concluded that the College "may lean a great deal toward the conservatism of the Old South than the modern

liberalism of the New South" (p. 442).

Fiske's Selective Guide to Colleges, which was quoted in the jump! article supported the notions discussed in the Yale Guide. It stated: "Appropriately for the school that gave birth to both Phi Beta Kappa and the honor code, the College . . . demands a lot from its students academically" (p. 464). Regarding the living environment, Fiske reported that the atmosphere is preppie and some say "borders on nerdish" (p. 465). He further reported that students complain about the dating situation, and concluded that "if you aren't especially outgoing, your study lamp may end up as your best friend" (p. 465).

These descriptions suggest the disturbing possibility that a public image of William and Mary may be emerging which is narrower and more restrictive than is healthy for the future of the institution. Clark cautioned that while attraction by public image may be fundamentally equivalent to selection by an admissions office, it is infinitely more resistant to change. Admissions policy can be changed rather quickly by official directive, but stated Clark "once public images are established, they are more difficult to affect" (1968, p. 187). He confirmed the analysis offered in the jump! articles, noting; "Public images, which are firm in the attitudes of outsiders and removed from direct control may become largely a matter of community sentiment rather than of rational thought" (p. 187). He further stated that an image is a constraint, and the stronger the image the stronger the constraint- this is the dilemma of distinction. He noted:

The college that strikes boldly for a highly distinctive character and a unique image is also making connections with the outside world that are not easily revoked. The highly distinctive college

has a potent claim for attention, but it also brands itself in the eyes of the world as "that" (Clark's italics) kind of place. When the times change, image and ingrained character resist change in the college. (p. 187)

Times are now changing. Estimates indicate that the college age population will decline by 25% over the next decade. And while the research literature reviewed in Chapter 2 overwhelmingly supports the notion that institutions with strong distinctive images will be least affected by the coming enrollment crisis, an awareness at William and Mary that distinction can be a double-edged sword is appropriate. The force of public image will attract to or divert students from applying and enrolling at any particular institution. The question for William and Mary's Admission Office now is whether or not the image is diverting a segment of the qualified student population from seriously considering applying to and/or enrolling at William and Mary. If the jump! articles are any indication, the presently enrolled students are concerned that this may be happening.

In the summer of 1984, the Admissions Office will survey three groups of students, those who will enroll, those who were admitted and will not enroll, and those who requested an application and did not apply to determine their reasons for selecting or not selecting William and Mary. These results should supply indications of whether the William and Mary appeal is attracting a narrower segment of the college age population than is productive. And if it is determined that this concern is valid, the Admissions Office will have the exciting opportunity to take the leadership role in examining and broadening the appeal of the William and Mary public image. However, in attempting to

broaden the appeal, care must be taken not to dilute the strong image of distinction and selectivity which has evolved and served the College so well since 1946.

The following recommendations are offered for consideration in accomplishing this goal:

- (1) The recruiting publications of the College should be reviewed, and perhaps revised to appeal to a more diverse population. If the academic reputation is diverting qualified students as well as attracting others then additional aspects of campus life can be emphasized and promoted.
- (2) A more formal and closer relationship should be developed with Colonial Williamsburg. Over 80,000 students visit Williamsburg each year, and special programs are conducted for them. Perhaps campus activities could be developed for inclusion in these visitors' itineraries. For example, academic departments, such as computer science or physics, could conduct special programs which would acquaint these students with the exciting possibilities for a future in these fields.
- (3) The Admissions Office should make every effort to coordinate and follow-up any survey requests from the authors of the new type of college handbook which purports to offer subjective impressions of collegiate institutions. The Selective Guide to Colleges, Everywomen's Guide to Colleges and Universities, The Black Student' Guide to Colleges and The Insider's Guide to Colleges are examples. These guides are different from the long established Barron's or Peterson's Guide which only offer statistical requirements and curricular information which has been provided by the Admissions Office. And as supported in the jump article, these subjective descriptions are having an

impact upon the public perceptions of institutions.

- 4) The best resource for recruiting a diverse student body is to involve a diverse group of enrolled students in that recruiting effort. The jump articles are an indication that the students are interested and concerned. The Admissions Office can coordinate programs which utilize this valuable student resource. For example, students could accompany admissions officers on high school visits, or could make formal announced visits to their high schools during Christmas vacation (this program is presently operating through the cooperative efforts of the Student Association and the Admissions Office).
- (5) A formal system could be established which allowed the enrolled honors students (Presidential Scholars) to contact and/or host for a week-end the selected freshmen scholars before the May 1 deposit deadline.
- (6) In Surviving the Eighties (1980), Mayhew suggests that highly selective prestigious institutions are able to maintain enrollment - even in a time of decreasing numbers of high school graduates - simply by lowering admissions standards slightly. If it becomes necessary for William and Mary to slightly lower their standards in order to meet enrollment quotas, then specific plans should be made to ensure that the students admitted will contribute substantially to the diversity of the institution, and will gain from their William and Mary experience.

These recommendations should not be considered an inclusive or comprehensive recruiting plan, but are simply suggestions of directions which might be helpful during the next few years.

Glossary

At the left appear the code letters by which each primary source has been cited in the text.

- ADC Papers - Alvin Duke Chandler, Presidential Papers, name of specific folder, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- ADC Report - Alvin Duke Chandler, Report to the Board of Visitors, Year, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- BOV Minutes, Date - Board of Visitors' Minutes, date and page, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- CC, year - College Catalogue, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- DYP Papers - Davis Y. Paschall Presidential Papers, name of specific folder, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- DYP Report - Davis Y. Paschall Report to the Board of Visitors, year, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- Faculty Minutes - Faculty Meeting Minutes, date, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- JACC Papers - J.A.C. Chandler Presidential Papers, name of specific folder, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- JACC Report - J.A.C. Chandler Report to the Board of Visitors, year, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- JEP Papers - John E. Pomfret Presidential Papers, name of specific folder, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- JEP Report - John E. Pomfret Report to the Board of Visitors, year, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- JSB Papers - John Stewart Bryan Presidential Papers, name of specific folder, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- JSB Report - John Stewart Bryan Report to the Board of Visitors, year, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- JWL Oral History - J. Wilfred Lambert Oral History Collection, College Archives, College of William and Mary.



**HLF Oral History - Harold L. Fowler Oral History Collection, College Archives, College of William and Mary.**

**NM Oral History - Nelson Marshall Oral History Collection, College Archives, College of William and Mary.**

**RHC Oral History - R. Harvey Chappell Oral History Collection, College Archives, College of William and Mary.**

**Self Study 1952 - Self Study Report, 1952.**

**Self Study 1964 - Self Study Report, 1964.**

**Self Study 1974 - Self Study Report, 1974.**

**WHC Oral History - H. Westcott Cunningham Oral History Collection, College Archives, College of William and Mary.**

**TAG Report - Thomas A. Graves Report to the Board of Visitors, year, College Archives, College of William and Mary.**

**TAG Papers - Thomas A. Graves Presidential Papers, name of specific folder, College Archives, College of William and Mary.**

**WMJ Oral History - W. Melville Jones Oral History Collection, College Archives, College of William and Mary.**

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- Flat Hat - Editorial Incident, Archives Subject File, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- Oral History Collection - College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- Presidential Papers - File, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- Presidential Reports to the Board of Visitors - Publications File, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- Self Study 1952 - Self Study Report, 1952
- Self Study 1964 - Self Study Report, 1964.
- Self Study 1974 - Self Study Report, 1974.
- Student Activities, unofficial publications - Archives Publications File, College Archives, College of William and Mary.
- Students, Student Government - Archives Subject File, College Archives, College of William and Mary.

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ABSTRACT

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMAGE OF A SELECTIVE COLLEGIATE PUBLIC  
INSTITUTION AND THE EFFECTS OF THAT IMAGE UPON ADMISSION: THE  
CASE OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA -- 1946-1980**

Karen C. Schoenenberger

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

Chairmen: Fred L. Adair  
John R. Thelin

The purpose of this case study was to trace the development of the image of the College of William and Mary in order to test the hypothesis: The image of a selective liberal arts college is not exclusive to the private sector. In tracing the development of the image, the concept of *saga*, defined by Clark (1968) as an historically based understanding of organizational development was viewed as the theoretical basis for the study. Four factors were found to have a positive impact upon the development of the selective image of the College. 1. The restoration and growth of Colonial Williamsburg which attracts over one million visitors to the area each year. 2. The admission philosophy and policies which projected and fostered a selective image prior to the actual development of selectivity. 3. The administrative philosophy and development of the mission of the institution as espoused by the four presidents who served during the period. 4. The student bodies of the time period studied -- their academic credentials, activities and foci during their college careers -- both as a group and as individuals.

Statistics were compiled for the period 1946-1980 listing: the number of applicants; the percentage accepted; the percentage of admitted students enrolled; and the high school academic credentials including test scores and ranks-in-class. These were used to demonstrate the degree of selectivity which developed during the period.