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Distinctive traditions at the College of William and Mary and their influence on the modernization of the college, 1865 to 1919

Russell T. Smith

College of William & Mary - School of Education

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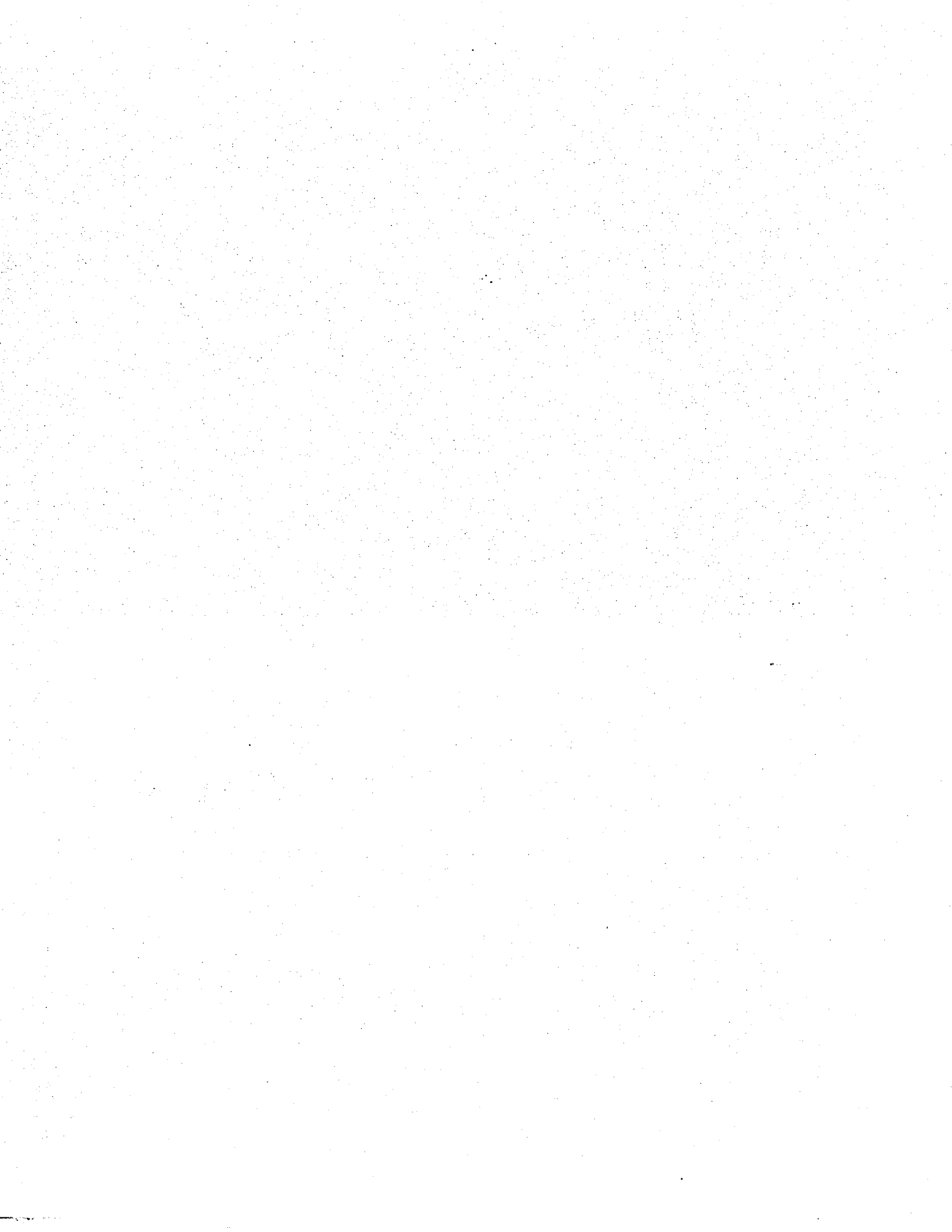
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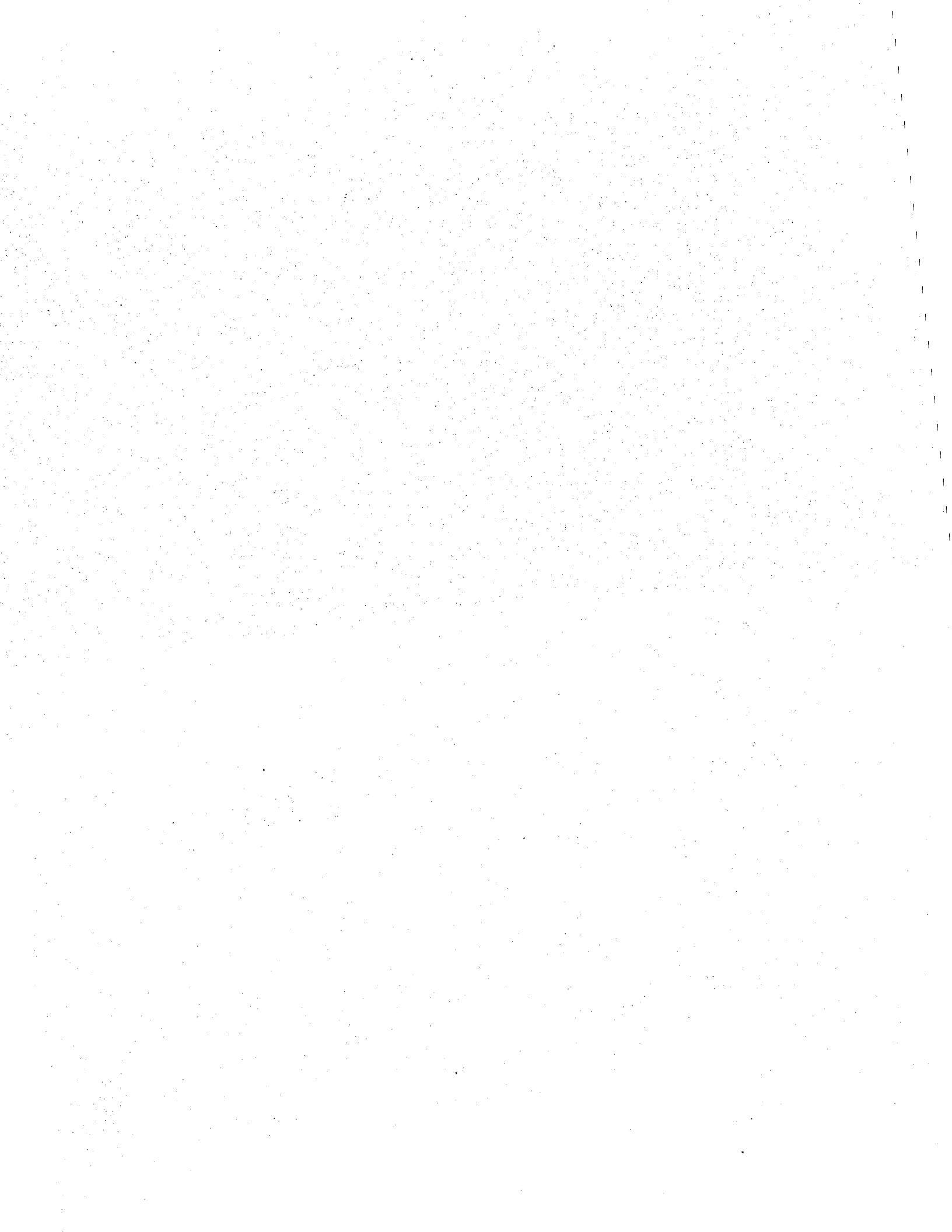
Smith, Russell T.

**DISTINCTIVE TRADITIONS AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY AND
THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE MODERNIZATION OF THE COLLEGE, 1865 TO
1919**

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

Ed.D. 1981

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DISTINCTIVE TRADITIONS AT THE COLLEGE
OF WILLIAM AND MARY AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON
THE MODERNIZATION OF THE COLLEGE, 1865 TO 1919

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

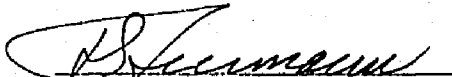
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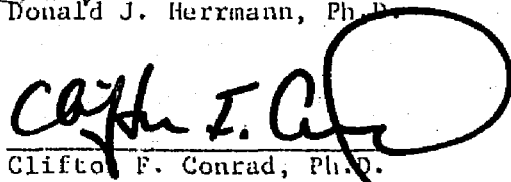
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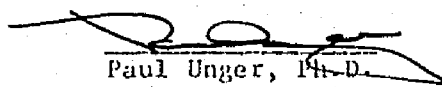

Paul Unger, Ph.D.
Chairman of
Doctoral Committee

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The rise of the industrial economy after the Civil War brought a crisis to the academy. The old classical curriculum that was standard at nearly all American colleges failed to address the developing need for specialists and professionals of all types. Institutions of higher education, therefore, faced the necessity of making revolutionary changes in their programs of instruction. Most colleges succeeded in meeting the needs of the new industrial economy by gradually reforming their curricula. But a few schools found it necessary to undertake a drastic reorganization in order to remain viable. Such a transformation occurred at the College of William and Mary, primarily because of a financial crisis.

During the twenty-three years following the Civil War, there was a constant threat that the two-centuries-old College would close because of dwindling finances. The destruction of the College building and most of the College endowment during the war had suddenly reduced a moderately prosperous school to the status of a nearly bankrupt institution. Various initiatives aimed at restoring the finances failed to achieve lasting results. The Board of Visitors thus converted the traditional liberal arts College into a teacher-training institution in

1888 in order to secure a legislative appropriation that would save the school.

The adoption of the professional teacher-training mission probably made the College a more useful institution but, at the same time, it helped to cause a sharp decline in the status of the school. Whereas the provision of liberal arts education was a prestigious operation, the training of teachers was, because of its lower class connotations, a questionable activity among the elite of individuals who traditionally attended college. Most teacher-training institutions served lower class youths who were preparing to teach the three Rs to pupils who were attending the public schools because they could not afford to pay the tuition at private academies. In contrast, William and Mary possessed some of the most distinctive traditions of any college in the United States and had served some of the most exclusive families in a state noted for its aristocratic society. (1) The prominent role of both the College and the Commonwealth in producing patrician planters, distinguished statesmen, and an aristocratic way of life helped to endow both entities with an elitist mystique. The transition from the classical to the educational mission, therefore, not only caused the College to lose prestige among circles of influential Virginians but also caused the College to assume a new role that was not entirely consistent with its own heritage.

The reform in the institutional mission occurring at the College of William and Mary between the Civil War and World War I is analyzed in this study. The thesis is that the leaders of the College fashioned the record of its distinctive 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. It is contended that the faculty desired to use the institutional tradition to promote both student performance and financial growth. By making the accomplishments and values of its illustrious alumni a central part of the educational experience, the faculty expected to shape a unique institutional identity that would inspire superior student performance. By emphasizing two centuries of institutional achievements in their public relations presentations, the leaders of the College hoped to establish an institutional image capable of attracting generous appropriations and benefactions. The strategy of looking to the personalities, events, and verities of the past for the College's identity established both a conservative and a traditional ethos on the campus, reflecting values similar to those that characterized the Commonwealth of Virginia. As time passed, however, the College began to look less to the traditions of the past and more toward the needs of the present and of the future for guidance. The gradual political and economic modernization of the Commonwealth helped to create a more positive attitude toward normal schooling that, along with College accomplishments in educating the youth of Virginia, helped to raise the status of the school. As the general reputation of the College improved, the leaders of the school succeeded in establishing a more self-confident institutional identity based on current accomplishments. Although still an important part of College life, the institutional tradition gradually assumed a less visible role in the affairs of the school.

The major thrust of the problem involves an attempt to analyze the relationship between the institutional identity and the Virginia environment during the progressive era. Thus the central question is that asking "Why did the leaders of the College choose to develop an institutional identity based on the traditions of the past?" Or, to be more specific, "How did the interaction between the conservative political and cultural norms of the Commonwealth and the teacher-training function of the College help to produce such a unique identity?" Could it be that the institutional tradition was emphasized because it represented the most attractive aspect of the reorganized College among most groups of wealthy and influential Virginia leaders at the time? Was the stress placed on the institutional tradition effective in encouraging exceptional student performance and generous public benefactions?

Yale sociologist Burton R. Clark has defined the body of traditions that make up the identity of a distinctive school as an "organizational saga." (2) His concept of the organizational saga is helpful in understanding the history of the College of William and Mary. In his study, The Distinctive College, he uses institutional case histories of Reed, Swarthmore, and Antioch to show how three colleges became distinctive. Clark's interest focuses on schools that were able to establish an "overriding sense of mission in their organizational role," and then through continued "success and acclaim," to transform the sense of mission into an "embracing saga." It is then possible to speak of colleges that become "legendary, even heroic, features on the social stage." The reasons why only a few schools emerge into the light of

distinction have "varied widely and for obscure reasons," hidden from view "in the mysteries of personal magnetism and institutional aura." But the end result is a singular ability of the distinctive college to "so elicit dedication and affection that the quality of life for those involved is significantly altered, often for a lifetime." (3)

Brief and preliminary development of three factors related to the William and Mary tradition or saga will serve to clarify and to establish the thesis. They include (1) the nature of the traditions that constituted the saga, (2) the quality of Virginia opinion concerning teacher training, and (3) the modernization of both Virginia attitudes and the College curriculum. The relationship among the three factors is stated as follows: Most prominent political and social leaders in Virginia possessed an unfavorable view of teacher training but shared a warm emotional regard for many of the notable traditions that constituted the heritage of the Commonwealth. Several of the better-known accomplishments that comprised the institutional saga, such as the educating of Thomas Jefferson, also occupied prominent positions in the heritage of the Commonwealth. The extensive use of the saga in the affairs of the College seemed to be, therefore, a logical approach to the problems of student motivation and fund raising during a period of low institutional prestige. During the thirty years after the 1838 reform in mission, the improvement of public opinion regarding teacher training and the general strengthening of the College fostered a change in the role of the institutional saga. Whereas it had initially served to compensate for a lack of status, it came to function as a positive force that enhanced the potentialities of a more self-confident

institution.

The traditions that constituted the William and Mary saga were both multifaceted and complex, reflecting a synthesis of the pioneering achievements of the second oldest college in the land. The saga included a series of educational innovations that the College claimed to have originated, such as the honor system and the elective system. The saga also included reports of the exemplary lives of hundreds of its illustrious alumni and of important historical events that transpired at or near the College. It focused, however, on the unique achievement of the College in educating a number of the Southern patriots who were leaders both in the American Revolution and in the establishment of the nation.

The character of Virginia opinion toward public schooling helps to explain why the leaders of the College chose to emphasize the school's distinctive heritage as one method of improving its image. Serving as the state men's normal school put the College at the head of the public school system, an emerging institution in Virginia during the progressive era. While middle-class Virginians usually sent their children to the public schools, the elite of affluent and educated Virginians from the old families who had made the laws, led public opinion, and governed educational institutions for centuries often looked on the idea of public schooling with disdain. The ongoing democratization of educational opportunity in Virginia reflected by William and Mary's services as a teacher-training institution did not agree with upper class ideas of social order and propriety. The one significant public relations asset the College possessed to counter such

unfavorable opinion was a claim to being the richest in historical traditions of any school in the South. (4)

The modernization of both the College and the Commonwealth largely accounted for the diminution in the public role of the institutional saga between 1906 and 1920. During the thirty years after the reorganization of the school, the faculty continued to implement reforms in the program of instruction, almost entirely abandoning the classical curriculum in favor of scientific and professional studies. At the same time, public schooling was greatly expanded across the Commonwealth and, for the most part, supplanted private schooling. As one result of the urbanization and industrialization of the state, the conservative class of aristocratic leaders who traditionally exerted great influence on the public conscience came to accept the idea of public schooling and normal schooling. By 1920, the strengthening and modernization of the College along with the improvement of public opinion regarding teacher training had helped to improve the status of the school sufficiently that there was no longer a substantial need to defend the institution by heralding the traditions of the past.

The significance of the problem lies mostly in the environmental approach that is central to the work. In this study, one method through which the leaders of a weak college attempted to establish standards of distinctive quality is explored. As was mentioned above, the William and Mary faculty emphasized the historical traditions of the school in endeavoring to forge an institutional identity capable of inspiring superior student performance and public benevolence. It was suggested that the historical traditions came to play a prominent role in the

quest for superior standards, partly because of environmental factors such as the fondness for old traditions that characterized the Commonwealth. As far as is known, no previous researcher has attempted to determine how institutional traditions and environmental factors interacted to help produce a distinctive college during the progressive era. Indeed, few researchers have attempted to relate institutional histories of individual colleges to the environment.

The purpose of this study is to provide an analysis of the developing identity of the College of William and Mary during the period 1865 to 1919. The work thus includes an examination of both that portion of the Benjamin S. Ewell administration coming after the Civil War (1865-1888) and the whole of the Lyon G. Tyler administration (1888-1919). An attempt is made to understand the relationship that exists between the institutional identity and its sociopolitical environment, as revealed in the government and curriculum of the College.

Perhaps the most important assumption to which the present writer subscribes is the view that Virginia has experienced a more aristocratic style of public leadership than most of the other states. It was the aristocratic bent to the Virginia character that predisposed the development of the William and Mary saga. The officers of the College articulated the ideas of the saga partly because of their desire to win increased funding from the aristocratic Virginians who controlled the legislature. To the present writer, the unique saga or historical ethos that served as the core of the school's identity seems to be the single most important theme or motif in the development of the College during

the progressive era. It influenced almost every aspect of College operations and was the central force that gave unity and direction to the College experience.

Five specific terms require some elaboration and explanation. They are traditional, progressive, modern, saga, and curriculum. For present purposes, traditional refers to the pre-industrial and pre-urban style of life that obtained in the Old Dominion during the ante bellum period. This included an economy dominated by the plantation and a political system controlled in large part by aristocratic leaders. It was characterized by an elitist system of education in which nearly all schools were privately operated and in which few individuals were afforded the opportunity for schooling beyond the three Rs. In each succeeding decade, Virginians have tended to cling to the older ways with greater tenacity than residents in most other areas of the country. (5) During the progressive era, this meant clinging to values and traditions of prewar society, such as aristocratic leadership and private schooling.

Most historians date the progressive era as existing between about 1900 and 1917. Political historians, when selecting a specific starting point, will often pick the date of a notable legislative landmark that seemed to signify a new departure. Educational historians sometimes will choose the work of John Dewey as a more appropriate place to begin. Most commentators find utility in closely examining the period between 1870 and 1900 in seeking to understand the origins of the momentous changes in public policy and institutional life that occurred during the progressive era. For purposes of this study, the progressive era was

that period of time when Americans attempted to redefine their values and institutions, in the light of the social and political changes that had arisen from the development of the industrial economy following the Civil War.

Modern is that period coming after the progressive era when the changes of the new way of life had more or less been rationalized. Modernization suggests rural transformation and industrial mobilization. It includes secularization and a great increase in the need for technical knowledge, increasing popular participation in public affairs, colonialism and imperialism, and large units of business enterprise. Educationally, the modern period is characterized by a highly articulated public school system that is designed to educate everyone, more or less, through the secondary level and that educates a good proportion of the people through the college level. (6)

In the Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary a saga is defined as "a medieval story, historical or legendary or both, of an Icelandic hero or family." (7) In adapting the concept to the study of modern colleges and universities, Burton R. Clark construes the term to mean the body of traditions that make up the identity of a distinctive school. (8) It should be pointed out that, in this study, the terms College saga, College tradition, College ethos, and variations on those themes are used interchangeably. The historical tradition comprises the saga, which is the literary embodiment of the tradition. One effect of the saga is to help establish a unique atmosphere or ethos at the College.

Curriculum is broadly defined to include nearly every aspect of College operations that impinges on the quality of the educational

experience for the students. Formal curricular concerns such as courses, textbooks, degrees, and professors are included. Components of the informal curriculum such as the literary societies, intercollegiate athletics, Greek-letter fraternities, and campus clubs also play a significant role in the present study. Finally, admissions standards and other matters that are not technically a part of the curriculum but that affect the quality of the program of study are considered along with the other curricular issues.

Historians have studied William and Mary less than the eight other colonial colleges, some of which have received scholarly treatment remarkable for its detail and insight. It is not immediately apparent why the oldest and most traditional school in the South, a college that practically reveres its heritage, would have a bibliography of serious literature limited to four or five volumes, a handful of articles dealing with the school during the colonial period, and a number of references in monographs focusing on other topics. Part of the reason undoubtedly lies in the three fires, two wars, and seven years of closure that have considerably disrupted the continuity of the records. Time has, in fact, been so devastating to College records that Earl Gregg Swem, the Virginia bibliographer and former College librarian, predicted that it might be impossible to write a definitive history. (9)

A more compelling reason for the dearth of historical literature lies in the lack of distinction the College experienced for a century and a half after the Revolution. The loss of all state support in that conflict reduced what had been America's richest college to the status of a provincial school. The College would not reestablish a national

reputation for distinctive standards of academic excellence until the middle of the twentieth century. During the intervening years, the College's greatest claim to distinction was the administration of President Thomas R. Dew (1836-1846), a noted economist who made the college, for a time, the leading center of proslavery thought. (10) The relatively uninspiring and at times nondescript state of College affairs during the rest of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries apparently made the school an unlikely candidate for serious study.

The four historians who have studied the College have all made valuable contributions to the understanding of its past. They have naturally concentrated most heavily on the "golden era" during and before the Revolution. The period after 1800 is, consequently, almost an open field for research. The studies prepared by Robert J. Morrison (1859), Herbert Baxter Adams (1887), Lyon G. Tyler (1907), and Jack Morpurgo (1976) contain little substantive material concerning the period 1865 to 1919. (11) Tyler's history of the College seems significant, however, as an example of a literary contribution to the development of the College saga. At the core of Tyler's interpretation was his belief that the educating of Jefferson, Marshall, Randolph, and many of the other Southern leaders who fought in the Revolution was an accomplishment so notable that it practically put the College in a class by itself. Educationally, Tyler's interpretation of College history was important because he led the faculty in turning it into an instrument to teach civic virtue to the students. The heroic accomplishments of the early alumni would, he felt, inspire the students to perform with similar distinction in their own lives.

Several works are of value in analyzing the background of Virginia's educational history. Most helpful of these is Bruce Emerson's 1973 dissertation that provides a good overview of the founding and development of the Virginia teachers' colleges between 1869 and 1930. (12) Emerson shows that Virginia's conservative and aristocratic conception of education was the greatest obstacle to normal school development. Once the public schools began to grow, however, the need for improved teacher training became more evident. Other works useful in providing background are Cornelius J. Heatwole's History of Education in Virginia (1916) and Blair Buck's Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952 (1952). (13) Both studies are similar in being almost entirely descriptive rather than analytical and in following the Whig interpretation of history, although the Buck study provides much more detail than the Heatwole work.

Two substantial histories of progressive Virginia appearing in 1968 are useful in placing a history of William and Mary in a larger perspective. Raymond Pulley's study, Old Virginia Restored, shows how aristocratic ideas from ante bellum Virginia formed a core of values that actuated the formation of public policy. (14) In his study of Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, Allen W. Moger agrees with Pulley that progressive controversies were "influenced by a heritage of prewar aristocratic philosophies" and that "the central theme of Virginia history was the dominance of economic and political conservatism." (15) It should be noted, however, that considerable philosophical difference separates the two authors. Moger feels that Virginia was so conservative that it really was not "progressive" at all during the progressive era,

while Pulley thinks that Virginia exhibited a conservative style of progressivism akin to that of many other states, if not the entire nation. Typically, historians also consult Richard L. Horton's History of Virginia Since 1861 (1924), the first professional quality history of the Old Dominion covering the progressive era. (16)

A further review of literature suggests that the development of the College saga may have been influenced by the conservative and traditional character of the progressive era both in Virginia and in the United States. For present purposes, the relationship between (1) the saga and (2) its environment was that both the College and the general public seem to have reacted to the transition from the agrarian to the industrial economy in a similar manner. Basic change in the socioeconomic system was an upsetting development that helped to cause both entities to cling to the values of the past. A brief examination of several works that address the nature of the Virginia character, Virginia political reform, and the progressive in the United States will serve to make the relationship between the saga and the environment clear.

Although they differ widely in evaluating its importance, most recent historians identify an important conservative strain in the American reaction to the changes of the progressive era. Several interpreters emphasize the view that the people were repelled by the multiform unsettling influences of the new industrial dispensation and sought to force the new conditions into the mold of the old and comfortable ways. (17) A rich vein of recent literature recognizes the "dislocation and bewilderment" that Americans experienced during the

era. "As men ranged farther and farther from their communities," the organizational historian Robert H. Wiebe writes, "they tried desperately to understand the larger world in terms of their small, familiar environment. They tried, in other words, to impose the known upon the unknown, to master an impersonal world through the customs of a personal society." (18) George F. Mowry suggests that progressives "sought to recapture and reaffirm the older individualistic values in all strata of political, economic, and social life." (19) Richard Hofstadter feels that "progressivism at its heart, was an effort to realize familiar and traditional ideals under novel circumstances." (20) The Marxist historian John Chamberlain reaches a similar conclusion in finding that the progressives were "motivated by an escapist desire to return to a golden past where honesty and virtue had dominated over egoism and evil." (21) In their discovery that many progressives acted to restore the values of the past, these and other commentators have made an insightful contribution to the understanding of the period that applies especially to the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The nature of Virginia political reform during the progressive era and an analysis of the Virginia character indicate that the development of the William and Mary saga may have been a logical response to the College situation. Commentators widely agree that, "Virginians, perhaps more than any other Americans, have derived their philosophy of life from customs and principles of conduct established many generations ago." (22) Most Virginians have shared a general reverence for the great families, a ready willingness to follow the leadership of a traditional ruling class, and a firm expectation that changes in public policy will

follow a conservative and inexpensive path. (23) The heroic role that Virginia played in founding the nation from Jamestown to Jefferson and in fighting the battles of the Confederacy has been enshrined in legends of unusual emotive power for most Virginians. As V. O. Key said, "a consciousness of history and a clinging to institutions rooted in the past have given the Old Dominion a truly distinctive character." (24)

Virginia's traditional character helped to guide political reform in a conservative direction during the progressive era. The Commonwealth did experience many of the liberalizing reform trends common to most states during the era, such as enacting humanitarian legislation, regulating corporate enterprise, and greatly expanding educational opportunity. The central political development of the epoch was, however, the adoption of the 1902 Constitution that, in part, reversed the democratic reforms of Reconstruction and restored a more aristocratic structure of government. By erecting a framework that would allow the traditional oligarchy a freer hand in guiding the destinies of the Old Dominion, it established a system fundamentally similar to that in existence before the Civil War. (25) The "genius" of Virginia politics has always been more aristocratic than most if not all of the other states. The new Constitution was, at the time, an accurate expression of the conservative values basic to Virginia culture. In fact, the overall reform impulse of progressive Virginia "sprang from conserving or reactionary tendencies inherent in the culture of the Commonwealth." (26)

The forces that gave rise to the William and Mary saga closely paralleled those that gave the era its conservative character. It is

suggested that, just as the politicians sought to restore antique Virginia virtue with a political system akin to that of the "golden era," William and Mary attempted to restore its historic prestige by projecting an image based on its own heroic age. Members of the College community were like other members of the Virginia political community in looking to the most notable attributes of Old South society for inspiration. In both cases, threatening conditions in the present prompted an attempt to escape to the security and stability of a more comfortable and comprehensible past.

Implicit throughout the present study is the idea that the College saga came to play a prominent role in institutional affairs partly because of the inadequate status of the school. That idea was derived largely from historians such as Hofstadter and Mowry who developed the "status anxiety" thesis as a major interpretation of the progressive era in the United States. The theory holds that the insistent drive for reform that characterized the era was organized by a "displaced elite" attempting to reassert itself. (27) It is contended that men in groups displaced from power by the new plutocrats, political machines, and immigrants accepted leadership roles in the movement for political and social reform in order to restore their lost or threatened status.

Although detailed analysis has exposed serious flaws in the status anxiety thesis, the idea that aspirations for restored status influenced behavior nevertheless offers a productive avenue of approach to the study of William and Mary. (28) In developing the defensive saga of the William and Mary ethos, based on the school's golden age in the past, the College community acted like a group attempting to regain lost

status. The low-income teacher candidates at the College, many of whom bore prominent family names, were themselves fighting for improved status through the scholarship provisions for a low cost education. Feelings shared by many professors and students that they were acting to reclaim the elevated traditions, standards, and values of the past contributed to the formation of an institution-wide incentive for superior performance.

Unlike the secondary literature, primary materials directly related to the College during the progressive era are rich and plentiful. The magnetic pull of historical traditions on the College, along with the revival of College fortunes, naturally inclined school officials to be careful in preserving its records after the reorganization. The bulk of the materials are well catalogued and conveniently housed in the Special Collections Division of Swem Library. Key materials in the College Archives include the Visitors Minutes, the Faculty Minutes, the Faculty/Alumni File, the College loose papers, the journals of the student literary societies, and the student newspaper (founded in 1911). Particularly useful are the Tyler Family Papers, a 55,000 document collection of College President Lyon G. Tyler's personal and professional papers. A valuable item is the Historical Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, published in editions of 1923 and 1932. (29) It contains a year by year tabulation of all alumni/alumnae from the Tyler period. Indexed alphabetically and by county, it includes the home residence, profession, and career residence of most students. The Virginia State Library, the Virginia Historical Society Library, and the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia all house the papers of a

few individuals closely related to the College. In conjunction with the College Papers, the journals of the legislative bodies and the various Virginia newspapers furnish a credible account of College political affairs. There are, of course, serious gaps and omissions in the record. The Visitors Minutes are often inconclusive on substantive issues. With a few exceptions, Tyler did not preserve copies of his outgoing correspondence. Unfortunately, no substantially useful diaries of professors, students, or Visitors are known to exist. The large material assets of the College record, however, far outweigh its liabilities.

The plan for the present work can be seen as a three dimensional matrix. Within that matrix, (1) the role of the institutional saga is related to (2) the modernization of the institution and (3) environmental factors during the period 1865 to 1919. The presentation of the research report is divided into six chapters. The first includes introductory material, two through five contain the presentation of the argument, and six serves as conclusion. In Chapter II an analysis of the causes for the failure of the College as a classical institution for gentlemen is presented. Chapter III is concerned with the political maneuvering involved in the reorganization of the school. In Chapter IV an analysis of the governmental affairs of the school is undertaken. In Chapter V the literary expression of the institutional saga is related to the curriculum of the College. In order to understand the revolutionary changes transpiring at the College between 1865 and 1919 in perspective, it is necessary to begin with an examination of the institution during its final years as a purely classical college.

Footnotes For Chapter I

- (1) Raymond Pulley, Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930 (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia, 1968), p. 1.
- (2) Quoted material here and following from Burton R. Clark, The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1975) pp. 1-9.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Lyon G. Tyler, The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its History and Work, 1693-1907 (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1907), pp. 1-92.
- (5) V. O. Key, Southern Politics in the State and Nation (NY: Vintage, 1949), pp. 19-21; Jean Gottman, Virginia in Our Century (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1969), pp. 555-556.
- (6) R. Freeman Butts, The Education of the West (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1973[1947]), pp. 295-334.
- (7) Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield Mass.: G. & C. Merriam, 1961), p. 745.
- (8) Burton R. Clark, The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 1-9.
- (9) Earl Gregg Swem to Henry T. Louthan, Williamsburg, 2 Feb 1939, Louthan FAF.
- (10) Broadus Mitchell, "Thomas Roderick Dew," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), Vol. V, pp. 117-18.
- (11) The History of the College of William and Mary, from its Foundation, 1660 [sic], to 1874 (Richmond, Virginia: Randolph & English, 1874), p. 183; Herbert Baxter Adams, The College of William and Mary: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education with Suggestions for Its National Promotion (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), pp. 89. [Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education no. 1-1887]; Lyon G. Tyler, The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its History and Work, 1693-1907 (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, 1907), pp. 92; J. E. Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Washington, D.C.: The Alumni Society, 1976), pp. 247.
- (12) Bruce Emerson, "A History of the Relationships between the State

of Virginia and Its Public Normal Schools, 1869- 1930," Doctoral dissertation in Education, College of William and Mary, 1973, pp. 199.

(13) Cornelius J. Heatwole, History of Education in Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1916) pp. 382; J. L. Blair Buck, Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952 (Richmond: State Board of Education, 1952), pp. 572.

(14) Raymond Pulley, Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), pp. 207.

(15) Allen W. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), pp. 355.

(16) Richard L. Morton, Virginia Since 1861 (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1924), pp. 421..

(17) Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916 (NY: Free Press, 1963), p. 344; and Samuel P. Hays, The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) , p. 3.

(18) Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968), p. 12.

(19) George E. Mowry, The California Progressives (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1951), p. 89.

(20) Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R. (NY: Random House, 1955), pp. 215-16.

(21) John Chamberlain, Farewell to Reform, evaluated in Gerald N. Grob and George Athen Billias, "The Progressive Movement: Liberal or Conservative?" Interpretations of American History: Patterns and Perspectives (New York: Free Press, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 159-76.

(22) Raymond Pulley, Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930 (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia, 1968), p. 1.

(23) V. O. Key, Southern Politics in the State and Nation (NY: Vintage, 1948), pp. 19-21.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Raymond Pulley, Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), pp. 66-91.

(26) Ibid., p. iv.

(27) George E. Mowry, The California Progressives (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1951), p.344; and Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 62.

(28) Richard B. Sherman, "The Status Revolution and Massachusetts Progressive Politics," Political Science Quarterly, (March 1963), Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 253-274.

(29) Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, published as a Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, ND, pp. 255.

CHAPTER II

THE EWELL ADMINISTRATION FROM 1865 TO 1882

AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

In July 1865, President Benjamin S. Ewell found the College of William and Mary to be in ruins. Three years of Federal occupation had nearly "pulled the town to pieces," while the countryside was "wasted, unproductive, and impoverished." Rioting United States troops had, in retaliation for an 1862 Confederate raid on Williamsburg, burned the main College building, leaving only the brick shell standing. (1)

Upon surveying the war damage, Ewell found that the educational machinery had nearly disintegrated during the four years of conflict. The students and faculty were scattered, the plant was wrecked, and the chemistry apparatus had burned along with the Wren Building. The natural philosophy or physics apparatus, on the other hand, was secure in the local asylum as were the 2,500-3,000 books that constituted "the most valuable part of the library." The portraits, Charter, and great seal had also survived the fire, and the favorable image of College usefulness arising from centuries of historic associations and unique contributions to public life was still secure. (2)

The adverse effects of the conflict nearly destroyed William and

Mary. Although the College restored its buildings and reopened to students, the inadequacy of its revenue created a continuing crisis that would not be resolved for decades. The once substantial endowment of \$125,000 had lost most of its value, largely due to the financial reverses of both individuals and corporations in whom the College had invested the bulk of its capital funds. The poverty of Virginia during the postwar years nearly eliminated the possibility of support from the school's traditional constituency. Frequent attempts to raise funds in the North failed to bring long-term relief. Unlike the other Virginia schools, William and Mary could neither rely on the state government nor on a religious denomination for support. The result was that the school led a hand-to-mouth financial existence during the decade of the 1870s and narrowly averted bankruptcy during the following decade.

Although the quest for financial stability would be a continuing source of frustration and embarrassment for the officers of the College, they succeeded in rebuilding the plant between 1865 and 1869. Normal academic operations were reestablished by 1870. After 1876, however, increasing financial difficulties forced College officials to dismiss faculty members, and finally, to close the the school in 1881.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish a frame of reference within which an analysis of the changes that the College would experience during the progressive era may be studied. The government and curriculum of the institution as related to the institutional saga during the Ewell administration will be examined. During this period, 1865 to 1881, the existence of the school as a traditional liberal arts college for gentlemen came to an end. Thus the Ewell period will serve

as a model from which to compare subsequent developments that would transform the old-fashioned gentleman's College into a professional school oriented toward the more practical needs of the modern era for technical training. Before evaluating the postwar College experience, however, it is helpful to describe the nature of the old time liberal arts college in order to put events at William and Mary in perspective.

(3)

Although a few colleges would become universities between 1865 and 1900, the small traditional institutions that offered a classical education to a limited elite for leadership in church and state continued to dominate higher education. From one institution to the next, the purposes, programs, philosophy, methods, and government were strikingly similar. The undergraduate curriculum emphasized the classical languages and mathematics along with a little science but included few professional courses. The capstone of the educational experience was the moral philosophy course, a blend of philosophy and social science constructed on a foundation of Christian ethics. Classically educated faculty members taught rather than performing research, usually relying on the teaching methods of recitation at nearly all schools and some experimental demonstration in science. The president, most often a clergyman serving a board dominated by clergymen, set the tone of the institution in his various roles of executive, professor, dean of the faculty, disciplinarian, counselor, administrator, and supervisor. (4) The mission of the liberal arts institution was seen as that of preserving and transmitting a body of knowledge that fostered both moral leadership and civic virtue. The

widespread similarity of goals and methods, the simple but logical harmony in the program of instruction, and the underlying spirit of Christian ethics which bound the enterprise together gave it "the essence, and not simply the appearance, of organic unity." (5)

After 1865, the growth of the industrial and urban revolutions gradually rendered the old time college obsolete and gave rise to the development of the modern university which came to dominate higher education by 1900. "Whereas the traditional college emphasized religious and moral values, mental discipline, and the making of gentlemen, 'the new education' set store on vocational training and public service, the advancement of knowledge through original investigation, the importance of management or administration" (6) Financed largely by the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 and the generosity of the great entrepreneurs, the new institutions responded readily to the growing needs of an ever more complex economy for more highly educated technical specialists of all kinds. (7)

The growth of the academy in size and complexity led to changes in its structure. (8) The management and organization of the new enterprise required the creation of an administrative bureaucracy and the breakdown of departments which were formerly comprised of a single chair into many specialties. A few of the leading institutions that set precedents for the others began to require the publication of research reports from their faculty and to relax the regimen of strict discipline over the students. The increasing demand for funds and executive influence required that the president develop skills as a business leader. (9)

It should be emphasized that the universities which were recognized

as the intellectual leaders of academic enterprise after the Civil War constituted a small percentage of all institutions. The large majority of schools continued to serve essentially as colleges in the old pattern for decades, gradually adding a course here and a dean there until most became, during the progressive era, modern institutions in their organizational and intellectual capacities. As George E. Peterson demonstrated in his study of *The New England College in the Age of the University*, the conservative constituencies of the liberal arts colleges were powerful forces striving to keep the institutions small and traditional. (10) Although the trend among affluent institutions was to seek university status, a few prominent schools such as Yale elected to remain colleges for many years. The Southern academy in particular failed to match the organizational and curricular achievements of its counterparts in the other sections of the nation because of poverty, conservative religious values, and rural conditions. (11)

Whereas the South had more institutions and relatively more college students than the North before the war, the profound dislocations of Reconstruction made it impossible for Southern colleges to share in the "highly specialized and widespread advancement" of their Northern counterparts. (12)

Continuing austerity so far curtailed the development of higher education that by 1901, Southern colleges possessed only \$14 million in endowment funds compared to \$257 million in the North. (13) On the positive side of the balance sheet, however, colleges provided an elevating influence for a community overturned by war; most Southern institutions recovered a reasonable degree of viability between 1870 and

1900; and Southern schools shared fully in the trend to modernize the curriculum with the introduction of practical and scientific coursework.

(14) The College of William and Mary would not participate in the movement for curriculum reform before 1888, largely because of financial difficulties during the period after the war.

The William and Mary Board of Visitors met in Richmond on 5 and 6 July 1865, for the first time in four years, to decide how to revive the College. (15) Among the many important items on the agenda, the most controversial issue was a proposal to move the College from Williamsburg to Richmond. President Benjamin S. Ewell outlined the material and financial condition of the school and recommended that it reopen in Williamsburg. Several of the eleven Visitors in attendance had serious doubts about rebuilding the school in Williamsburg because of the town's reputation for unhealthiness, its inaccessibility to transportation, and its inability to supply many students. They felt that the burning of the main building afforded the school a good opportunity to relocate in an area conducive to reestablishing real prosperity for the first time in almost ninety years. Ewell and those Visitors who favored rebuilding in Williamsburg appear to have been motivated primarily by their feeling that the move would destroy the distinctive historical identity of the school. (16)

In debating the issue, Richmond attorney James Lyons made a motion that the College rent space to reopen in Richmond. (17) Tazewell Taylor, a Norfolk banker and attorney, added a preamble suggesting that the move would just be temporary. (18) Former governor Henry A. Wise of Accomac County, an 1850s champion of "the people" who had advocated advanced

progressive measures such as expanded free schools, proposed a substitute resolution that the College reopen in Williamsburg. (19) The board adopted a compromise resolution offered by former diplomat William Boulware of King and Queen County that a committee be appointed to study the matter. Board Rector John Johns, Virginia's Episcopal Bishop and a former president of the College (1849-1854), seemed to favor the Richmond faction when he appointed a committee of five that included three from the capital city. A meeting was scheduled for August in order that a decision might be reached.

The fifteen men legally charged with the responsibility for revitalizing the College constituted the Board of Visitors and Governors, a self-perpetuating body in direct line of descent from the original trustees named by King William and Queen Mary in the royal Charter of 1693. At least nine were college educated. Professionally the group included one diplomat, one banker, two clergymen, two doctors, three planters, and six lawyers.

The leading personalities were Hugh Blair Grigsby, Henry A. Wise, James Lyons, and William H. Macfarland. A gentleman-historian and planter from Charlotte County, Grigsby was popular as an orator and frequently was asked to speak at a variety of important occasional functions across the Old Dominion. (20) The mercurial Henry A. Wise was a politician who had established a controversial reputation with the more conservative portions of the community for supporting advanced populist measures with an eloquent but demagogic style of oratory that made him the idol of the masses in times of political excitement. (21) The genteel counselor James Lyons was an influential figure in

Richmond's Democratic party. Macfarland was one of Richmond's leading financiers and was said to be "possessed of a brilliant intellect and a gifted tongue." (22)

Grigsby and Wise would emerge as the leading figures on the Board. They were so forceful in leading discussion that at times the Board meetings must have seemed like a dialogue between the two. (23) They were the only Visitors to make substantial contributions. Grigsby donated \$1,000 to endow a scholarship and \$1,000 to the library fund, while Wise briefly secured the income from a charitable foundation and set events in motion that would eventually secure a federal indemnity for the burning of the building. Whereas institutions such as Richmond College and Emory and Henry had Board members willing to pay for annual deficits, the Visitors at William and Mary were distinguished by their lack of resources for such contributions.

Symptomatic of the College's plight after the war was the case of Hugh Blair Grigsby. From 1871 to 1881 he would serve as Chancellor, the officer charged with using his influence to advance the financial and political interests of the institution. Grigsby owned a large plantation in Charlotte County, and fine paintings and statuary adorned nearly every available space on the walls of his hospitable mansion. A man of immense prestige, he was the friend and confidant of great men in Virginia and in the North. The personal relations between Grigsby and Ewell were cordial, and the two appear to have shared similar views on most questions of College policy.

Eight days prior to the 5 July 1865 Board meeting, Grigsby recorded in his Diary several thoughts concerning the College. His comments are

important because they offer a prime example of the kind of general malaise that would infect the campaign to restore the College. "I am much at a loss about what to do concerning William and Mary College," he opined. "President Ewell seems to regard me as the main column of Support to the institution, not knowing my delicate health . . . and my diminished means." His deafness inhibited his effectiveness in council, and the expense of travel was now a "serious matter" for him. If he tried and the College failed, he would not receive the blame. If he succeeded, he would have done well, and his "name and character" would "be extolled, for a time at least." (24) Except for Governor Wise, the Visitors were, like Grigsby, unable to offer the kind of active leadership and ready influence that leads to substantial financial development. In spite of his great influence, Grigsby would not play an active role in promoting the interests of the College. He favored rebuilding the College in Williamsburg because of his feeling that removing it would inflict a "double widowhood" on both town and school. (25)

Meeting again in Richmond on August 2, the Board found that its special committee on the location of the College had not met and thus had no report. Ewell presented a persuasive report arguing that "such an historical landmark" as William and Mary "could not retain its identity out of Williamsburg." (26) Richmond was not a good site, he felt, because "parents living in the country dislike to send their sons to cities to be educated." (27) Besides, any attempt to move the College would require legislative action that might lead to unanticipated results and would arouse an angry outcry from the alumni and from

Tidewater residents. The College should, consequently, make temporary repairs on its smaller buildings, reopen, and begin raising funds to finance a complete restoration.

On Wise's motion, the Board adopted Ewell's report but failed to decide where and, if so, when, the College would be fully restored. Under these temporary arrangements, the school reopened in September, 1865, with a skeleton faculty of four teaching a minimal liberal arts program to sixty-two students, most of whom were enrolled in coursework at the subcollegiate level.

Seemingly, the most important factor in the campaign to revive the College was the character and personality of President Benjamin S. Ewell. An honor graduate of West Point in mathematics during the period when the military academy was the center of scientific scholarship in the United States, he pioneered in modernizing the scientific course, first at Hampden-Sydney and then at Washington College, between 1839 and 1848. One historian of Hampden-Sydney credited him with being the decisive factor in keeping that institution from closing, while a colleague at Washington College said that all the faculty recognized him as being "the most valuable professor in our college." (28) Called to William and Mary in 1848 as professor of mathematics, he soon became immensely popular with the students and townspeople and was elected president in 1854. A fascinating diary evaluation of Ewell's capabilities penned by his puritanical rival for the office credits him with being unfit for the position because of his alleged lack of judgment concerning the nonscientific courses, his fondness for the bottle, and his keeping of a mulatto housekeeper whom everyone believed

to be his mistress. (29) During the Civil War, he served as Assistant Adjutant General to Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate army commander in the Western theater, and became the general's "closest personal and official friend." (30) During his tenure at William and Mary, Ewell knew all of the students personally and made a memorable impression on the lives of many. The endearing quality of his relationship with the College community, coupled with his lack of business acumen, made him a typical old time college president. Ewell's most notable personal attribute as executive leader of William and Mary during the depressed period after the war was the infectious quality of his bouyant optimism. His faith that "with the Blessing of Providence on the labors in its behalf" the College "will again be a source of religious and intellectual light" was the chief sustaining force in the life of the institution during the period of Reconstruction and Redemption. (31)

President Ewell spent most of the school year 1865 to 1866 attempting to raise funds. Like several other Virginia college presidents, he operated through fund raising agents working on commission and personally toured Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. None of these efforts netted any significant results because, according to the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, Northern opinion was still too inflamed by the issues of the war. (32) Northerners tended to view the College as a hotbed of rebellion rather than an historical monument that deserved to be preserved. The College did not seriously canvass the Commonwealth because the 1865 tax-paying capacity of Virginia was two-thirds less than it had been in 1860. (33) William and Mary's campaign for funds in England, like that of Washington College,

achieved virtually no subscriptions because of the "waning sentiment . . . for the Confederacy and great distress on the stock market." (34) An application to the legislature failed to secure a share in the income of the Literary Fund, a public endowment earmarked primarily for the elementary education of poor children. (35) The College application for Virginia's share of the Morrill Land Grant funds, based on the historic merits of the school and the alleged fertility of the local soil, looked more promising because it had the backing of Governor Francis H. Pierpont. (36) This application also finally failed, however, partly because of political compromises growing out of fierce competition for that lucrative prize involving all of the colleges and many of the academies across the Commonwealth. (37) The single area of success during the year was the receipt of a sizeable bequest of \$10,000 from a forgotten colonial trust fund that an American commission agent serving the College found in London. The funds grew out of a 1742 legacy for the basic education of poor boys in Bruton Parish. The College qualified to execute the trust by agreeing to accept fifteen local boys a year into the preparatory department free of tuition. (38)

Compared to Virginia's other seven institutions of higher learning, William and Mary suffered from the liability of having no financial connection with either church or state. Although the five smaller church colleges across the Old Dominion received very little direct funding from their respective Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Lutheran church bodies, many used the denominational pulpit to good effect in canvassing for funds. The larger and stronger Presbyterian-related Washington College emerged from the war in a relatively strong financial

position and then proceeded to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars, largely because of the magnetic leadership of Robert E. Lee. Both Virginia Military Institute and the University of Virginia had their annual appropriations from the state restored in 1865, and the military school was able to issue \$50,000 in bonds to begin reconstructing its burned plant. Although William and Mary was inclined toward the Episcopal Church both because of its official connection with that church before the Revolution and because of the largely Episcopal personnel of its Board and Faculty, the school gained little financial benefit from that church. (39)

When the Board met on 15 September 1866, the Visitors again failed to reach a decision on restoring the College, and classes resumed in the Brafferton and in the President's House. (40) During the school year of 1866-1867, President Ewell redoubled his fund raising efforts and secured \$4,000 in contributions, mostly from Northern businessmen. (41) The wealthy Washington financier W. W. Corcoran headed the subscription with a gift of \$1,000. A Southern sympathizer and one of the leading philanthropists of his time, Corcoran offered to lend the money necessary for rebuilding. Ewell was confident that the loan would in fact become a gift and that more funds would follow. But Visitor Tazewell Taylor, also the College Bursar, opposed the idea. "The fact is," Ewell said, "Mr. Taylor was not, warmly, in favor of rebuilding in Williamsburg, if at all so[,] and others of the Visitors were more strongly opposed to it than he was." (42) Later, the board authorized Ewell to borrow money ad libitum, but "the opportunity slipped as Mr. Corcoran was looking in another direction." (43) Corcoran loved Virginia

schools and gave heavily. The University of Virginia received over \$100,000, while donations to Washington and Lee were almost as generous, and Virginia Military Institute and Virginia Theological Seminary each received several thousand dollars. (44) In 1866, Ewell had approached the wealthy Boston philanthropist George F. Peabody in person, and in early 1867 he submitted an application to the Peabody Fund, a new foundation awarding grants to improve Southern education. The application was based largely on the historical merits of the school. In spite of the strong recommendation of his friend, W. W. Corcoran, Peabody declined to contribute. Although Grigsby was a friend of the Peabody Fund's Board Chairman, the College application was rejected because the fund was at that time limiting its support to institutions concerned with elementary education. (45)

Encouraged by the English bequest and the contributions of the Northern gentlemen, the Board ended two years of indecision in voting to rebuild the College in Williamsburg at its meeting on 3 July 1867. Both factions in the conflict over the location of the school, except for the progressive leader Henry A. Wise, appear to have shared similar conservative views. The city men favored moving the school, while those from the country opposed, perhaps sharing Wise's feeling that "Life in Richmond, or in fact in any city, was uncongenial." (46) A majority of the officers who governed William and Mary seem to have been traditional-minded men who finally concurred with Ewell's view that distinctive historical traditions constituted the most important factor in the organizational identity of the school, and that the historical traditions could not survive a removal from Williamsburg.

The process of restoring the building in its original walls would be completed between 1867 and 1869. As the work progressed, Ewell continued to canvass for funds in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston armed with encouraging letters of endorsement from Union generals Grant, Sherman, McClellan, Burnside, Howard, and Schofield. Although his overall fund-raising efforts netted only two-thirds of the \$23,500 cost of reconstruction, the generosity of Northern publishers restored the library to its prewar size of about 5,000 volumes. (47) By the time the Board met to reorganize the College in early July of 1869, the work on the colonial Georgian building was nearing completion. The comment of a later professor that the restoration achieved "a kind of rough repair sufficient to keep the rain out" reflected the necessity to work with inexpensive materials and design. (48)

The rebuilding experience revealed factors that would continue to stymie efforts to make a vigorous recovery from the destruction of the war for the next twenty years. Although a capable leader of young men, Ewell was not an efficient fund-raiser. While distinguished by honors and renown, most Board members lacked the time, means, and financial influence to assist in fund-raising work. The absence of a profitable connection with church or state was a liability. The practice of basing appeals for funds almost exclusively on the school's historic traditions failed to strike a responsive chord among potential public and private beneficiaries. Ewell's idea of yielding the presidency to his old commander Joseph E. Johnston, or another man of equally substantial influence, might have smoothed the way to an easier restoration, but the Board refused to accept his resignation.

Most of the Board members appear to have viewed their functions as dealing primarily with the business affairs of the institution rather than with its curriculum. Other than discussing and approving Ewell's traditional coursework proposals between 1865 and 1869, they took little action regarding the program of instruction. All of the clerical members served as educational administrators at some time during their careers, and several of the lay members served on the boards of other educational institutions also. But no member is known to have left any substantial recorded opinion on the nature and function of the academy. Considering the conservative disposition and classical education of most members, however, it seems likely that they shared largely traditional ideas on the nature and function of the college curriculum.

In its curriculum, William and Mary may have made fewer innovations and changed less than any other Virginia school during the period 1865 to 1880. The program of instruction remained essentially as it had been before the war. But it was in important particulars more progressive than some of the other Virginia schools because of the scientific and literary advances made in the College program during the ante bellum period. In this section of the work, the researcher will analyze the postwar College curriculum, first placing it within the framework of developments throughout the United States and later comparing it with the experience of other Virginia institutions. For present purposes, "curriculum" is broadly defined to include not only the constituent parts of the the formal program of instruction, such as courses and professors, but also informal curricular affairs such as discipline, the literary societies, and the influence of the College saga.

The postwar American college was not a popular institution, partly because of its dysfunctional classical curriculum. The beginning of substantial reform in the instructional program, however, made it possible for many colleges to attract a somewhat broader socioeconomic group of students. (49) The key to the change was the introduction and expansion of coursework in business administration and applied science, not only at the great universities but at colleges in general. During the decade of the 1860s alone, for example, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and twenty-five lesser new institutions were founded "to train engineers and technicians for the new age of business enterprise." (50) Older foundations also began to adapt their programs to the new needs by offering electives and options that constituted a "partial course" in business and science, if not offering a full course of instruction leading to the Bachelor of Science or the Bachelor of Philosophy degree. Although it was on a smaller scale than their Northern counterparts, Southern institutions shared in these general curricular reforms. (51)

At William and Mary, the period 1869 to 1876 offers an opportunity to examine the curriculum of a small Virginia school during its final stage in the pattern of the classical college. Despite continuing financial problems, student and academic life recovered a considerable amount of vitality after the Wren building was restored. Following the school year 1875 to 1876, however, the combined effects of the "panic" or depression beginning in 1873 and other financial reverses at the College would decimate the faculty and the student body more every year until the institution would finally close after the school year, 1880

to 1887. The old liberal arts College would not reopen until remodelled into a professional institution for teacher training seven years later.

During the years before the war, the college had adopted new methods in the study of languages and science. The study of literature was added to the consideration of grammar in the language program, and the empirical method replaced the scholastic approach in the physical sciences. In making these innovations, the College apparently anticipated similar changes at most other Virginia institutions by several decades. The school gained a notable reputation in science as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century. The leadership of three science professors was apparently significant in the development of this reputation. The individuals were William Barton Rogers, who later founded MIT, John Millington, who was the author of one of the first two engineering texts to be written in the English language, and Benjamin S. Ewell, who was an advocate of the advanced methods of applied science taught at West Point. In spite of these pre-Civil War innovations, the College would not begin to depart from the old classical tradition of curricular structure, function, purpose, and expectation until the end of the Ewell administration.

An examination of several aspects of the program of study at the College helps to provide support for the view that the school retained the classical curricular paradigm during the years 1865 to 1881. These areas are (1) the curricular philosophy expressed during the period of rebuilding, (2) selected components of the coursework during the period after the 1869 reorganization, (3) the place of religion in the overall program, and (4) a comparison of the William and Mary curriculum to that

of other Virginia institutions. During the process of rebuilding, the abbreviated 1865 to 1869 schedule of courses included only classes in ancient and modern languages, physical sciences, mathematics and moral philosophy. The stringency of the times led President Ewell to state his confidence in the traditional coursework, saying that "It is believed that a college faithfully teaching these subjects faithfully performs its functions." (52) Later forced into an even more fundamental liberal arts position because of financial stringency, Ewell opined to the Board that "The Departments of Mathematics and Ancient Languages are the most important perhaps: and they, if no other, ought to be taken care of" (53) Although not an unreconstructed rebel, he also evinced an unreadiness to use anything but textbooks written by Southern scholars. (54)

A comparison of the prewar and postwar College Catalogues shows that the re-expanded program of instruction during the period 1869 to 1876 was very similar to that of 1860. The one major exception was that the law school was eliminated in the postwar program. The 1860 Catalogue contained liberal arts coursework in ancient and modern languages and history, in the physical and geological sciences, in mathematics through the level of calculus, and in moral philosophy offerings that included philosophy, English, government, and economics. An examination of the 1870 Catalogue revealed that the Faculty deleted Spanish and Italian to leave only French and German in the modern language group and that they added physiology to a scientific program that already included physics, chemistry, geology, and mineralogy. Most of the textbooks, and the courses in ancient languages, mathematics, and moral philosophy remained

the same, as did three of the seven faculty members.

During the fifteen years after the war, some of the larger and more advanced schools came to accept the new biological science of Charles Darwin, while many of the others at least debated the issue of evolution. (55) William and Mary was more advanced than many American schools in the biological sciences by offering a physiology course taught by a physician. According to the Rev. C. B. Wilmer, however, "It suggests something of the curriculums (shall I say curricula?) of those days that, though Darwin's second volume, Descent of Man, was published the year of my entrance to the college [1871], I never heard a word of either those epoch making books [Origin of the Species and Descent of Man] until long after I was graduated." (56) In his 1875 alumni address, alumnus and later Virginia Episcopal Bishop A. M. Randolph was probably attacking both Darwin and Spencer when he said, "there are men of science now living who though entitled to the admiration of their age for laborious investigation and brilliant thinking, are largely responsible for the prevailing unbelief in the spiritual and moral forces of man's nature, and for the notion that physical laws, and not moral free agency, control the destinies of mankind." (57) Even those of his alumni audience familiar with the new science undoubtedly agreed that moral character rather than blind social forces predisposed the ultimate outcome of human striving. Professor of moral philosophy Lyon G. Tyler (1878-1879) read the Descent of Man, but it is not known if he discussed it in class. (58)

The instruction in political economy, then a part of the moral philosophy course, agreed with the prevalent belief in laissez faire

government but was actually an outgrowth of Jeffersonian liberalism. Beverley B. Munford, a Williamsburg boy who became one of Virginia's richest and most powerful political leaders and married the woman who would become William and Mary's first female Visitor, remembered it like this:

My professor, the Rev. George T. Wilmer, early indoctrinated me with the theory that the government which governs least governs best; that only so much of a citizen's liberty as is absolutely essential to public good should be restrained; that the community should retain the discharge of all the functions which it can exercise, only delegating to the general government the control of matters evidently beyond its province, that any interference with the freedom of contracts and commerce is to be deplored; that all exemptions from the burdens common to the mass of citizenship are wrong; that the bestowal of special privileges and advantages by government are a perversion of its powers, and that in the last analysis its proper function is simply to keep clear of the great highway along which each citizen without help or hindrance must work out for himself the problem of his destiny. (59)

The political philosophy that Wilmer taught was in harmony with the then dominant conception of Social Darwinism. But it was also a subtle assertion of the pre-Civil War state's rights creed that would in many respects still be sacrosanct in the Old Dominion during the period of "massive resistance" in the decade of the 1950s.

An examination of the class rolls also shows the traditional direction of academic affairs at William and Mary. Classical languages were always the most popular courses with mathematics running a close second. Most of the students enrolled in moral philosophy, which was at

William and Mary a blend of English, government, ethics, logic, economics, psychology, and theology. French and German were decidedly less popular than the ancient languages, and science attracted even fewer students than the modern languages. (60)

The relatively general and nonspecialized schedule of courses that most students elected helps to define the instructional program of the College as traditional, but a breakdown of alumni professions does suggest that the largely classical program was beginning to serve the more modern sectors of the Virginia economy. (61) At a time when the Commonwealth was beginning to emerge from its agricultural past into a period of rising interest in commerce and enterprise, it was logical that about one-quarter of the alumni chose careers in business, while only seven percent went into farming. About one-third of the alumni selected occupations in public service, education, and the church--the three traditional professions of college men. Twenty percent became lawyers, with some of these lawyers serving corporations rather than serving the county courthouse. The approximately one-fourth who became either lawyers or doctors reflected a growing trend for medical and legal practitioners in general rather than just the most prestigious individuals to seek a collegiate foundation prior to professional training for licensure. The eclipse of the science offerings at William and Mary and the rise of strong science departments at several other Virginia schools helps to explain why only four percent of the graduates at William and Mary became engineers. In spite of the modern occupations of some alumni, the general rather than professional preparation that nearly all students received is indicative of the grasp of the old

philosophy on the College curriculum. (62)

Although the traditional cornerstone of Christian piety began to fade from the curricula of leading colleges after the revivals of the decade of the 1870s, it would remain undiminished at William and Mary and at most other Southern institutions until the twentieth century. (63) According to Ewell, all of the William and Mary Visitors except one were connected "directly or indirectly" with the Episcopal Church "in feeling if not in fact." (64) The matriculation records of the period show that a sizeable majority of the students were also Episcopalians, and three faculty members were ministers of that denomination. Although the Episcopalians were not evangelical in demeanor, the College regulations did require the attendance of church (but not chapel) most years, and the Board recorded its belief that no "education is healthful which is not Christian." (65)

Even though the traditional liberal arts structure of the curriculum was predominant in the coursework, some of the prewar innovations helped to make the program of instruction perhaps more modern than that of more provincial institutions such as the Methodist Emory and Henry and the Lutheran Roanoke College in western Virginia. The College of William and Mary offered instruction in rhetoric and English literature, whereas even the University of Virginia did not begin similar coursework until 1882. (66) According to Robert M. Hughes, a student who later became an influential Republican lawyer and Rector of the Board, the language professors taught "more of the literature than the syntax of the authors . . . though the fashionable method of instruction in those days was the opposite." (67) President Ewell

probably taught some engineering applications in a math program that nominally included work only as advanced as calculus and surveying. Courses in geology, mineralogy, and agricultural chemistry offered direct practical application, although the College is not known to have produced any professionals active in those fields. Student experimentation in chemistry put the College in a class with few other American institutions and contrasted favorably with Virginia schools such as Richmond College that did not even stage demonstration experiments before 1873. (68) The elective system of course selection that William and Mary claims to have originated and that Harvard was at the time popularizing allowed for a limited degree of specialization. In order to attain the Master of Arts, one was required to complete nearly every course that was offered. On the other hand, the three-year Bachelor of Arts program only required mastery of the most advanced work in four of the eight departments, while the Bachelor of Philosophy was similar to the Bachelor of Arts in requirements except for omission of the ancient languages. (69)

As the new dynamic of urban industry moved the traditional spirit of the Old Dominion in a more modern direction after the war, all of the institutions of higher education other than William and Mary revised their curricula to emphasize programs in applied science, scientific agriculture, business and professional training, and English language and literature. Before the war, William and Mary had been a more innovative institution than many of the other Virginia schools. Following the conflict, however, the superior financial postures of the other schools allowed most to participate in a movement for curriculum

reform that was beyond the means of William and Mary. In the scientific area, Robert E. Lee completely modernized the curriculum of Washington College soon after the war by developing courses in "the practical and industrial science of the age," while the University of Virginia added four new scientific chairs, one financed by W. W. Corcoran. (70) Virginia Military Institute aspired to become the great polytechnic school of the South. (71) Richmond College introduced the Bachelor of Science degree in 1874, while Emory and Henry attempted to arrest a serious decline in enrollment by trying to reorient the program of instruction in a scientific direction after 1876, and Roanoke College succeeded in launching a scientific course in 1880. (72) Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, the University of Virginia, and Hampton Institute initiated significant programs in agronomy supported by experimental farms. Curricular movement into the commercial and professional area was emphasized less than the scientific developments, but Roanoke, Washington, Richmond, and Emory and Henry introduced business and banking courses not long after the war, and Roanoke started Virginia's first collegiate program for teacher training in 1871. In the area of English language and literature, Thomas R. Price developed what was probably the first full-fledged program in the nation and made Randolph-Macon a bellwether in spreading the discipline to other schools. (73)

Considering the fact that the William and Mary budget was lower than any Virginia school except possibly Roanoke College, it is surprising that the faculty was so well qualified. Although most were alumni, as was the case at most colleges of the period, all of the

faculty from 1870 to 1880 held the earned Master of Arts or its equivalent. Five of the seven 1870 faculty members were Confederate veterans. Only three of the sixteen serving between 1865 and 1882 were ministers. (74) Most were young men in their thirties. Nearly all were the products of classical rather than specialized educational experiences. Stringent finances permitted the College to retain the normal complement of seven faculty members only from 1869 to 1873, after which the numbers declined until there were only two when the College closed in 1881.

The most notable names were Edward L. Joynes, Frank Preston, Richard A. Wise, and Lyon G. Tyler. An alumnus of William and Mary and the University of Leipzig, Joynes left the College soon after the war, subsequently holding chairs at several of the better-known Southern institutions. He published modern languages texts that were used until well into the twentieth century, in addition to serving as president of the Virginia Education Association. (75) According to Robert E. Lee, Preston learned the most advanced techniques in classical scholarship at "the best German universities" following his undergraduate years at William and Mary and Washington College. (76)

A son of Visitor Henry A. Wise, physician Richard A. Wise served as professor of chemistry, physiology, mineralogy, and geology from 1869 to 1880, at the same time practising his profession and serving as an official at the local Eastern Lunatic Asylum (now Eastern State Hospital). He would later become one of the most prominent Republican politicians in the state and a congressman. Lyon G. Tyler, a Master of Arts who won most of the honors offered at the University of Virginia,

served as professor of moral philosophy from 1878 to 1879. He would later help to reorganize the College and would serve as its president for thirty-one years, besides becoming one of the best-known historians in Virginia and a chronicler of the College's history.

Although William and Mary experienced little curricular development during the postwar period, salient prewar innovations such as the introduction of course election, experimental and applied science, English, and the literary study of languages made the College program more modern than some of its rivals until the competitors gradually adopted more practical course offerings after 1865. The prewar innovations carrying over into the postwar period should not, however, blind one to the basically traditional nature of the William and Mary curriculum. Most of the College faculty were educated along classical lines and espoused the classical philosophy of curricular function. The formal educational experience was designed to furnish a general rather than a specialized preparation. The new biological science is not known to have entered into the classroom; there were no business courses; political science was taught on the basis of Jeffersonian state's rights philosophy; and the ancient language courses were the most popular subjects. Probably more important, the teaching of Christian piety was seen as a central function of the institution. Although the innovations in science and literature were not entirely consonant with the traditional pattern, the informal curriculum to be described below seems to have been consistent with that model.

Brief discussion of the College saga or ethos, the local environment, student recreation, the literary societies, the honor

system, and discipline will complete the presentation of curricular concerns that will be developed at greater length in Chapter V. In its extracurricular and student life, the College was a community of Arcadian simplicity. Physically isolated from the outside world by lack of a rail connection until 1882, the school was as unassuming in its diversions as the village of Williamsburg, a country town of about 2,000 individuals. Although some came from Richmond and Norfolk, most of the students were themselves from rural Tidewater settings within a fifty-mile radius of the College. A benign system of discipline prevailed because of Ewell's wisdom and tact as a manager of young men coupled with the effect of the honor system. (77) The two literary societies afforded a popular outlet for forensic and literary energies, as was the case at nearly all Colleges of the period. The traditions of the College saga endowed the institution with a tie to the past that helped to create a unique institutional identity.

One of the most important factors in the educational experience at William and Mary was the distinctive historical tradition of the school. The fact that the College had educated so many important Virginian and American leaders in the generations of Thomas Jefferson and John Tyler and was located in the old colonial capital of Virginia created a unique historical ethos on campus that appears to have inspired superior performance among the students. "Can the young heart maintain a quiet pulse in wandering amid the ruins which tell of a glorious past?" asked the postwar Catalogue. "Will he not gather from the very fragments which lie scattered over the earth at Jamestown, almost within sight of this spot, a lesson never to be forgotten, inspiring him with courage and

perseverance in the great battle of life?" (78) Robert M. Hughes, a student from 1870-1874, explained the effect of the Williamsburg environment on contemporary students:

In those days it was a liberal education to live in Williamsburg. Its historic shrines are mute but eloquent witness of its glories. In the play of Spartacus it is said that "there's something in the very air of Thrace, breeds valor rank as grass." So in Williamsburg there is something in the very air that breeds patriotism and refinement and stimulates the ambitious student to reach out for higher things. (79).

B. B. Munford, a student from 1871 to 1876, voiced similar sentiments when he said that "The very air which invests the old college is stimulating. No schoolman or patriot can regard her and the part which she has borne in our country's history without quickened interest and pride." (80) As the expectancy theorists have demonstrated, an institution that succeeds in capturing the essence of traditions valued by a society can indeed exert an influence on the development of human lives out of proportion to its nominal resources. (81) Even though the College was the most impoverished in the state, its traditions spoke so persuasively to the Virginia love for the distinguished achievements of the past that many students probably came to expect that their own performance in life should compare with the role models of their illustrious ancestors.

The recreational opportunities of the town and campus appeared bountiful to the students. Town and gown, professors and students often met at parties in private homes, where "small chocolate stews and taffy pullings to a small circle of friends were popular and immensely

enjoyed." (82) Although there was no organized athletics or physical education, the boys pursued "long tramps though the country," hunting, fishing, skating, and "a crude foot-ball [sic] at which any number could play." (83) There were frequent amateur theatricals, musicals, and minstrel shows, while many attended the regular Friday night dances at the nearby Eastern Lunatic Asylum. Church at the historic Episcopal Bruton Parish was itself a social event, where the students often escorted the local girls, who were said to be "specially charming for their simplicity in dress and lack of affectation" but lacking in "the advantages of education." (84) The high point of the week was Saturday night, however, when the two literary societies made public presentations widely attended by both students and citizens.

In a day before the rival distractions of social fraternities and intercollegiate athletics, the literary societies furnished the most important focus for extracurricular energies. By providing a public forum organized on a parliamentary basis for student performance in debate, declamation, oration, and essay, the literary societies served as proving grounds for training future leaders how to function in deliberative bodies. At William and Mary, nearly every student participated in the affairs of either the Philomathean or Phoenix society. The great popularity of society activities was revealed at the 1875 Commencement, where the ladies rewarded the student orators with an accolade of flowers. (85)

The literary societies were not only gladiatorial arenas for future politicians, but they were also important intellectual organs where the students could discuss issues of more pressing concern than those

afforded by the classical curriculum. Evidence drawn from a list of topics debated between 1865 and 1873 and a journal of essays from the year 1875 to 1876, the only surviving society material of the period, provides insight into the student reaction to the revolution following Appomattox. An analysis of the surviving evidence suggests that the students were unable to confront the paramount issues of defeat and Reconstruction directly but instead approached them obliquely with metaphorical analogies. Only once, it seems, did the students address the issue of "the late war of rebellion" (10 November 1866). (86) There was almost no direct discussion of the situation of the South, the Negro, federal politics, or any other issue of compelling current interest. Instead they appear to have debated current issues through questions of ancient history parallel to their own situation. They asked if Caesar was justified in crossing the Rubicon; if Brutus was justified in killing Caesar; and if the destruction of Carthage was justified. (87) The most frequently debated question asked if it had been right for the whites to expel the Indians from their country. In the essays the students also largely ignored political and social topics, instead conducting a sometimes artificial discussion of local color themes and campus manners and morals. The prize-winning essay was an escapist piece describing an exhilarating mountain climb by some students and their female companions. (88) The evidence from the literary societies suggests that the College was unable to offer constructive leadership in understanding the problems of defeat and Reconstruction. The romantic approach to reality makes it appear that the students were "displacing" and "denying" their feelings about their situation. For many of the

Virginia boys at William and Mary, the issue of the Old South must have remained an "unmastered past." (89).

The foundation for the College's disciplinary system rested on both the student conception of Southern honor and Ewell's personality. According to the informal dictates of the honor system of student government, which the College claims to have originated, the students were "simply made to understand that there were several things William and Mary men couldn't do: viz., lie to professors (which included pledges at examinations) and cheat at cards." (90) There were no student councils or formal trials, but "the student who did anything dishonorable was either boycotted or, if the offense was a grave one, was told to leave the College." (91) The honor system worked well enough that, according to W. G. Stanard, there was only one case of a crooked examination and "three other cases which called for action by the older men" during the year 1875 to 1876. After an informal meeting in the Chapel, at which Ewell presented a "lame plea" in behalf of the culprits, they were "allowed to withdraw." (92)

As a disciplinarian, Ewell "always allowed for boyish ideas of humor, and opposed severe punishments. His favorite correction was a reprimand given so kindly that the student looked upon it almost as fatherly. They all swore by 'Old Buck' [Ewell]," Hughes said, "and he is associated with the brightest memories of our college days." (93) On one occasion, Ewell assisted the students in spiriting a comrade out of town who was about to be indicted for throwing a dead owl down the Methodist Church aisle. The case of the stolen ball clapper, however, furnishes perhaps the best example of Ewell's style as a disciplinarian. Since the

bell would not ring without its clapper, there could be no classes, and "the faculty met in long and serious sessions." The students were questioned and about a dozen declined to answer. When the faculty announced that they would be expelled, the four "real sinners" came forward and confessed. They were suspended for ten days, rusticated to Ewell's country home along with "a number of girls invited out to join the house party." William G. Stanard, a student who later became executive head of the Virginia Historical Society, drew this moral from the incident: "All this looks like encouragement to law breaking, but really it was not so. The College and Col. Ewell were too dear to us all to permit anything which might seriously injure the one or distress the other." (94)

Student behavior during the decade of the 1870s at William and Mary was relatively orderly. A sprinkling of mature confederate veterans added a moderating influence to the student body. Unlike the days of real duels in the decade of the 1840s and threatened engagements in the decade of the 1850s, students who felt their honor slighted met in a clump of trees behind the College and settled their differences according to the Marquis of Queensbury rules. Although "a good deal of drinking and card playing" were normally the most serious student derelictions, Stanard allowed that "there were periods of great disorder, when professional authority was called in." (95) Hazing was usually of a benign variety, involving little more than a seriocomic initiation that made the victim look ridiculous. "There was no town and gown hostility; for the town and gown were one and not separate bodies." (96) Perhaps the best example of the tenor of student disorder was an

annual night of revelry called "putting the town to rights," during which the students barricaded the streets with outhouses, ox carts, and anything else handy.

In order to complete this analysis of the College's institutional life during the postwar years, it is necessary to examine the school's response to the continuing financial problems during the decade of the 1870s. In sum, the trouble was that the annual endowment income, which had totaled about \$8,000 before the war, declined to about \$4,500 during the earlier part of the decade and to \$2,500 during the later part of the decade. In an effort to maintain quality instruction for a student population about equal in size to that of the period 1850 to 1860, the College out-spent its income every year until 1878. While the deficit spending and the depression beginning in 1873 eroded the already weakened endowment more and more each year, the school conducted a desperate search for additional funds or a way to reorganize the school on a more productive foundation.

The College mobilized substantial fund raising efforts throughout the decade. Ewell and a few other friends of the school spent thousands of hours in a futile attempt to lobby a bill through Congress awarding a \$70,000 indemnity for the unauthorized burning of the school during the war. (97) Ewell continued to canvass Northern cities in person and through agents. The Board published appeals to the public in journals, sent a fund raising representative to the Centennial celebration at Philadelphia in 1876, and even considered planting the grounds in a cash crop. (98)

In the campaign for a reparation payment from Congress and for

donations from Northern cities, the school based its fund-raising propaganda almost entirely on its historical traditions. (99) Pamphlet literature prepared for Congress contained lengthy recitals of early College achievements in educating great men and in contributing to the formation of the new republic. Editorial advertisements of College needs appearing in journals depicted the school as the alma mater of famous statesman and as a pioneer of educational innovations that helped to form the character of the American academy. The College traditions appear to have impressed a few influential individuals, but they did not inspire any large contributions.

The economic condition of Williamsburg itself offers further explanation of the fund-raising difficulties. Previously, in time of crisis the town had subscribed generously. A first person view of the town in 1870 shows why this was no longer possible:

It is difficult to give an idea of conditions in Williamsburg then. Everything betokened poverty and paralysis. Some of the houses on Woodpecker Street still showed holes made by cannon in the battle of Williamsburg. Houses were unpainted and dilapidated. The sidewalks and driveways were unpaved, the streets unlighted, and the feeble lights from the few houses scattered along the street only made the darkness visible. The only "tapers to light the vale with hospitable ray" were the lights from the numerous bar rooms which lined Duke of Gloucester Street. The suffering and dejection of the inhabitants made them the only enterprises in town that prospered. The only opportunity for employment was at the Asylum. (100)

Census data reinforces this impressionistic view. With a population remaining steady at about 2,000, the value of real and personal property

declined by sixty-one percent between 1860 and 1870 and had declined even further by 1880. (101)

Visitor Henry A. Wise secured scholarship funds sufficient to pay the tuition for about thirty students from the Southern Orphan Association. (102) But expectations of generating an interest in the school during the nearby 1881 centennial commemorating the Battle of Yorktown were disappointed. Throughout the decade, student fees also offered little help in financing academic operations, partly because the school was generous in excusing tuition fees for low income students. (103)

Ewell made extensive efforts to secure new funds. But he found the work of fund raising so embarrassing that he probably was not able to bring the full resources of his winning personality to bear on potential donors. (104) According to various Board members, his administration of existing funds also left much to be desired. Someone, probably another Visitor, wrote in Grigsby's "Deaf Man's Book" that "Our friend Col[.] Ewell[,] whilst one of the best men in the world, is one of the poorest managers of money that I have ever known." (105) Two Visitors felt that the Board should solve the problem by taking the administration of endowment funds into their own hands. In spite of Col. Ewell's fiscal shortcomings, the Board never lost confidence in his administration, several times refusing his offer to resign as College affairs worsened.

Since fund-raising efforts did not secure gifts sufficient to balance the books, the Board considered several different proposals to reorganize the school. An 1870 to 1875 study of establishing "closer ties" with the Episcopal Church produced no results because the church

was not really interested, and the Board was unready to establish any very close ties. (106) In 1877 chemistry professor Richard A. Wise apparently led the Board in petitioning the legislature to make the College into a state-supported school with new departments for military, agricultural, and teacher training. (107) In 1879 the Board considered transferring the remnants of the College to Sewanee, Tennessee and joining it to the Episcopal University of the South or moving it to Alexandria, Virginia to become a part of the Episcopal High School. Later, the Board attempted to revive the fast-dying College as a classical academy in order to "keep alive the institution at its minimum, to be enlarged as the opportunities offer." (108)

By 1879, finances were so critical that it appeared that the school would perish. At the first of the decade, the faculty had optimistically predicted that the financial problems were "the cause of serious, but hopefully temporary difficulties." (109) As early as 1871, however, it became apparent that "the work of restoring the College to public patronage" would be "longer and more tedious than anticipated." (110) In 1873, the finances were too bad to make any repairs on the buildings. In 1875, the scholarships that each professor was authorized to dispense were abolished. The loss of the Southern Orphan Association lottery in 1876 was a major blow to an already precarious budget. By the summer of 1877, according to Professor Tyler, the only reason the Visitors did not close the school was because of the entreaties of the faculty and townspeople. When the school did open in the fall of 1877, it seemed to Tyler that "affairs here have very much of despondency. The old bell rang yesterday for the first time, but it seemed to ring the death knell

of the institution." (111) By the summer of 1878, creditors were pressing for payments. In 1879, the Board members gave up their travel expenses. At that time, the unencumbered and productive assets were reduced to \$20,000, and the Faculty reported that "As the finances now are, there is little to carry away, outside of the Charter and name, the library and scientific apparatus." (112) Between 1879 and 1881, the enrollment hovered around ten students with a faculty of two. A. J. Salle, a student from 1879 to 1881, reported that "When in 1881, I left William and Mary, it was fast sinking into decay." (113)

All Virginia schools suffered in the depression lasting from 1873 to about 1878, but the other colleges had managed to establish financial postures much stronger than William and Mary. The other institutions had suffered less than William and Mary in the war, drew more support from religious and public sources, and had greater access to fund-raising skills in the personnel of their boards and executive offices. After initially driving larger numbers of students into the academy, the depression, along with the revival and expansion of competing institutions of higher education in the lower South, caused most Virginia schools to drop thirty to forty percent in enrollment between 1875 and 1880. The enrollment of the powerful University of Virginia remained steady, but that of William and Mary dropped sixty-six percent. (114) Between 1865 and 1880, however, the other schools substantially improved their financial positions. The University of Richmond and Randolph-Macon first restored and then surpassed endowments that had totaled about \$100,000 before the war. (115) The University continued to receive large benefactions, while the gifts that had poured into

Washington College under President Robert E. Lee may have made that school the most heavily endowed private institution in the South. (116) Although it burdened the school with debt, Virginia Military Institute successfully completed a \$400,000 restoration project, backed by the credit of the state. (117) The Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College opened with a \$500,000 endowment derived from the Morrill land grant college act, and Hampton Institute, the recipient of those Morrill funds designated for blacks, benefited from additional donations from Northern charities. Emory and Henry attempted to arrest a decline in student population by switching to a scientific curriculum in 1876 but failed. It reverted to the traditional curriculum in 1880 and achieved a renewed but modest prosperity. (118) Roanoke College, perhaps the least intellectually advanced white school in the state, financed healthy budgets through Northern funds raised each year in part by the assistance of Harvard President Charles W. Eliot, a friend of the Roanoke president. (119) Nationally, the big gifts usually went to those schools able to make attractive innovations in practical and scientific directions.

When William and Mary failed to reopen in the fall of 1881, it became Virginia's only collegiate casualty to the war and its aftermath. The institution would remain closed for seven years until reorganized as a professional school specializing in teacher training. The financial crisis thus brought the College's career as an old time classical school to a close. In spite of promising scientific and literary innovations before the war, the school largely retained the old structure and philosophy during the static postwar period because of its heritage and

finances. The abrupt transition to the more useful regimen of teacher training that would take place in 1888 reflected a practical response on the part of the College to the needs of Virginia's new industrial economy for more professional training and for a better-educated populace. That dramatic change in the character of the institution so clearly divided the traditional from the modern that Ewell's administration can in many respects be seen as the end of an era.

The pervasive ethos formed by the school's historical tradition was a factor of overarching importance in the life of the institution. The Board ultimately decided to rebuild the College in the city of Williamsburg largely because its historical identity was so closely connected to that locality. In appealing for funds from the legislature, Peabody, Congress, and the general public, the school attempted to project a positive image by utilizing propaganda that heavily emphasized the saga of early institutional exploits. Several contemporary observers recorded the impression shared by many of those connected with the school that the historical ethos endowed the institution with an almost mystical power to evoke superior performance among its students.

The distinctive historical ethos of the school was at the same time an asset and a liability. The case of J. G. Scott, the student previously mentioned in connection with an incident at the Williamsburg Methodist Church, revealed the great emotional appeal of the College's reputation to some traditional Virginians. It will be recalled that Scott left town to avoid being indicted after desecrating the church. Col. Powhatan Jones of Buckingham County, Scott's grandfather, had told him before he

entered the College that "if he only signed his name on the William and Mary matriculation book, scratched his head and came away, it would be an honor to any family." (120) The historical traditions probably explained in large part why the College was able to accomplish much with few resources between 1869 and 1876. But traditions that identified the school so closely with the Confederate cause also largely explained why the College met such signal failure in its attempt to attract Northern funds after the war. (121) The historical traditions that contributed largely to the formation of the institutional identity would assume an even more important role in the public relations and curricular affairs of the College during the succeeding administration.

Considering the conservative image of the school and its nostalgic, past-oriented traditions, it is surprising that the College introduced progressive curricular methods such as the literary study of foreign languages, the study of English literature for its practical merits, and the study of experimental science in the laboratory long before the war. During the postwar period of crisis, however, the College concentrated on the traditional goals of character development while most Virginia institutions gradually moved toward more practical and more specialized instruction. The William and Mary Board members were concerned that Virginia had "degenerated in the production of great men." (122) The College tradition of offering "something more than scholarship" in producing a citizen and a gentleman spoke to the abiding Virginia concern that leaders be educated for standards of greatness. (123) The failure of the College tradition to provide assistance in the restoration of institutional finances would, however, predispose the

leaders of the College to look in a more practical direction to reorganize the school.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

(1) The main academic building, known during the nineteenth century as the "Main Building," came to be called the "Wren Building" after a major restoration between 1928 and 1931. The new name recognized the belief that the English architect, Sir Christopher Wren, contributed in some manner to its design. The modern name of Wren Building will be used throughout the present work.

(2) Benjamin S. Ewell, "To the Board of Visitors and Governors," Visitors Minutes (5 July 1865), pp. 24-30.

(3) George P. Schmidt, The Old Time College President (NY: Columbia, 1930), pp. 251.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 43-107.

(5) S. Willis Rudi, "The 'Revolution' in American Higher Education--1865-1900," Harvard Educational Review (Summer 1951), Vol. XXI, p. 157.

(6) Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1965), p. 107.

(7) Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University (NY: Random House, 1962), pp. 329-354.

(8) Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965), pp. 1-505.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) George E. Peterson, The New England College in the Age of the University (Amherst, Mass.: Amherst University, 1964), pp. 1-260.

(11) Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919 (NY: Macmillan, 1921), Vol. III, p. 342; Francis Butler Simkins, A History of the South (NY: Knopf, 1963 [1947]), p. 247; Wilbur J. Cash, The Mind of the South (NY: Random House, 1960), p. 110.

(12) E. Herton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1947), p. 318.

(13) Francis Butler Simkins, A History of the South (NY: Knopf, 1963

[1947]), p. 365.

(14) Francis Butler Simkins, A history of the South (NY: Knopf, 1969[1947]), pp. 365-366; E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1965[1947]), pp. 317-318.

(15) Visitors minutes, 5-6 July 1865, pp. 24-44.

(16) Ewell and Grigsby recorded their views in favor of the Williamsburg location because of historical reasons. It is thought that several of the others who shared their opinions were motivated by similar concerns.

(17) Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "James Lyons," Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (1915), Vol. V, pp. 41-42; Virginus Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), p. 149.

(18) Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "Tazewell Taylor," Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (1915), Vol. V, p. 674.

(19) Clement Eaton, The Mind of the Old South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1967), pp. 90-109.

(20) Conclusion based on an analysis of the Grigsby papers at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond.

(21) Hugh Blair Grigsby, Diary (1876-1877), Vol. XIV, pp. 74-75. Wise was similar to present day politician Henry Howell in his image, the style of his rhetoric, and the interests he represented.

(22) Frances Leigh Williams, They Faced the Future (Richmond: State Planters Bank and Trust Company, 1951), p. 23.

(23) John Goode, Recollections of a Lifetime (NY: Neale, 1906), p. 103.

(24) Hugh Blair Grigsby, Diary (27 June 1865), Vol. V, p. 93 [Virginia Historical Society].

(25) Hugh Blair Grigsby, "Oration Delivered to the Students of William and Mary College," Richmond, Virginia, 4 July 1859, pp. 16 [College Archives]; H. B. Grigsby to B. S. Ewell, Charlotte, C. R., 26 Oct 1965 [Ewell Faculty/Alumni File, College Archives].

(26) Benjamin S. Ewell, "Report to the Visitors," Faculty Minutes (1 Aug 1865), NP.

(27) Ibid.

(28) W. H. Whiting Jr., "Hampden-Sydney College," Today and Yesterday in the Heart of Virginia (Farmville Va.: C. P. Dorman to Robert McCandlish, Richmond, 29 Feb 1848 [William and Mary College Papers]).

(29) Anne West Chapman, "The College of William and Mary, 1849-1959: The Memoirs of Silas Totten," an M.A. Thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1978, pp. 69-71.

(30) E. J. Harvie, "Necrology," Twentieth Sixth Annual Reunion of the Association Graduates of the United States Military Academy (Saginaw, Michigan: Seemann and Peters, 1895), pp. 11-14.

(31) Benjamin S. Ewell, "Report to the Visitors," Faculty Minutes (3 July 1869), NP.

(32) Henry Ward Beecher to -----, Brooklyn, NY, 29 Jan 1866 [William and Mary College Papers]. The College Papers will hereinafter be designated WMCP.

(33) Allen W. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), p. 5.

(34) John R. Thompson to Benjamin S. Ewell, 1 Jan 1866 [Ewell Faculty/Alumni File]. The Faculty/Alumni File will be abbreviated FAF hereinafter. College agent John R. Thompson had served as editor of the persuasive Confederate Index in England during the war.

(35) "College of William and Mary," Daily Enquirer (Richmond, 13 Jan 1866), NP, WMCP.

(36) Francis H. Pierpont, "Annual Message of the Governor of Virginia to the General Assembly," House Journal (1866-1867), Doc. No. 1, pp. 18-21.

(37) Duncan Lyle Kinnear, The First Hundred Years: A History of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute Educational Foundation, 1972). pp. 19-41.

(38) Benjamin S. Ewell, "Supplementary Report to the Visitors" (14 September 1866) [WMCP].

(39) A review of the Faculty Minutes, Visitors Minutes, and several other College records does not appear to reveal evidence of any financial benefit for the College from the Episcopal Church during the period after 1865.

(40) Benjamin S. Ewell, "Annual Report of the President to the Visitors," Faculty Minutes (1 July 1867), NP.

(41) "Bursar's Report," Visitors Minutes (1 July 1867), p. 71.

(42) Benjamin S. Ewell to William Wood Crump, Ewell Station, 27 Aug 1890 [Ewell FAF].

(43) Ibid.

(44) William Wilson Corcoran, A Grandfather's Legacy (Washington, D.C.:

Polkinhorn, 1879), pp. 551.

(45) Conclusions based on a thorough analysis of the Peabody Education Fund Proceedings (1867-1890); Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund (Boston: John Wilson, 1874-1893), Vols. I-IV [cited below as Peabody Trustees Proceedings].

(46) Barton H. Wise, Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia: 1806-1876 (NY: Macmillan, 1899), p. 420.

(47) "Report of the Building Committee to the Board of Visitors and Governors," Faculty Minutes (4 July 1870), NP.

(48) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary," Tyler's Quarterly (April 1935 [1927]), p. 218.

(49) Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University (NY: Random, 1962), pp. 99-100.

(50) Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (NY: Harper and Row, 1964[1943]), pp. 504-505.

(51) Francis Butler Simkins, A History of the South (NY: Knopf, 1969[1947]), pp. 365-366; E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1965[1947]), pp. 317-318.

(52) Benjamin S. Ewell, "Annual Report of the President to the Visitors," Faculty Minutes (4 July 1866), NP. In this case, the languages did include the modern subject of English.

(53) Ibid (1 July 1867), NP.

(54) William B. Reed to Benjamin S. Ewell, Philadelphia (27 Aug 1866) [Ewell FAF].

(55) Joseph Borome, "The Evolution Controversy", Essays in Historiography . . . Presented in Honor of Allen Nevins (NY: Columbia, 1960), pp. 169-192.

(56) "Rev. C. B. Wilmer," Alumni Gazette (30 Dec 1933), p. 4. Wilmer's father was professor of moral philosophy at the time.

(57) A. H. Randolph, Address . . . Before the Alumni . . . (Baltimore: Turnbull, 1875), pp. 20 [WACP].

(58) Lyon G. Tyler to Annie B. Tucker, Sherwood Forest, Charles City County Virginia, 26 Sept 1876, Tyler Family Papers, Swem Library.

(59) B. B. Mumford, Random Recollections (Richmond: Privately Published, 1905), pp. 55-56.

(60) There is an almost complete list of the students who successfully completed each course in the Faculty Minutes and College Catalogues for the period of 1865-1881. These conclusions are based on a complete analysis of each list.

(61) The breakdown of Student careers is based on an analysis of the William and Mary Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1865-1923. That source gives the professions of the 61 out of 315 alumni alive at the time of its publication, or 19 percent of the total alumni for the period. The Catalogue was published as a Bulletin of the College of William and Mary (1923), Vol XVIII, No. 5. [cited below as Catalogue of the Alumni].

(62) College of William and Mary Catalogues (1870-1876).

(63) Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970[1965], p. 280.

(64) Benjamin S. Ewell to William Brown, Williamsburg, 12 Sept 1873 [Ewell FAF].

(65) Report of the Committee as to a More Intimate Connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church, Visitors Minutes (1 July 1874), pp. 141-143.

(66) Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1921), Vol. III, pp. 378-379.

(67) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," William and Mary Quarterly (July 1933), p. 196. Hereinafter, citations of this article will be Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," while the journal will be W&Q.

(68) Reuben E. Alley, History of the University of Richmond (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1977), p. 59.

(69) William and Mary College Catalogue (1870), p. 152.

(70) Ollinger Crenshaw, General Lee's College (NY: Random, 1969), p. 161; Philip Alexander Bruce, The University of Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1921), Vol. III, pp. 352-354.

(71) William Couper, One hundred Years at V.M.I. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1939), Vol. III, pp. 111-112.

(72) Reuben E. Alley, History of the University of Richmond (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1977), p. 60, George J. Stevenson, Increase in Excellence (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), p. 99; William Edward Eisenberg, The First Hundred Years, Roanoke College, 1842-1942 (Salem, Va.: The Trustees, 1942), p. 167.

(73) Richard Irby, History of Randolph-Macon College (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, c 1890), pp. 208-214.

(74) Most Northern Faculty members did not fight in the war. Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (NY: Harper and Row, 1964[1943]), p. 451. The ratio of three clergymen to thirteen laymen on the William and Mary Faculty between 1865 and 1881 may have been about typical for the time as the nineteenth century began with the professoriate mostly clerical and ended with it being most secular.

(75) John Robert Fisher, "Modern Languages at William and Mary," Alumni Gazette (Oct 1940), pp. 12-13 and 17.

(76) Captain Robert E. Lee, ed., Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee (NY: Garden City, 1924), pp. 374-375.

(77) W. G. Stanard, "Stanard Tells of Days of '75 to '76," pp. 1-14 [Stanard FAF].

(78) College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1866, pp. 19-20.

(79) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," pp. 201-202.

(80) B. B. Mumford, Random Recollections (Richmond: Privately Published, 1905), p. 51.

(81) The concept of expectancy as a motivator of human behavior was drawn from a lecture delivered by the educational sociologist Clifton F. Conrad at the College of William and Mary during the summer of 1979.

(82) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," p. 199.

(83) William G. Stanard, "Stanard Tells of the Days of '75-'76," p. 8 [Stanard FAF].

(84) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," p. 199; Lyon G. Tyler to Annie E. Tucker, Williamsburg, 11 Nov 1877 [Tyler Family Papers].

(85) Hugh Blair Grigsby, Diary (30 June 1875), p. 265 [Virginia Historical Society].

(86) Jacksonian Society Journal (10 Nov 1866), NP; from 1865 to 1867 the Jacksonian Society replaced the normal two groups.

(87) Ibid (27 Jan 1866), NP; Ibid (8 June 1867), NP; Philomathean Society Minutes (7 March 1868), NP.

(88) Enthusiast, "Up the Mountains," Philomathean Magazine (1 April 1876), NP.

(89) The concepts of the unmastered past is well explored in Robert J. Lifton and Margarete Mitscherlich, eds., Explorations in Psycho History (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1974), pp. 257-270.

(90) William G. Stanard, "Stanard Tells of the days of '75- '76," p. 4

[Standard FAF].

(91) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," p. 198.

(92) W. G. Stanard, "Stanard Tells of Days of '75 to '76," p. 4 [Stanard FAF].

(93) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," p. 196.

(94) William G. Stanard, "Stanard Tells of the Days of '75- '76," pp. 6-7 [Stanard FAF].

(95) Ibid, p. 10.

(96) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," p. 199.

(97) Helen Cam Walker, "The Great Development Campaign--The Story of Benjamin Ewell's Battle to Save the College of William and Mary," Alumni Gazette (Sept 1975), pp. 8-9.

(98) "Bursar's Report," Visitors Minutes (4 July 1873), p. 176; Visitors Minutes (4 July 1873), p. 139.

(99) Russell Smith, "William and Mary and the Reparations Claim, 1871-1893" (23 April 1971), unpublished seminar paper 19 pages in length submitted to Robert F. Durden; Helen Cam Walker "The Great Development Campaign of 1870-1893; The story of Benjamin Ewell's Battle to Save the College of William and Mary," Alumni Gazette (September 1975), pp. 8-9.

(100) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," pp. 195-196.

(101) United States Census (1860), Book IV, p. 315; Ibid (1870), Vol. II, p. 68 and Vol. III, p. 63; Ibid (1880), Vol. I, p. 83 and Vol. VII, p. 118.

(102) Benjamin S. Ewell, "To the Visitors and Governors," Visitors Minutes (12 June 1877), p. 187.

(103) Report of the Finance Committee, Visitors Minutes (4 July 1873) p. 130.

(104) Benjamin S. Ewell, "To the Editor," New York Times (5 Jan 1869), a clipping in the WHCP with NP; Benjamin S. Ewell, "To the Visitors and Governors," (1 July 1881), as quoted in Earl G. Swem, Some Notes on the Four Forms of the Oldest Building at William and Mary College (Williamsburg: William and Mary, 1928), p. 304, hereinafter cited as Swem, Four Forms.

(105) Hugh Blair Grigsby, Commonplace Book (c. 1879), fifteenth leaf [Virginia Historical Society].

(106) Visitors Minutes (22 July 1870), p. 97; Ibid (4 July 1873), p.

130; Ibid (1 July 1874), p. 141.

(107) Lyon G. Tyler to Annie B. Tucker, Sherwood Forest, Charles City, Virginia, 9 December 1876 [Tyler Family Papers I-15-6], hereinafter cited as TFP. (The three numbers designate the group, box, and folder.)

(108) George Jeremiah Ryan, "Ancient Languages at William and Mary," Alumni Gazette (May 1940), pp. 10-11 and 28-29.

(109) Benjamin S. Ewell, "To the Visitors and Governors" (4 July 1870), pp. 1-6 [W&CP].

(110) Visitors Minutes (4 July 1871), p. 104.

(111) Lyon G. Tyler to Annie B. Tucker, William and Mary, 17 July 1877 [TFP I-15-14].

(112) Benjamin S. Ewell, "Report and Address . . . [to the Visitors]" (Richmond: Randolph & English, 1879), p. 12.

(113) "Mr. A. J. Salle Recalls His Old Classmates," Alumni Gazette (30 Sept 1935), pp. 1 and 3.

(114) Henry A. Wise, Drawing Out the Man: The V.M.I. Story (Charlottesville: Alumni Association, 1978), p. 59.

(115) Reuben E. Alley, History of the University of Richmond (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1977), p. 57; Richard Irby, History of Randolph-Macon College (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, c 1900), pp. 223, 281-282, and 288.

(116) Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1921), Vol. III, pp. 353-376; Ollinger Crenshaw, General Lee's College (NY: Random, 1969), pp. 155-171.

(117) Henry A. Wise, Drawing Out the Man: The V.M.I. Story (Charlottesville: Alumni Association, 1978), p. 60.

(118) George J. Stevenson, Increase in Excellence: A History of Emory and Henry College (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), pp. 96-105.

(119) William Edward Eisenberg, The First Hundred Years: Roanoke College, 1842-1892 (Salem, Va.: The Trustees, 1942), pp. 152-154.

(120) W. G. Stanard, "Stanard Tells of the Days of '75 to '76" (ND), pp. 2-3 [Stanard FAF].

(121) Helen Cam Walker, "The Great Development Campaign of 1870-93: The Story of Benjamin Ewell's Battle to Save the College," Alumni Gazette (Sept 1975), pp. 8-9.

(122) Hugh Blair Grigsby, Diary (3 July 1871), pp. 199-202. [Virginia

Historical Society].

(123) Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," p. 202; W. T. Taliaferro to J. A. C. Chandler, WHQ (Oct 1934), p. 286.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATION OF THE WILLIAM AND MARY

COLLEGE MISSION, 1882 TO 1888

A six-year search for funds following the closure of the College narrowed the list of prospective benefactors to one--the Virginia legislature. When the General Assembly opened in Richmond, 7 December 1887, General William B. Taliaferro and his cousin, Judge Warner T. Jones, were waiting nearby as lobbyists for the closed and nearly defunct College of William and Mary. Both prominent lawyers from Gloucester County, the lobbyists were leaders among the corporal's guard of those William and Mary Board members who remained active. Their mission was to secure a \$10,000 appropriation in order to revive the school. In return, the College corporation offered to add a new department for teacher training to its traditional liberal arts program and to allow the state to select half of the Board members.

Jones and Taliaferro were influential men to represent their alma mater before the legislature. Their personal values and public achievements gave them a reputation for the kind of Old South honor and integrity that captured the sentiment of Virginia's political leaders at that time. A former Delegate to the State House and a colonel in the Confederate army, the seventy-year-old Jones had served on the Board for

fifteen years. (1)

Taliaferro's service as a major general in the Confederate army and his unsuccessful pursuit of the gubernatorial nomination in 1880 made him well known throughout the state. A graduate of William and Mary and of Harvard Law School, he was largely a traditional conservative in outlook. (2) Before the war, he had "honestly believed" that slavery was "of divine origin." (3) In 1876 he refused to support James Lawson Kemper for governor because he feared that Kemper would industrialize the state. (4) A dedicated educational leader, Taliaferro sat on the board of every state college for whites in Virginia at one time or another. (5) A man of principle, he was one of the few landed aristocrats with progressive views concerning the public schools and sat on the local school board. (6) In 1884 he helped found Virginia's first state teachers' college for whites, the State Female Normal School at Farmville (now Longwood College), and was chairman of its board at the time he was preparing to fight for an appropriation for William and Mary. (7) Then sixty-five years old, he was one of the most widely respected private citizens in the state.

Within three months, the well-organized campaign for state funds would reach fruition and would help to finance the reorganization of the College of William and Mary. That reorganization would make a traditional gentleman's school into a professional teacher training institution. The process by which the College obtained the state assistance that made the reorganization possible is examined in this chapter. Its primary purpose is to explore the attitudes of Virginia's political leaders and of the College's leaders concerning teacher

training. The unfavorable opinion of many aristocratic legislators toward state-financed teacher training revealed in the campaign for state funding explains in large part why the College leaders would make such extensive use of the institutional saga during the Tyler administration. The historical traditions of the institutional saga probably constituted one of the most appealing facets of the College to many conservative Virginia Assemblymen. Thus the extensive use of the saga in institutional public relations would reflect an attempt by College leaders to present the most attractive possible image of the school.

Before examining the legislative contest during the winter, 1887 to 1888, it is necessary to place events in perspective. Three different strands of material will be woven together to accomplish this. They are (1) the College experience between 1881 and 1888, (2) the Western experience in public school development, and (3) the nature of the educational polity that would precondition the views of the legislators on the William and Mary bill.

The continuing decline in College fortunes after its 1881 closure helped to bring Taliaferro and Jones to the General Assembly in 1887. Although the endowment income had retired about half of the indebtedness, the campus was practically deserted, except for Ewell's informal day classes. The buildings had deteriorated to the point where some were practically uninhabitable, and the school appeared to be a dead institution. The seventy-seven-year-old Ewell had never lost his faith that the restoration of the College would "in time be effected," and he maintained a steady stream of correspondence in search of a

liberal benefactor to revive the school. (8) During the "silent years" from 1881 to 1888, the traditional image of the old white-haired president ringing the bell each fall to keep the Charter alive gave Ewell a national reputation for serving as "the faithful guardian of a grand idea." (9) In 1886, the College missed receiving a legacy of \$435,000, because the decayed condition of the school led the philanthropist to change his will in favor of the University of Virginia. (10) Had the College received that bequest, the application for state sponsorship would probably have been unnecessary, and William and Mary might have remained a private institution. As a first step toward full restoration, the Board attempted to reopen the College as a boys' boarding school in 1887 with the Rev. Dr. James K. Hubbard as professor. (11) Because of Hubbard's illness, however, that plan was abandoned. A glimpse of the College in 1887 provided in letters of Mrs. Daniel Coit Gilman, wife of the president of Johns Hopkins University, highlights the critical condition of the school at the time when the lobbyists were beginning their work. Mrs. Gilman found the grass high, the trees untrimmed, and the buildings "sad and neglected." (12) Shown the "dusty old books and pictures" by Ewell, she felt that the College was

"a most pathetic place, full of the past with no present but one of dreary decay, and no future The public has long ago forgotten about poor old William and Mary and the cows are grazing peacefully in the playgrounds and the old walks are crumbling away and when the old Colonel [Ewell] goes, I suppose all traces of the place will gradually disappear." (13)

In order to understand the larger forces that would be acting on the William and Mary bill, it is helpful to look briefly at the general

historical process of public and normal school development in Europe and the United States. (14) Public education was the inevitable outcome of the political and economic developments that revolutionized the Western way of life during the nineteenth century. The dynamics of the new industrial economy, urban living, and political democracy helped to render the principle of private education for the few obsolete. Instead, the rising middle class demanded education for careers of technical leadership, and lower-class spokesmen insisted on basic education for that group. The buzz words that expressed their aspirations for modern educational opportunity were "universal, free, secular, practical, scientific, compulsory, public education." (15)

The key element in the campaign for an expanded system of education was middle-class needs. The assistance of an enlightened upper-class leadership was very important. In order to realize their educational goals, the educational progressives had to fight many long and often bitter political battles against the tradition-oriented leaders of the church and of the propertied interests. The proponents' arguments were that universal education would help (1) to lift the poverty stricken from their squalor, (2) to make people more efficient workers, and (3) to teach the "mob" to respect property. (16) By the end of the nineteenth century, the middle class had made educational gains that generally paralleled its political gains in winning access to secondary schooling, while the lower class had won widespread access to primary schooling. Public school development in the Southern United States was slower than that in the Northern United States and that in Western Europe, largely because of the plantation economy, aristocratic

traditions, and opposition to government initiative in the educational sector. (17)

The reconstruction of the Virginia Constitution by the Radical Party in 1869 led to the modernization of the educational system in Virginia and thus created a need for normal schools. Among the innovative social welfare provisions of the Constitution were a mandate for erecting a public school system and a call for normal schools "as soon as practicable." (18) The Conservative party that gained control of state affairs in 1870 supported the public school experiment but did not establish normal schools. (19) Patronized heavily by the middle class, the public schools grew steadily, while many of the private academies that had survived the war began to close. The public schools were poorly financed, however, largely because of the decision made by Conservative leaders to repay Virginia's massive prewar debt at full face value.

That decision was critical because it became the central issue in Virginia politics during the postwar era and would finally help to cause a strong political reaction that led, among other things, to a wave of normal school founding between 1882 and 1888. Because of their traditional conception of state honor, the ruling class leaders in the dominant Conservative Party elected to shoulder a burden of indebtedness far beyond the state's ability to pay. (20) Each annual payment cost nearly as much as all public services combined, and by 1877 so much school revenue was being diverted to fund the debt that in 1878 half of the schools in Virginia had to close. (21) As time passed, middle and lower class taxpayers became increasingly unwilling to bear the excruciating burden of high taxes and cancelled government services.

The decision to fund the debt was symptomatic of the Conservative attempt to govern the changed world of the late nineteenth century with the aristocratic formulas of the pre-Civil War period. It invited an uprising from below. The destruction of the plantation economy and the rise of manufacturing and commerce had helped to create an ever more numerous and politically conscious middle class. (22) Lower-class whites and blacks were both politically volatile elements that suffered terribly in the depression of 1873. The Conservative program did not even address the issues, much less meet the needs of these diverse groups. The program that did appeal to the less affluent groups centered around the idea of scaling down or "readjusting" the state debt.

The new Readjuster-Republican Party was so well organized, in contrast to the "old boy" system of the Conservatives, and expressed the frustration of the general public so well that it overwhelmed the opposition. Representing a broad alliance of classes and races, the party captured both houses of the legislature in 1880, elected the governor in 1882, took control of the judiciary soon after, and proceeded to gain control of the state college boards. (23) Its program of social welfare reform was aimed at the needs of the middle and lower classes. The strongest plank in its platform was the revitalization of the school system, and it was understood that the party would found normal schools. (24) The Readjusters were practically unprecedented in the history of the Commonwealth as an independent force that gained control of the state on a platform opposed to the traditional aristocratic interests that had always ruled Virginia.

The uprising that brought the Readjusters to power gave William and

Mary its first opportunity for state funding as a normal school. Shortly after he took office in January, 1882, Readjuster Governor William E. Cameron told William and Mary President Ewell that he thought the legislature would vote a \$12,000 annual appropriation. (25) Foundation head J. L. H. Curry promised an annual contribution of \$8,000 from the Peabody Education Fund. (26) Edward S. Joynes, a former modern languages professor at the College and a former president of the Virginia Education Association, enthusiastically predicted that placing the College at the head of the public schools would make it "a great center of educational influence." (27) At the time, however, the Board was unready to approve the plan. (28) Although there were Readjusters on the Board, one can speculate that the old guard Conservatives in control were repelled by the idea of working with a group with the lower class and minority image of the Readjusters. The general notion that teacher training was less elevated than gentlemanly liberal arts education undoubtedly influenced their thinking also.

Thus William and Mary was not included when the Readjuster legislature founded Virginia's first normal school in February, 1882. (29) A school for blacks housed in a thousand-foot-long Romanesque building, the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute at Petersburg (now Virginia State University) was a monument to the key role of black voters in bringing the Readjusters to power. (30) Although it was organized primarily as a teacher training institution, it also addressed black aspirations for "higher and professional education," and most of its early alumni would pursue careers in fields other than teaching. (31)

The debate on the act to found the State Female Normal School contained many of the elements that would be present in the subsequent legislative contest to establish a teacher-training school at William and Mary. Traditional opponents fought the measure, arguing that professional teacher training was a Northern innovation that was inappropriate to Virginia and unsound in principle. (32) J. L. M. Curry, General Agent for the Peabody Fund, wrote the bill and served as spokesman for the proponents. Curry argued persuasively that improved teacher training was "necessary to the existence and prosperity of a free state and to the existence of individual freedom." (33) Curry adopted the same method that Horace Mann had used so effectively in contending that industrial cost effectiveness and increased social control were the inevitable byproducts of a better educational system. As Board chairman of the Farmville Female Academy, Taliaferro provided encouragement by offering the academy property as a nucleus for the school. (34) Largely because of the careful work of a handful of educational liberals in the legislature, the charismatic leadership of Curry, and a general feeling that it was time to improve women's education, the bill became law in March, 1884. (35)

When the College of William and Mary had been closed for four years, Taliaferro and Jones persuaded the Board of Visitors to revise its earlier opinion and to endorse the normal school proposal on 27 November 1885. (36) Teacher training as a new mission for William and Mary was both an advanced development and a radical change of direction, considering the aristocratic personalities on the Board and the general nature of elitist opinions on the public school question. The eight men

who made the decision were from old Virginia families, held prominent positions, were of comfortable circumstances, and had college educations, all of which predisposed them to espouse a conservative outlook on life.

Converting William and Mary into a state normal school would put it at the head of the public school system. The conversion would change the old gentlemanly classical College into a professional teacher-training institution. Just how drastic the change must have seemed to traditional Board members may be seen in a brief history of the public schools in Bland County. Prepared by the superintendent of schools in 1885, it could easily have applied to nearly any county in the state:

. . . it was the beginning of a new epoch; by many looked on with suspicion, a kind of 'infernal machine,' invented by the enemy to extract money from the property-holder, for a purpose whose end was incompatible with the spirit of the times--the education of a plebian horde, hitherto thought unworthy of such attention and philanthropy For several years it was admitted, as by common consent, that the whole affair was nothing but an experiment, and would eventually die a natural death. And notwithstanding the rapid growth and popularity of the system, there are to-day [sic] many of the beneficiaries who have not learned what is meant by a free education. (37)

By the decade of the 1880s, the fledgling public school system had become the educational mainstay of the growing middle class and had won partial acceptance by the upper class. But most well-to-do citizens opposed the levying of sufficient tax revenue to finance an effective school system.

The inadequacy of teacher training and the need for more training institutions became apparent to Virginia educators during the period 1880 to 1890. In 1885, only three percent of Virginia's teachers had

attended a college, and only fifteen percent held a diploma of any kind. (38) Of the institutions of higher education, the black Hampton Institute at Hampton was graduating scores of teachers each year, as would the Female Normal School in the near future. (39) For the large body of Virginia's 7,000 teachers, however, the summer institutes and the voluntary home study associations constituted the only means of training. Because society generally expected men to teach at the secondary level and to serve as principals, the lack of a teachers' College for white men was a particular problem. The Normal Department launched at Roanoke College in 1871 failed to take permanent root, and the succeeding three-month free spring course for teachers starting in 1885 at the University of Virginia was only a temporary solution to the problem. The fourteen scholarships authorized for Virginia students at Peabody Teachers College in Nashville, Tennessee were inadequate in number to upgrade the teacher force appreciably.

As the College of William and Mary's campaign for funding began, the political system of Virginia was involved in a major reorganization that would have impact on the bill. The Readjusters were becoming Republicans, while the Conservatives were taking the name of Democrats. In order to reverse their humiliating defeat by the Readjuster-Republican group, the Democrats liberalized and organized their party during the period 1882 to 1886. Speaking directly to broad middle-class interests, they nominated younger men for office, promised to deliver attractive social services such as free textbooks and a labor bureau, and greatly increased the funding of the Female Normal School. (40) Their new interest in the common voter helped to return the Democrats to power in

all branches of government between 1883 and 1886. It should not be supposed, however, that the Democrats were becoming a people's party. Most of their leaders with major campaign contributions to offer were officials of railroads and other business corporations who continued to speak for special interests in the legislature. (41) The conservative Democrats were in fact sufficiently strong to defeat the William and Mary bill decisively in the legislature of 1885 to 1886 and again in the special session of 1887. (42) (In the following discussion, the legislation sponsored by the friends of the College will be referred to alternatively as the William and Mary bill, the College bill, and the bill.)

Determined to reverse their earlier legislative defeats, Taliaferro and Jones led the fight for approval of a bill to establish teacher training at William and Mary. A leisurely ten-minute walk from the legislative chambers, their hotel was "notable as the gathering and caucusing place of the State politicians." (43) Putting aside personal business, the two would stay there with little interruption for the next three months.

From the start, the lobbyists realized there was a good probability that their best efforts would fail to win an appropriation for the College. The state debt still hung like a millstone around the neck of public finance. Legislators of all political convictions had a reputation for their sensitivity to new appropriations of any sort. The governor specifically cautioned the legislators to "be as frugal as possible, keeping expenses down or abolishing them where possible." (44) The rules themselves were an obstacle since they required a majority of

all members elected, and not just those present, to pass money measures. (45) Members from the western part of the state could not be counted as friends because they were too far away to benefit. The large and articulate contingent of corporate lawyers, moreover, could be depended on to oppose any expenditure for a normal school. Even the College's old friend and mentor, the Episcopal Church, warned the legislators to proceed with caution: "On first blush the scheme seems to be a good one," wrote the editor of the Southern Churchman, but the ongoing needs of "the Farmville school is of first importance." (46)

Because of the odds against them, Taliaferro and Jones planned their strategy carefully. They enlisted several key personalities to manage various critical phases of the campaign. William W. Crump, a member of the William and Mary Board of Visitors who was regarded as being one of the most capable defense attorneys in Richmond, would help when possible. (47) James N. Stubbs, a Gloucester attorney who had served in the legislature for twenty years, would take charge of the bill in the Senate. (48) Richard A. Wise, a Williamsburg physician who had taught chemistry at the College and who had served as superintendent of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum (now Eastern State Hospital) under the Readjusters, would work with the Republicans in the House of Delegates. Wise was a controversial personality who was as popular with the Republicans as he was unpopular with the Democrats. (49) This influential Republican had a critical assignment because the Republicans were more open to persuasion on school questions than were the Democrats. Their late nineteenth century tradition of appealing to black and lower-class voters often gave them greater sensitivity than the

Democrats on school and other social welfare measures. Delegate A. W. Harris, the brilliant young black lawyer largely responsible for the founding of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute in Petersburg, would accept responsibility for persuading the other six black delegates. (50) The freshman delegate from Richmond and former William and Mary professor Lyon G. Tyler would sponsor the bill in the House. That was the most critical assignment, because heavy opposition was expected from that quarter. Conspicuous by his absence from the group was State Superintendent of Public Instruction John L. Buchanan. Unlike his two predecessors, who had shown crusading zeal for normal school development, Buchanan was a status quo man who habitually avoided engaging in controversial contests. (51)

Shortly before Christmas, 1867, the College bill was simultaneously submitted in both houses. The College of William and Mary had been closed for six and one-half years at the time. Reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Public Institutions and Education, it was recommitteed to the Committee on Finance and Banking and again reported favorably, 1 February 1868. (52) That same day, the House Committee on Schools and Colleges voted the bill down. (53) Thus any possible future for the measure would depend on a successful outcome in the Senate. On February 4, the Senate passed the bill through its second reading, adding an amendment to make the State Superintendent of Public Instruction an ex officio member of the Board. (54) If successful, this would reconstitute the College government with a "dual board" composed of the ten members from the old corporation, the ten state-appointed members provided in the original bill, and the state superintendent. The

next day, Senate floor manager of the bill James H. Stubbs wrote Taliaferro, "I think it will pass." (55)

Made the special order of the day, Senate Bill Number Fifty-Three came up for final consideration at 1:30 P.M. on 14 February 1838. (56) Stubbs began with a forty-five minute speech full of quiet eloquence and touching dignity. (57) His persuasive appeal is worth examining, because it is the best surviving summary of proponent arguments. His analysis directed attention to (1) the favorable finances of the proposal, (2) the regional needs of the Tidewater, and (3) the fair claims of the middle class for access to higher education. The state could meet the commonly felt need for a men's normal school most economically through the College, he contended, because the buildings were already in place. Bountiful appropriations for other colleges proved that the state could afford it. The Tidewater deserved regional consideration, since that section paid forty percent of the state's taxes but had no institution of higher learning. Whereas all of Virginia's public colleges offered more or less expensive routes to higher education for well-to-do boys, "right, justice, and equity" demanded an inexpensive place for boys of "worth and merit" but "limited means." (58) Other arguments emphasized the College's historic distinctiveness, its nonsectarian nature, and the ease with which the state could escape through the sunset clause if the experiment failed.

Three senators, Henry Heaton of Northern Virginia, Absolom Koiner of Western Virginia, and Henry T. Wickham of Hanover County, opposed the measure, giving financial reasons. (59) The opposition of the latter two was significant because they usually supported education. When the state

sold its Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio Railroad stock in 1882, Koerner proposed that the entire \$500,000 proceeds be invested in building normal schools, rather than just the \$100,000 that finally went to build the black school at Petersburg. (60) An advocate of strengthened technical education, he may have feared that the claims of another school on the state treasury would hurt appropriations for his favorite institution, Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College. (61) Wickham's position as a railroad attorney and director probably influenced him to advocate fiscal restraint, but he had a reputation for being "always active in measures to increase spending . . . for the educational institutions of the state." (62)

The passage of the bill by a decisive margin of forty-four to five reflected the largely positive attitude of the Senate on educational measures and prepared the way for a heated conflict in the House. (63) The day the bill passed, Stubbs carried it to the House and urged the Delegates to concur in Senate action. The fact that the bill survived two readings in the House and went back into the Committee on Schools and Colleges the next day undoubtedly reflected intensive lobbying by the friends of the College during the previous two weeks. (64) When the bill was reported favorably by a "very much divided" committee on 22 February 1883, the stage was set for the decisive battle that would make or break the fortunes of the College of William and Mary. (65)

Arguments used in the House debate by the Delegates indicate that the William and Mary bill was one of the most controversial issues of the session. Before the matter was decided, at least fourteen delegates would speak, four for the bill and ten against it. The issues that

divided the proponents from the opponents would be Western against Eastern Virginia, liberal against conservative ideas of public finance, and a status quo versus a progressive conception of public schooling.

In the debate, Lyon G. Tyler led the group favoring the College bill, while Speaker Richard H. Cardwell led those opposing it. A son of United States President John Tyler, Lyon G. Tyler was a graduate of the University of Virginia and a former professor at the College. He was an indefatigable Democratic worker, an organizer and a professor of the Richmond Mechanics Institute night school, and a candidate for Commonwealth Attorney of Richmond at the time. (66) In contrast, Cardwell had a difficult youth because his father died when he was a child. Educated in the public schools and at an academy, the intensely ambitious Cardwell taught himself law at night and was by 1888 a capable and rising self-made leader. He was a formidable opponent because of his skill as a debater and as a parliamentarian. His reputation for "fairness in debate" and his "conservative bearing" were said to give him "great influence" in "advancing wise and constructive legislation, and in preventing the passage of unwise and ill considered measures." (67)

Debate began during the noon hour of February 23 in the high-vaulted old House chamber. (68) (Except for Republicans Robert H. Mayo and Henry W. Daingerfield, the debaters were Democrats.) J. H. Crawford of Augusta fired the first salvo for the opponents, moving for referral of the bill to the Finance Committee. Lyon G. Tyler of Richmond opposed the referral motion and supported the bill, probably citing many of the same arguments that Stubbs had used. He felt that the College

would not be a heavy financial burden on the Commonwealth because "many donations from the North would shower upon it." Standing down from the high-pedimented old chair, Cardwell cleverly appealed to the bill's natural opponents in the west by questioning the healthiness of Williamsburg's low lying terrain, "especially for the mountain men." Col. Lucian D. Starke, a Norfolk publisher and attorney, opposed referral asking whether the bill must "run the gauntlet of all House committees?" (69) Basil B. Gordon of Kappahannock, the millionaire-president of the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad, thought the Finance Committee should coordinate spending. (70) Ammi Moore of Clarke, a bank president and corporate counsel who had taught school for two years, felt the state could not afford it. William A. Anderson, a Board member at Washington and Lee College and an attorney, opposed this "new addition to the public school system" on financial grounds. (71) Proponent Henry Willis Daingerfield, a judge and former customs collector in Essex, thought that "this little sum could be given to the Tidewater, which pays nearly half the State's taxes." Edward Echols of Augusta, a lawyer who spoke rarely but always "had something to say" when he took the floor, opposed on financial grounds. Crawford's motion to recommit the bill to the Finance Committee was defeated by a vote of thirty-one to forty-six. (72)

Again seizing the initiative for the opponents, Cardwell then made three major arguments against the bill: (1) it was unsound as a business proposition; (2) it would allow the Republicans to accuse the Democrats of "reckless appropriations;" and (3) it would threaten the delicate compromise then keeping the peace on the sensitive public debt issue.

Algernon Sydney Buford of Richmond, a man who taught for two years and who built the 3,000 mile Richmond and Danville Railroad, supported Cardwell. Because the time allotted to the William and Mary bill had expired, debate was stopped in mid-course, not to be resumed until the next day.

The bill came up at 1:30 P.M. on 24 February 1888 for its final consideration. (73) Tyler seized the initiative, contending that the Williamsburg climate had never caused any sickness and that the "renown and prestige" of the College merited an appropriation. James Hay of Madison tried to confuse the issue by proposing a substitute calling for a commission to select a site for the new normal school. It failed. Starke thought the bill represented fair play for the Tidewater. Echols saw no reason that could persuade him to favor it. Robert M. Mayo, an attorney from Westmoreland, practically demanded that the House give the Tidewater its due. (74) In a very revealing comment, Cardwell expressed what were most likely the sentiments of the opponent group when he said, in essence, that normal schools were just not needed. To drive home his point, he held up the journals of the two previous sessions and showed the parts in which the house had previously rejected the William and Mary bill. John S. Harris of Albemarle opposed, calling the University of Virginia "the Athens of the South." John F. Ryan of Loudoun, whose father had taught school after losing a fortune in speculation, opposed. Three months of intensive work netted the friends of the College a majority of forty-two yeas to thirty-seven nays. (75) But a simple majority was not sufficient because the rules required fifty-one votes to pass money measures.

The supporters of William and Mary were determined to reverse their narrow defeat in the remaining two weeks of the session. Since practically all of the Republican and Tidewater members already favored the measure, they concentrated on the western Democrats. In particular they forged an alliance with the friends of the western school, Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College (now Virginia Polytechnic Institute). Opponents of the bill had apparently been active in inciting fears among those who supported the Blacksburg school by arguing that a William and Mary appropriation would hinder funding for the technical school. Those lobbying for the College of William and Mary, therefore, promised to support those lobbyists who were working for a \$20,000 appropriation then pending for a new barracks building at Virginia A & M in return for their support on the William and Mary bill. (76)

At 4:30 P.M. on 1 March 1886, Lyon G. Tyler asked the House to reconsider its earlier vote on the College bill. It did so and passed the measure by a safe margin of fifty-seven to twenty-seven. (77) A resounding cheer arose from the floor of the House when the results were announced. (78)

An analysis of the two ballots on the College bill suggests that that the lobbyists did some heroic work during the two weeks before March 1. Not only did they persuade seven western Democrats to switch their votes from no to yes, but they also brought in ten absentees. It is possible that they persuaded eight opponents who may not have been ready to vote yes to stay away during the vote. (The eight were present earlier in the afternoon, and after the passage of the College bill, they reappeared to vote on other measures.) (79)

Steps leading to the partnership between the school and the state to offer inexpensive teacher training to Virginia's young men became official when the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary accepted the terms of the act as amended on 11 April 1888. (80) In his apparent elation at the successful conclusion of the long campaign, the secretary of the Board, Lyon G. Tyler's brother, David Gardiner Tyler, accidentally recorded the resolution of acceptance twice in the Visitors Minutes. The Board had cause for elation because the receipt of state support made the financing of the College potentially stable for the first time since the Civil War.

The Board elected State Superintendent John L. Buchanan to chair the committee that would reorganize the school and invited him to become president. Now an ex officio member of the Board, the superintendent of schools had assisted in designing the original curriculum for the State Female Normal School at Farmville and was a former president of both Virginia A & M and Emory and Henry. (81) Buchanan, who had ironically favored temporary teachers' institutes over additional normal schools as the most efficient method of upgrading the teacher force, declined the office in early July because the College seemed "too broken down and deserted" to prosper. (82)

In the absence of executive leadership, the wealthy Williamsburg Visitor Philip Montague Thompson assumed responsibility for the restoration work. (83) Repairs were extensive because the buildings had deteriorated from twenty years of low budgets, seven years of vandalism, and a faulty roof on the Wren Building that had allowed water to damage the interior. The eccentric Thompson supervised the project during the

summer, and in August he reported the near completion of high quality work at reasonable prices. (84)

By mid-August, there were only four applications for president, "not one of whom . . . will meet our wants," Visitor Thompson complained. (85) Members of the Board knew Lyon G. Tyler, but they also knew that he had never directed a large educational enterprise. His strongest recommendation came from William E. Peters, a classics professor at the University of Virginia noted for refusing orders to burn Chambersburg, Pennsylvania during the Civil War in retaliation for similar Federal depredations in Virginia. Peters wrote that he considered Tyler to be

. . . one of the most gifted, and promising young men that I had ever taught. I do not know of a man more thoroughly equipped for the work in question nor one better prepared to make the institution one of eminent usefulness. His scholarship is broad and thorough, his general culture comprehensive and excellent A man more fit for the position could not be found in America." (86)

Disregarding Thompson's advice to appoint an acting president and to wait for a more suitable candidate, the Board elected Tyler on 24 August 1888 as the eighteenth President of the College of William and Mary. (87)

When the Faculty of six members met on 8 September 1888 and finalized "a plan of instruction and course of study, having the normal feature as the corner-stone [sic]," a revolution in the life of the College had occurred. (88) Financial events beyond the control of the Board had led the school to embrace a mission that the conservative Visitors would never have chosen otherwise. When the College of William and Mary reopened on October 4, with 102 students registering during the

term, its course was firmly set on an untried path away from the gentlemanly, classical tradition of the past and toward a future of carefully coordinated instruction for competence in a professional field.

The 1881 to 1888 process of converting the College of William and Mary into a teacher-training institution can be seen as a microcosm of articulate Virginia opinion on education. The well-established leaders in the inner councils of the Democratic party generally opposed the enactment of experimental policies tending to foster a leveling of society. Yet other leaders who had failed to win positions of honor and trust within the established oligarchy showed a greater readiness to expand social and educational services to a larger number of people. The fact that some leaders with aristocratic, upper-class backgrounds fought for advanced normal school development using the argument that groups lower on the socioeconomic scale would benefit was typical of the process of normal school formation in the United States. (89)

The reluctance of both the Board and the Legislature to adopt the normal school plan accurately reflected the abiding distrust most men of property and position felt about developing quality education for "a plebian horde, hitherto thought unworthy of such attention." (90) The genuine feeling of social responsibility shared by most members of the oligarchy that ruled Virginia did not extend to a ready willingness to make substantial new financial outlays to improve the system of education. (91) Four of the ten delegates speaking against the bill--Cardwell, Echols, Hay, and Ryan--later became leaders in the Martin machine, a political organization that largely dominated Virginia

politics from about 1895 to 1919 and that was noted for its indifference to education and to other social welfare concerns. (92) The fact that nearly all of the opposing speakers were corporate attorneys or officers revealed the ongoing opposition of the new business leaders in Virginia to the expense involved in public school development. Their opposition was ironic because they more than anyone else were creating the modern economic conditions that lead to expanded educational institutions such as normal schools.

The continuing modernization of the Virginia economy and the subsequent growth of the schools created pressures that helped cause the Commonwealth and the College to change in spite of the traditional preferences of their leaders. During the decade 1880 to 1890, the proportion of agricultural workers declined by three percent, while professional workers rose one percent and industrial workers increased two percent. (93) Taking into consideration the rate of growth in the population, the actual numbers of new professional and industrial workers requiring more systematic education and training grew by nearly 13,000 individuals. During the same decade, school enrollment rose by about seventy-five percent, while both the number of students studying the "higher branches" (high school work) and the number of teachers increased by about one-quarter. (94)

Both the growth of the schools and the trend toward building a more specialized economy were a continuing expression of the revolution in the Southern way of life after 1865. The movement from the precapitalist plantation stage of economic development to full capitalism created a society that, like that of the Northern United

States and Western Europe, recognized a need for teacher-training institutions as one of its standard cultural accoutrements. Although Virginia politics has always been more or less aristocratic, the new conditions after the war gave rise to new popular forces that inevitably liberalized politics. The passage of the William and Mary bill seemed to reflect the somewhat more liberal condition of politics in the Old Dominion.

Neither the gradual growth of the economy nor the more rapid expansion of the public schools created conditions leading to a groundswell to expand normal schooling as had existed in the period 1862 to 1864 when the Petersburg and Farmville schools were founded. The College lobbyists, consequently, organized their campaign around personal influence, the Republican party, Tidewater geography, and an attempt to mobilize sentiment in favor of the Jeffersonian idea of expanding educational opportunity to a lower stratum of the middle class.

In an analysis of the House vote on March 1, one finds that the Republican party was the dynamic element in the College victory. The organizing genius of former professor Richard A. Wise was instrumental in delivering twenty-nine of the thirty-one Republican votes, whereas the Democrats divided evenly on the measure. The College appeal to expand higher educational services to new lower income students struck a responsive chord among the Republicans, who represented most blacks and many lower-class white voters during the late nineteenth century. The Democratic Party had made gestures toward supporting measures providing services for the social needs of middle and lower-class voters between

1883 and 1888, and that party contained a few leaders sensitive to the needs of non-property-owning groups. The main thrust of Democratic political action, however, was to support the social status quo and to oppose new spending for social welfare concerns such as public education.

The most important overt issue in the legislative contest was sectional politics. In the House vote, every Tidewater member supported the measure, and very few from the eastern three-fifths of the state opposed it. Ever since the colonial era, the contesting ambitions of east versus west for political power and public largess had been a continuous element in the political affairs of the Old Dominion. Although the political balance of power had shifted from the Tidewater to the Piedmont long before 1888, the intensive effort by the largely eastern friends of the College to secure the repayment of past favors and to garner the Republican votes helped to turn the political tide.

(95)

The contending groups that actively supported and opposed the College bill seem to have been similar in both educational and family background but to have been different in the sociopolitical views of their members. Each group contained a large majority of individuals distinguished by their old families and their classical educations, along with a few men who had fashioned prominent careers without the benefit of prestigious family or educational backgrounds. Significant dissimilarities in status, social outlook, and political style, however, seem to have differentiated between the personnel of the two groups. The opponents tended to be rising corporate officials who supported the

social status quo and who either were or would later be accepted in the conservative inner councils of the Democratic Party. The proponents tended to be men less secure in status who favored a higher degree of social mobility and who had failed to secure positions in the highest echelons of the Democratic Party. (96) In his political and personal life, Wise, for example, showed the genuine humanitarian concern he inherited from his father, while Tyler fought for the adoption of progressive measures such as a child labor law and a state-sponsored bureau of labor in the legislature. (97) Tyler's efforts on behalf of William and Mary were probably motivated in part by his desire to make notable public achievements that would earn him prestige and status comparable to that of his once wealthy and politically prominent family. (98) The planter-aristocrat William L. Taliaferro became an educational leader during the decade of the 1880s, according to one biographer, because he was denied high political office. (99) Whatever may have motivated them, the leadership of Taliaferro, Jones, Wise, and Tyler helped to prevent William and Mary from joining the ranks of the hundreds of permanently closed colleges that had failed to survive financial adversity.

It seems puzzling that an educational monument of Old Virginia such as the College of William and Mary would meet with such intense opposition from the traditional leaders of a state in which respect for antiquities was considered a virtue. The College's status as a symbol of Old Virginia offers a partial explanation for the strength of the opposition. It may have seemed inappropriate to many of the conservative leaders of the ruling class that the old College was becoming a normal

school, for that would put the monument at the head of the public schools that represented taxes that they disliked and a change in society that they disapproved.

In 1888, the persistence of the lobbyists, supported by the middle-class need for both improved public schools and improved opportunities for higher education, overrode the objections of the conservative forces. As Lyon G. Tyler explained it, many of the legislators recognized the need for men's teacher training, but they knew that teachers' salaries would never attract well-to-do applicants such as the affluent graduates of the University of Virginia. Thus they created an inexpensive school that would attract a class of boys who could move up to teaching. (100) It was a Virginia expression of the American belief that educational opportunity should open the doors of advancement, as State Senator Stubbs phrased it, to people of "worth and merit" but "limited means." (101)

Legislative opposition to the idea of an appropriation for the College of William and Mary was indictive of opinion widely shared by many of Virginia's political leaders. Most of the aristocratic individuals who largely dominated the political process felt that spending for public-education-related activities should be kept to a minimum. (102) As one consequence of this opinion, the College of William and Mary would continue to experience strong opposition in the legislature for more than a decade after the reorganization in 1888. The ingrained conservative opposition of many Virginians to the complex of values represented in the adoption of the normal school function by the College of William and Mary would predispose College leaders to develop

the historical traditions of the College saga as a means of self-defense. As a more positive attitude toward public schooling developed during the early twentieth century, however, the reputation of the College in the legislature would slowly improve, and the role of the institutional saga in College affairs would become less pronounced.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

(1) "Judge Jones of Gloucester Dead," Richmond Dispatch (7 Nov 1891), p. 3; "Richmond to Williamsburg Took 5 1/2 Hours 60 Years Ago," Richmond News Leader (11 May 1936), a clipping in the Warner T. Jones Faculty/Alumni File in the Special Collections Division of Swem Library at the College of William and Mary, Archives Department, hereinafter cited as College Archives. Letter of Agnes C. Bates, librarian in Gloucester County, to Russell Smith, 7 March 1979. Joseph J. Nicolson, a great-great-nephew of Jones, to Russell Smith, Gloucester, Virginia, 12 March 79, 24 March 79, and 21 March 79. The Register of the General Assembly, 1776-1920 was helpful in determining the years of service of Jones and other principals of this study in the two houses of the Virginia legislature. Although there is no biographical data, the Register provides a complete alphabetical listing of members with their counties of residence and their years of service. The Catalogue of the Alumni was helpful in pinpointing alumni status for Jones and for other personalities in this chapter.

(2) Martha Arle Sibley, "William Booth Taliaferro, A Biography," A Master of Arts thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1973, pp. 1-121, especially p. iv.

(3) Robert Charles Bolander, "The Military Career of William Booth Taliaferro, April 1861 - February 1863," a Master of Arts thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1964, quotes General Taliaferro's Memoirs on p. 17.

(4) Martha Arle Sibley, "William Booth Taliaferro: A Biography," a Master of Arts thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1973, p. 82.

(5) Philip Alexander Bruce, ed., History of Virginia (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1924), Vol. VI, p. 589.

(6) Virginia School Report (1884-1885), Part III, p. 76.

(7) Martha Arle Sibley, "William Booth Taliaferro: A Biography," a Master of Arts thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1973, pp. 95-100.

(8) Benjamin S. Ewell, "To the Visitors and Governors" (26 Nov 1885) [MCP].

(9) Daniel Coit Gilman to Benjamin S. Ewell, Baltimore, Maryland, 28 May

1889 [Ewell FAF].

(10) Benjamin S. Ewell to Lyon G. Tyler, Williamsburg, 10 April 1888 [Ewell FAF]; Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1921), Vol. IV, p. 249.

(11) Benjamin S. Ewell to O. S. Barten, Williamsburg, 30 Aug 1887 [Ewell FAF].

(12) Extracts from Williamsburg letters written from Mrs. Daniel Coit Gilman to her sisters in 1887, Colonial Williamsburg Notebooks on the College of William and Mary, pp. 670-671.

(13) Ibid.

(14) The European perspective is largely drawn from R. Freeman Butts, The Education of the West, A Formative Chapter in the History of Civilization (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 295-440.

(15) R. Freeman Butts, The Education of the West (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1973[1947]), pp. 335-366.

(16) Newton Edwards and Herman G. Ritchey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963[1947]), pp. 369-375.

(17) R. Freeman Butts, The Education of the West (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1973[1947]), pp. 402-432.

(18) Virginia; Constitution (1869), Art. VIII, Sec. 3 and Sec. 5.

(19) Richard L. Morton, History of Virginia (NY: American Historical Society, 1924), Vol. III, pp. 241-242.

(20) Allen W. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), pp. 5 and 18-46 [referred to below as Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd].

(21) Virginia School Report (1877-1878), pp. 1-4; Ibid (1878-1879), pp. 1-4.

(22) Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, pp. 79-80 and 94-144.

(23) Justin T. Moore, "The University and the Readjusters," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (January 1970), Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 87-101.

(24) Charles Chilton Pearson, The Readjuster Movement in Virginia (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1969 [1917]), pp. 140 and 145.

(25) Benjamin S. Ewell to Lyon G. Tyler, Williamsburg, 31 Jan 1888 [Ewell FAF].

(26) James Lyons (William and Mary Board Chairman) to J. L. M. Curry, Richmond, 25 March 1882 and J. L. M. Curry to James Lyons 29 March 1882 [W&MCP]. A careful analysis of the Peabody Trustees' Proceedings shows a developing change in funding philosophy and consequent transfer of funding from elementary schooling to teacher training between 1875 and 1880. By 1880 nearly all of the funds were being expended to improve teacher training.

(27) Edward S. Joynes to Benjamin S. Ewell, Knoxville, Tennessee, 18 March 1882 [Ewell FAF].

(28) As is often the case with college board minutes, there is not even the slightest hint about a proposal to make William and Mary into a normal school in the Visitors Minutes for 1882. According to President Benjamin S. Ewell's brief "Autobiographical Fragment," leaf eight, Ewell FAF, however, the Board refused to approve the idea.

(29) Chapter III of Bruce Emerson's "History of the Relationships between the state of Virginia and Its Public Normal Schools, 1869-1930," a Doctor of Education dissertation at the College of William and Mary, 1973, provides an excellent discussion of the political and legislative background to the foundation of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute [hereinafter cited as Emerson, "History of Virginia's Public Normal Schools"].

(30) Numerous sources cite the well-known fact that the foundation of a black school of higher education represented the repayment of a campaign promise from the Readjusters to their black members and supporters. One specific source is Nelson H. Blake's William Mahone of Virginia: Soldier and Political Insurgent (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1935), p. 263, text and footnote.

(31) Luther P. Jackson, in his standard Negro Office-holders in Virginia, 1865-1895 (Norfolk, Virginia: Guide Press, 1945), pp. 87-88, quotes the man responsible for the founding of the college, A. W. Harris, as saying "while we have provided here for a Normal department, we have also provided for the higher and professional education of our people; for be it known that we do not desire to simply become a race of teachers; we have ambition."

(32) Richard L. Norton, History of Virginia Since 1861 (NY: American Historical Society, 1924), Vol. III, p. 269 [referred to below as Norton, History of Virginia].

(33) "Normal School for Whites: Address of Dr. Curry before the Committees of the Two Houses of the General Assembly," Educational Journal of Virginia (March 1884), Vol. XV, no. 3, pp. 81-85. Curry also addressed a joint session of both houses and enough of the public that, according to the Richmond Daily Dispatch (11 Jan 1884), p. 1, the old House chamber was packed to capacity including all aisles and galleries to hear his rousing "peroration."

(34) Martha Arle Sibley, "William Booth Taliaferro: A Biography," a Master of Arts thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1973, pp. 95-97.

(35) In a letter to Peabody Chairman Robert C. Winthrop dated 6 March 1884, Curry claimed that "it is no more than justice to the trustees to say that but for their agent [himself] nothing would have been done," in series 1, Vol. IV of the Curry papers at the Library of Congress. Morton, however, recognizes the work of several liberal legislators as critical and does not mention Curry in his *History of Virginia*, p. 269.

(36) *Visitors Minutes* (27 Nov 1885), p. 243. In an untitled draft Manuscript in the Ewell FAF, Ewell said that Taliaferro and Jones offered the resolution to the Board although "most of the Visitors present had strong doubts of the success of the scheme." The undated Manuscript begins "Relates to the work of Gen. Taliaferro and Judge Jones with the Leg. of Va. in 1868"

(37) Virginia School Report (1884-1885), pp. 54-56.

(38) *Ibid*, pp. 66-68.

(39) The Virginia School Reports reveal that the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute only graduated a handful of teachers every year. In contrast, the Female Normal School soon began graduating teachers by the hundreds, and a large porportion of those graduates remained in the field. Hampton Institute was a quasi-public institution because it was the recipient of one-third of Virginia's Morrill funds in addition to its private resources. Its purpose was to train teachers and, according to the publication, Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1893), p. 293, the school produced 664 teachers out of 723 graduates between 1871 and 1890.

(40) George M. McFarland, "The Extension of Democracy in Virginia, 1850-1895," a Doctor of Philosophy dissertation at Princeton, 1934, pp. 151-153.

(41) *Ibid*, p. 153 and Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, pp. 99-102.

(42) A thorough examination of the House and the Senate Journal and Documents for the sessions of 1885-1886 and 1887 reveals that the bill never survived committee consideration in the House, although it was favorably reported in the Senate in 1887 but tabled.

(43) Richmond Virginia and the New South, compiled by Andrew Morrison for George W. Engelhardt (Richmond: William Lillis Jones, printer, 1888?), pp. 47-48.

(44) Annual message of Governor Fitzhugh Lee to the General Assembly, Virginia, House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (7 Dec 1887), p. 31.

(45) Manual of Members, Officers, and Standing Committees, and Rules of

the House of Delegates; Session of 1887-1888 (Richmond: A. R. Picou, Supt. of Public Printing, 1887), article X, Section II, p. 72. The researcher was able to examine this Manual due to the courtesy of Mr. Joseph H. Holleman, the Clerk of the House, who may have the last copy in existence.

(46) "Notes and Comments," Southern Churchman (5 Jan 1888), p. 2.

(47) Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "William Wood Crump," Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (1915) Vol. III, pp. 34-35. Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "William Wood Crump," Men of Mark in Virginia, (Washington, D.C.: Men of Mark Publishing Company, 1907), Vol. V, pp. 77-80.

(48) "James New Stubbs," Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (1915) Vol. III, p. 238. "Member of W. & M. Board Dies," Flat Hat (16 April 1919), p. 1 [Flat Hat is the William and Mary student newspaper].

(49) Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of Richard Alsop Wise (Late Representative from Virginia), Delivered in the House of Representatives and Senate, Fifty Sixth Congress, Second Session (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1901), pp. 51 [in Wise FAF]; a biographical sketch otherwise unidentified in FAF.

(50) Luther P. Jackson, Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, 1865-1895 (Norfolk, Virginia: Guide Press, 1945), pp. 1-88.

(51) John B. May, "The Life of John Lee Buchanan," A Doctor of Philosophy dissertation at the University of Virginia, 1937, pp. 235 and 240-243.

(52) Virginia, Senate Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (1 Feb 1888), p. 237. [Below Virginia will be dropped from citations of Legislative Journals of Virginia.]

(53) House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (1 Feb 1888), p. 247.

(54) The text of the original bill as drafted by the Board may be found in Visitors Minutes (24 January 1886), pp. 244-245. Amendments given in State Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (4 Feb 1888), p. 256.

(55) J. N. Stubbs to W. B. Taliaferro, Richmond (5 Feb 1888) [WBCP].

(56) Senate Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (14 Feb 1888), p. 322.

(57) "Speech of J. N. Stubbs in the Senate of Virginia, February 14, 1888, on the Passage of Senate Bill No. 53, 'To establish a Male Normal School at the College of William and Mary in Connection with the Collegiate Course,'" privately printed, pp. 11 [WBCP].

(58) Ibid, p. 6.

(59) Richmond Dispatch (15 Feb 1888), p. 1. The Journals of the House

and Senate do not carry debate, but the major Richmond newspapers often carry summaries of arguments and positions on important legislative issues.

(60) Richmond Dispatch (6 Jan 1882), p. 1.

(61) Duncan Lyle Kinnear, The First 100 Years: A History of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1972), p. 122 [cited below as Kinnear, V.P.I.].

(62) "Henry T. Wickham," Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (1915), Vol. IV, pp. 74-76.

(63) Senate Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (14 Feb 1888), p. 322.

(64) House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (15 February 1888), p. 329.

(65) Ibid (22 Feb 1888), p. 399; "Leggett's Victory: The House of Delegates Confirms His Seat," Richmond Daily Dispatch (23 Feb 1888), p. 2.

(66) "Editorial," Educational Journal of Virginia (Sept 1888), p. 107; "Lyon G. Tyler," Richmond Critic (an early March issue in 1888 impossible to date because of missing portions of the series in bound volume containing fragmentary issues of the said journal in the Special Collections Division at Swem Library).

(67) Philip Alexander Bruce, ed., "Richard Henry Cardwell," History of Virginia (New York: American Historical Society, 1924), pp. 490-491.

(68) House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (23 Feb 1888), pp. 414-415. Rather than cluttering the notes with a large quantity of small entries, it is preferable to state the sources of the material concerning the debate from the outset. Unless otherwise stated, the biographical information on the members came from three sources: (1) Lyon G. Tyler's Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography; (2) Philip Alexander Bruce's (biographical) History of Virginia; and (3) Lyon G. Tyler's Men of Mark in Virginia. In the debate, the remarks of the proponents were not as well covered as were those of the opponents in the conservative Richmond press that has survived. The Charlottesville, Lynchburg, and Norfolk press, for all intents and purposes, did not address the debate, although the passage of the bill was reported. None of the journals in Tidewater Virginia other than those of Norfolk have apparently survived. With the exception of Augusta County Argus, which provided no material on the bill, none of the small local journals have been investigated; nor has the press of Northern Virginia or other states. Articles of particular usefulness in covering the two days of debate are listed as follows: (1) "The Legislature," Richmond State (23 Feb 1888), p. 4 and Ibid (24 Feb 1888), p. 4; (2) "The Legislature," Richmond Daily Times (24 Feb 1888), p. 1 and Ibid (25 Feb 1888), p. 1; and (3) the Richmond Daily Dispatch articles on page 2 of their issues for February 24 and

25. The Dispatch was the most complete, while the other two were less thorough. Unfortunately, none of the journals covered the arguments of the friends of the College to any considerable degree. The liberal Richmond Whig, no issues of which have apparently survived for the time period in question, probably carried the debates from the opposite slant as the three more conservative papers mentioned above.

(69) Leunior Chambers and Joseph E. Shank, Salt Water & Printer's Ink: Norfolk and Its Newspapers, 1865-1965 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1967), pp. 144 and 237.

(70) Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 99.

(71) Ollinger Crenshaw, General Lee's College: The Rise and Growth of Washington University (New York: Random, 1969), p. 316. [cited below as Crenshaw, General Lee's College].

(72) House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (23 Feb 1888), pp. 414-415.

(73) Ibid, 1887-1888 (24 Feb 1888), pp. 421-422.

(74) David W. Eaton, Historical Atlas of Westmoreland County Virginia (Richmond: Dietz, 1942), p. 59; T. R. B. Wright, Westmoreland County Virginia, 1653-1912 (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1912), p. 114 [furnished by courtesy of James F. Lewis of Kilmarnock, Virginia]; Westmoreland County Virginia Order Book 1909-1913; Court held 23 October 1911, p. 227 (an obituary on Mayo's son providing some information on Mayo).

(75) House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (24 Feb 1888), pp. 421-422.

(76) Richard A. Wise in a 25 February 1888 letter from Williamsburg to Judge Jones in Richmond felt that Dr. J. H. Crawford had been arguing that a William and Mary appropriation would hurt Blacksburg's Virginia A & M because one Republican member who had promised to support the bill apparently changed his mind after talking to Crawford. A letter of early March from Wise to Exell shows Wise staying in Richmond to complete his part of the bargain [WACP].

(77) House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888 (1 March 1888), p. 481.

(78) "William and Mary College," Richmond Daily Times (2 March 1888), p. 1.

(79) House Journal, 1887-1888 (1 March 1888), p. 481.

(80) Visitors Minutes (10 April 1888), p. 251.

(81) John B. May, "The Life of John Lee Buchanan," a Doctor of Philosophy dissertation at the University of Virginia, pp. 107, 110, 118, 137, 141, and 146.

- (82) Ibid, p. 226; Visitors Minutes (5 July 1888), pp. 263-264; Lyon G. Tyler, "Some Facts in His Career," Tyler's Quarterly (April 1935), pp. 215-216.
- (83) P. H. Thompson to W. T. Jones, Williamsburg, 2 Aug 1888 [WMCP].
- (84) R. S. Bright, Memories of Williamsburg (Richmond: Privately Published, 1941) pp. 13-14 [Bright FAF], P. H. Thompson to W. T. Jones, Williamsburg, 2 Aug 1888 [WMCP].
- (85) P. H. Thompson to W. T. Jones, Williamsburg, 13 Aug 1888 [WMCP].
- (86) Colonel Peters' Recommendation for Tyler, Marion, Smythe County, Virginia, 27 July 1858 [TFP I-16-23].
- (87) Visitors Minutes (24 Aug 1888), p. 272; William Lamb, Diary (23 Aug 1888), KP [College Archives].
- (88) William and Mary Catalogue (1892), pp. 25-26.
- (89) Robert B. Downs, Horace Mann: Champion of Public Schools (NY: Twayne, 1974), pp. 163.
- (90) Virginia School Report (1884-1885), pp. 54-56.
- (91) V. O. Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation (NY: Random, 1949), p. 19.
- (92) Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, pp. 104, 120, and 166.
- (93) United States Census (1890), Vol. 1, Part 2, p. cix.
- (94) Virginia School Report (1879), pp. 28 and 125; *ibid* (1880), pp. 25 and 28, *ibid* (1890), pp. 5-7 and 87.
- (95) A tabulation of votes on the bill recorded twenty-nine Republicans in favor of the bill and two who opposed it. Twenty eight Democrats supported it, while twenty-five opposed it. R. A. Wise to B. S. Ewell, Richmond, 1 Mar 1858 [WMCP F 103].
- (96) Apparently Tyler, Wise, and Taliaferro all at one time had ambitions to advance in the Democratic Party that were thwarted. The opponent group, on the other hand, contained many individuals who were accepted into the inner councils of the Democratic Party.
- (97) Robert Alonzo Brock, Virginia and Virginians (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1973[1888]), pp. 700-701; House Journal, 1837-1838 (25 Jan 1838), p. 204; *ibid* (10 Feb 1838), p. 325.
- (98) Joseph Earl Dye, "Lyon G. Tyler and the Problem of Guilt," a senior honors thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1967, pp. 1-97.

(99) Martha Arle Sibley, "William Booth Taliaferro: A Biography," a Master of Arts thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1973, p. 93.

(100) "College of William and Mary. Letter from its President, Hon. Lyon G. Tyler. The Plan of Reorganization and the Special Work Proposed--Reasons Why William and Mary was Selected as the Site for a Normal School" (Williamsburg: B. Long, 1 Jan 1889), pp. 1-7 [TFP].

(101) "Speech of J. R. Stubbs in the Senate of Virginia, February 14, 1886, on the Passage of Senate Bill no. 53, 'To Establish a Male Normal School at the College of William and Mary in Connection with the Collegiate Course,'" privately printed, pp. 11 [WMCF].

(102) Robert Clinton Burton, "History of Taxation in Virginia," a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Virginia, 1962, pp. 244.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF THE EDUCATIONAL MISSION ON POLITICAL
AFFAIRS AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1888 to 1919

As the Legislature and the William and Mary Visitors predicted, the reorganized College began educating men largely drawn from a lower socioeconomic level than the other Virginia colleges in order that they be prepared for careers as public school teachers and administrators. Although the school retained its liberal arts program and regularly awarded a few Bachelors of Arts and Masters of Arts degrees to those students who earned such degrees, the primary emphasis was on the preparation of teachers. (1) Most years, more than half of the students pursued the tuition-free pedagogy program, and nearly all of these honored their pledge to teach for at least two years. Most of the William and Mary teacher-alumni used their school positions as steppingstones to professional careers in more lucrative fields such as law and medicine, but a substantial number elected to remain in education. (2) An increasingly large group of professional educators with training at the College of William and Mary came to play a leading role in the modernization of the Virginia schools. The state Superintendent of Public Instruction recognized the effectiveness of teacher training at William and Mary when he reported in 1898 that the

College was "the right arm of the public school system." (3) Subsequent educational commissions and investigations cited expert opinion reporting that principals and superintendents who had trained at the College of William and Mary were among the most effective in the state. (4)

In spite of the College's efficiency in helping to upgrade the public schools, it met with sharp hostility in the legislature during the period between 1888 and 1902. Only by degrees did the College of William and Mary establish a secure position among Virginia colleges during the early decades of the twentieth century. In its quest for the funds necessary to strengthen its role of educational leadership, the College based its strategy of appealing for support on (1) its historical traditions, (2) its service to the schools, and (3) its provision of higher education to relatively low income students. An emotional portrayal of the College's early historical accomplishments was the most extensively used theme. Most of the legislators, foundation officials, and private benefactors appear to have found the distinctive traditions of the school attractive. But the conservative machine Democrats who largely controlled the legislative process usually opposed spending for public school development and for the democratization of higher education, partly because of their aristocratic bias. (5) Similarly, many private philanthropists in the Old Dominion probably found the lower class connotations of the College's public school connection unattractive. The foundation leaders, by and large, felt that the school was too weak and geographically isolated to receive a high priority in consideration for funding. Thus the unfavorable position of

the College in relation to potential sources of funds would help to make the restoration of the institution a difficult process. The College's image as the head of the public schools and as an underdeveloped rural institution chiefly distinguished by its historical traditions was not attractive to the legislature, to the foundations, or to the philanthropists.

An important goal of the College officers during the Tyler years (1888-1919) was to restore the school to a more influential position among the institutions of higher education in Virginia. The College community shared a general feeling that the school accomplishments comprising the institutional saga, including that of educating many of the patriots who led in the American Revolution, endowed the institution with an aura of greatness destined to be reclaimed. (6) The attempts to fulfill the school's historic mission by reestablishing an important leadership role involved a quest for the funds necessary to fashion an institution capable of making an impact on its surroundings. The search for funds from all sources was based on the political process. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the relationship between the political environment and the historical saga of the College during the Tyler administration. For present purposes, political affairs primarily means those activities undertaken to promote the financial well-being of the school with the legislature, with foundations, and with private individuals. But it also includes the internal governance of the school, since the decision-making relationship that existed between the Board of Visitors and the Faculty obviously influenced the style of external political relationships. It is held that the leaders of the College

fashioned the traditions of the institutional saga into a well-developed propaganda instrument in an attempt to establish an identity for the school capable of appealing to individuals who controlled the award of public and private financial support. It should be pointed out that the political analysis presented in this chapter deals largely with the institutional saga in its external aspects, whereas the subsequent chapter that presents an analysis of the curriculum will deal with the internal aspects of the saga.

When the College of William and Mary reopened in 1888, it was financially less affluent than Virginia's black colleges, and the level of instruction was not much above that of a secondary school. The material assets of the school were five time-worn buildings, a \$20,000 endowment, seventeen acres of land, 6,000 books, a small collection of obsolete scientific equipment, and six portraits. (7) On the other hand, the leaders of the Faculty and of the Board were energetic people determined to make the experiment succeed.

President Lyon G. Tyler knew many of Virginia's political leaders personally and soon established a reputation as a historian who wrote about the Old Dominion's distinguished role in the founding of the nation. Attracted in part by the historical importance of the institution, the faculty held higher level degrees than one might expect of professors at a struggling school. One of the six professors possessed a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University, another held a doctorate from Leipzig, and one was a university-trained physician. Apparently none of the twenty members of the board of Visitors was accepted in the inner councils of the political leadership of the state.

But the six legislators, the two Confederate generals, and the two professional educators who were among the most notable members formed an effective combination of men to guide the institution.

In order to evaluate the endeavor of the College to establish credibility with the legislature, it is helpful to look first at the political situation in the Commonwealth. Between 1888 and 1890, the Democrats largely drove the Republicans from power and gained control of the political process by forming a "machine" or "organization." (8) A coterie of corporate lawyers and business executives controlled the machine in order to advance their interests by maintaining a laissez faire environment for business development. The capable leaders of the organization controlled the electorate by use of the Old South mystique, by raising the banner of the Lost Cause, and by resorting to election fraud when necessary. (9) Devoted to the principle of economy in government, the Democrats opposed increasing social welfare and educational spending. "Conditioned to long years of believing that education should be reserved for the privileged few able to afford private training, Virginians only grudgingly accepted the principle of universal free schooling." (10)

In seeking to establish a secure position among the Virginia institutions of higher education, the College was forced to play the ambivalent role of leading the public schools as the state teacher training school for men and, at the same time, attempting to establish credibility with legislators who opposed spending for the support of public schools. Since the College connection with the public school system and with a lower class of students was unattractive to many

legislators, the school usually emphasized its historical traditions in its appeals for funds. In countering a grave threat to the appropriation in 1898, for example, the school issued a pamphlet not only defending its record for educating young men in "straightened circumstances" to be teachers but also including the following historical justification:

For the state to desert the College with all its memories of two hundred years, the alma mater of Thomas Jefferson, of John Marshall, of James Monroe, of Winfield Scott, of Edmund Randolph, of Peyton Randolph (first president of the Continental Congress), whose remains, together with those of and many other men illustrious in history lie entombed in its ancient chapel, would be in the opinion of many an act of vandalism without parallel in modern history. (11)

For more than a decade after the initial appropriation, the state only grudgingly accepted the College. Some legislators were influenced by the jealousy of Virginia's denominational colleges that received no state funding, and others supported the educational interests of the other geographic sections in the Commonwealth. These two factors combined in the legislature to make the funding process difficult, despite favorable reports made by committees responsible for the inspection of the school. (12) The State Auditor failed to pay all of the duly appropriated funds to the College of William and Mary in 1889, for example, and the school was forced to fight for the passage of a reauthorization bill in the General Assembly. (13) The institution succeeded in winning an increase in the annual appropriation from \$10,000 to \$15,000 in 1892, but "serious opposition was made in the House." (14) In 1896, the Senate considered reducing the appropriation. The strong opposition to the College continued and threatened to terminate the appropriation altogether between 1898 and 1902. In later

reminiscencing about the style of the opposition, Tyler said that some ministers even "denounced the College in their general Church meetings," and that some legislators

jested, when in the straits in which the College was involved, I was almost reduced to tears. Williamsburg was often caricatured to me as a deserted village where moss grew on the houses and where the few surviving inhabitants lived on memories of the past. (15)

In spite of vocal opposition from some legislators, both the College and the public schools prospered during the decade of the 1890s, in large part because of favorable economic and demographic trends. Between 1880 and 1900, the number of towns with 4,000 or more people grew from eleven to sixteen. Between 1890 and 1900, the value of urban real estate rose from \$127,000,000 to \$152,000,000, and the value of manufactured products increased from \$88,000,000 to \$132,000,000. (16) The general growth of the economy brought about an increase in tax revenues from \$2,729,552 to \$3,395,227 during the same period of time, while the population grew from 551,000 to 662,000. (17) Thus the process of urbanization, the increasing need for better educated technical specialists in such areas as manufacturing, the growth in population, and the availability of additional revenue combined to help create conditions fostering expanded schools. The need for improved public schools helped to bring about an increase in educational spending, in spite of the reluctance of many Democratic leaders. During the decade, total educational payments from the Commonwealth increased by forty-five percent, while payments to higher education increased by forty-nine percent. (18) When one understands that the era 1880 to 1900 was a slightly deflationary period, it becomes apparent that the real dollar

values of the increases in economic activity and in public educational spending were somewhat greater than the figures indicated. (19)

Some observers were surprised by the prosperity of the College in its new symbiotic relationship with the public schools. Other observers "cavilled" at the revolutionary change that had transformed the gentlemanly college of Jefferson and Marshall into a teacher-training institution. But the College of William and Mary soon established a positive reputation among liberal-minded individuals for "placing an academic education in the reach of those who most need it and who are most likely to profit by it." (20) Students who concentrated in education and who were thus attending the school on the tuition-free scholarships pursued the least expensive collegiate education of any white school in the Commonwealth, with costs totaling about \$100 a year for frugal students during the decade of the 1890s. (21) A large majority of the students did not complete the formal degree programs, but many earned the two year Licentiate of Instruction certificate that soon became one of the most exclusive teaching credentials in the Commonwealth. A rise in student population from 102 to 194 during the first decade after the school reopened was revealing of the growing popularity of the institution. The receipt of a \$64,000 indemnity from the federal government in 1893 for the unauthorized burning of the school during the Civil War and an increase in the annual budget from \$12,000 to \$30,000 between 1888 and 1896 were indicative of the growing financial security of the institution. (22)

The public school system that the College served was regarded by most educators as being weak but showing some improvement. Among the

more pressing problems were the lack of professionally trained personnel from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the bottom of the system, the dearth of public high school facilities in almost every rural locality in the Commonwealth, and the extremely low salaries paid most teachers and administrative personnel. (23) The most consistently identifiable problem seemed to be inefficient and poorly trained teachers. In addition to the significant increase in spending for education by the state government, there were other significant indicators of educational improvement. The Virginia State Teacher's Association was formed in 1891. A thirty-four percent increase in school operating budgets and a forty percent increase in the value of school property between 1888 and 1898, when contrasted with a rise in student population of only fifteen percent, suggests that there was a qualitative improvement in educational services. (24) Perhaps the most constructive development, however, was the "marked improvement of spirit" among "the teachers and administrators" that was observed after 1885. (25)

By the end of the century, the College had stabilized its administration, established a moderate level of financial security, and demonstrated its ability to provide effective teachers and administrators. Among its alumni the College listed thirty-nine principals and over 150 public school teachers who were serving the Commonwealth in 1898. In a report to the Peabody Fund the Superintendent of Public Instruction attested to the quality of school personnel trained at William and Mary during its first decade as a normal college:

It is the unanimous testimony of superintendents that the young men who come out from the Normal

Department of this venerable college are better suited for the work of our public schools than the graduates of any institution in this state for the education of men. This opinion finds confirmation in the increasing demand for the normal graduates of the college to fill principalships of public graded and high schools in all parts of the state. (26)

The standards of quality in the liberal arts program, however, failed to keep pace with those of the Normal Department. Although the Proctor of the Medical college of Virginia recognized the medical students from William and Mary as being "among the most efficient we have had," the Episcopal Virginia Theological Seminary selected the Lutheran Roanoke College as its preparatory school rather than William and Mary because of the alleged academic weakness of the latter. (27)

Despite the accomplishments of the College of William and Mary, a grave threat to the relationship between the school and the state arose between 1896 and 1902. The jealousy of the church colleges, sectional rivalries, and a feeling that the College's ambivalent status as a private institution made its appropriation an unfair drain on the public treasury combined in a legislative movement to terminate all state aid to the school. The first part of the crisis was related to the 1898 campaign for a general retrenchment in state spending, while the second part resulted from a resolution introduced into the Constitutional Convention of 1901 to 1902 to prohibit state aid to institutions not owned by the state.

In 1893, widespread fiscal hysteria gripped many Virginia lawmakers. Fluctuating state revenue and the general feeling of uneasiness resulting from the depression that began in 1893 had persuaded many of the Assemblymen that the Commonwealth was on the verge

of bankruptcy. (28) The legislature consequently empanelled a Joint Committee of Retrenchment and Reform to plan a general reduction in public expenditures. The Committee scrutinized all college budgets and recommended that the annual William and Mary appropriation be reduced by one-half and that the property be "disposed of" in order to end the need for future aid. (29) The strong opposition of Danville Delegate Eugene C. Withers to the College indicated the gravity of the school's situation. Although Withers was noted for acting in the interest of the common people, in this case his concern for economy in government predominated. (30) In order to counter the threat of the fiscal "reformers" in the legislature, the College mobilized a major public relations campaign extending from the local level to the state level. Hundreds of the school's friends wrote their legislators, and the more prominent applied personal influence. In a printed position pamphlet, the College argued that its efficiency in producing school personnel, the need of the Tidewater area for an institution of higher education, and the historic associations of the school merited continuing public support. (31) Selling the College would be like selling Mount Vernon and Washington's tomb, the pamphlet suggested, and one constituent lamented that, "The present age seems to have lost all reverence and respect for anything that savors of antiquity or honesty." (32) In the end, the assentymen decided not to curtail funds for William and Mary and for education in general because, according to one historian of taxation during the period, public opinion would not have allowed it. (33)

In 1901, another serious threat to the existence of the College arose at the Virginia Constitutional Convention, an assembly convened

primarily to restore a form of government similar to that of ante bellum Virginia by means of purging the electorate of black and lower class white voters. (34) At the Convention, several delegates made a serious attempt to sever the relationship between the College and the Commonwealth by introducing resolutions to deny public aid to any institution not owned by the state. Withers and other enthusiasts for economy in government spoke against the College, but the strongest opposition appears to have come from delegates who were also ministers, such as the Rev. Richard McIlwaine, the president of Hampden-Sydney College. (35) In a later comment on the tenacity of the opponents, Tyler said that "no sooner was the resolution down in one committee than it would spring back up in another." (36) Among the one hundred delegates, however, there were about a dozen friends to defend the College, including former governor William E. Cameron, five members of the Board of Visitors at William and Mary, and the president of the Convention. The school also benefited from the editorial support of Joseph Bryan, a wealthy Richmond publisher and industrialist who shared the traditional view that "an attack on her [the College] is akin to sacrilege." (37)

The arguments advanced by the College in defending its record and the reasons for a favorable outcome were similar to those used in the retrenchment and Reform crisis. Whereas the school emerged from the earlier conflict with nothing lost and nothing won, however, it gained from the conflict at the time of the Constitutional Convention the right to nominate a representative to the State School Board and a \$5,000 appropriation from the legislature to install electric lighting in the corridors.

The new Constitution created circumstances that fostered the enactment of much reform legislation between 1902 and 1908, including a 1906 bill making the College of William and Mary a state institution. Perhaps the most persuasive interpretation of the 1902 to 1908 movement for progressive reform is that offered by Raymond Pulley. (36) According to this view, the new Constitution made reform possible by reestablishing a system of government similar to that in existence before the Civil war. The elimination of black and lower-class white voters along with members of the Republican Party gave the Democratic machine unequivocal control of the political process by forming an aristocratic or oligarchic system similar to that of ante bellum Virginia. An end to the threat posed by lower-class elements to the new corporate capitalists that controlled the machine allowed organization leaders to accept orderly popular reform without fear of a populist uprising out of accord with the traditional political and historical drives of the Commonwealth. The increasing security of machine control allowed machine politicians to accept a variety of political and social welfare reforms. "Of the several nonpolitical reform movements to develop in the Old Dominion during the progressive era," however, "the most spectacular and by far the most productive of concrete achievements was the educational renaissance." (39)

Although there were blind spots in such areas as education for blacks and teachers' salaries, progressive reform measures substantially improved the finance, organization, and general efficiency of the school system. (40) The impetus for reform began about 1898 as a result of public relations work by nonpartisan national, state, and local

organizations of upper-middle-class citizens and because of the financial aid offered by the foundations. The appeals for better schools were effective in mobilizing public opinion in favor of reform after 1900 because a "new spirit" suffused the Old Dominion, and the people became eager for improved educational opportunity. Between 1902 and 1905 the State School board was depoliticized by a variety of means including the expansion of that body to include a majority of professional educators. An association of teachers, administrators, and trustees was formed. The State Board of Examiners and Inspectors, an agency soon dominated by William and Mary men, was established to assist local school districts in planning improvements. The campaign for educational reform entered a more active phase in 1906, the year that the legislature made the College of William and Mary a state school. That year an "organization" governor replaced an "independent" executive who had not been able to work with the organization-dominated legislature, and several reform bills long bottled up in the General Assembly were passed during the next two years. The reform legislation included several important educational measures such as the first grant of state aid to high schools, the establishment of farm demonstration work, the foundation of two state normal schools, the initiation of a plan for teacher pensions, and a significant increase in the salaries of superintendents.

The rising spirit of progressive reform in education after 1902 probably helped to bring about a decline in the strength of the religious opposition to the College of William and Mary and to promote the growth of the sentiment that the state should take full control of

the school. Primarily because of the difficulties outlined above in securing state funds for a private institution, Tyler launched a drive in 1904 to make William and Mary a state institution. In spite of a few reservations arising from a sentimental attachment to the College tradition as a private school, all of the Board members except one favored the change. (41) Some legislators felt that the state should not accept additional obligations for institutions of higher education, while others thought that the school should be restricted to educational studies alone. (42) But the friends of the College easily overcame the opposition and passed a bill on 7 March 1906 making the College a state school and preserving its liberal arts program. (43) The fact that public and legislative sentiment toward the schools was probably more positive in 1906 than in any other year during Tyler's administration partly explains the lack of strong opposition. Several other educational advances of the year, including the passage of the first high-school bill and the election of a strong professional educator as state superintendent, were sufficiently notable that an official of the Carnegie Corporation commented that, "Probably no educational development in any state in the Union is more remarkable than that which is represented in the old Commonwealth of Virginia." (44) In later evaluating the period 1888 to 1906, Tyler said that "the struggle up to 1906 was largely one for permission to live," while the transfer of the property to the state "placed the College on a plane where its real prosperity began." (45)

In order to understand the political affairs of the College during the progressive era, it is necessary to examine not only the external

relationships between the institution, the state, and the public schools but also its internal government and its endeavors to secure nonstate funds. For Virginia institutions, the search for funds from private and foundation sources was especially important because the state appropriation was not adequate to finance efficient operations. Although Tyler established a favorable record in his role as academic leader at the College and proved his ability to keep the state appropriations on par with other state institutions, the Board found his performance as a business manager and as a fund-raiser disappointing.

In a candid letter of 1894 to Robert N. Hughes, later the "iron chancellor" of the College as Rector of the Board from 1905 to 1918, Finance Committee Chairman Thomas H. Barnes provided a frank assessment of the quality of Tyler's business leadership. Six years had elapsed since the school reopened, and the College was expending about \$30,000 a year including the state appropriation, the endowment income, and the student fees. "I like Tyler and give him credit for his literary attainments and for his qualifications and fitness for the place he occupies as President of the College," Barnes wrote,

but I have long since been impressed with his lack of financial grip and with his wild and extravagant notions and more than once I have drawn his resentful fire by my futile attempts to curb him.
(46)

But, Barnes lamented, the Board had itself to blame for giving Tyler "carte blanche," as he spent money "honestly but with a lavish hand and with little regard to the resources of the College." (47) In conjunction with Hughes and other Board members, however, Barnes had felt obliged to "cry out and call a halt" by making "a new departure in the line of

"retrenchment and reform" at the summer meeting of 1894. (48) Thereafter, the Board curtailed the financial freedom of the president by fiscal restraints that would last throughout the remainder of his administration.

Tyler's lack of business acumen and the consequently assertive posture of the Board in financial administration were symptomatic of the nature of William and Mary College government during the progressive era. A somewhat distracted and absent-minded president had a free hand in academic affairs with practically no interference from the Board. (49) But committees of the Board superintended new construction, and one member even instructed Tyler as to which trees on campus should be cut down. Tyler managed fund raising with little interference or help from the Board. He raised the endowment from \$20,000 to \$200,000, largely by himself, and successfully lobbied for increases in the annual state appropriation from \$10,000 to \$54,500 during his thirty-one year tenure (1868-1919). But his plans to distinguish the school by raising the large resources necessary to realize College aspirations for high faculty salaries, new programs, and extensive construction miscarried. Tyler's diffident and amateurish approach to major philanthropists and foundations was not competitive, and the relatively low income William and Mary constituency was, by and large, unable to make sizeable contributions to developmental activities.

Between 1890 and 1920, most American colleges adopted the modern methods of government and administration that a few leading institutions had developed during the years following the Civil War. A three-fold increase in enrollment, the demand for new services, and a desire to

free research professors from administrative duties led schools to introduce professional methods of administration. (50) Similar forces caused business corporations to create specialized and diversified administrative structures during the same period of time. (51) Within the academy, the president became a stronger leader with business skills who recognized the duty of fund-raising. The regulations of foundations that awarded grants tended to homogenize standards of quality and administrative procedures. Because of the enlargement of its function and of its scope, administrative responsibility was splintered, and many institutions found it advantageous to hire "first a secretary of the faculty, and then in succession a vice-president, a dean, a dean of women, a chief business officer, an assistant dean, a dean of men, a director of admissions, and in time a corps of administrative assistants to the president who were in charge of anything and everything." (52) Before World War I, an administrative organization had risen to replace the inept anachronism of the old time college president and his treasurer-assistant. Limited funding and conservative ideas of leadership at William and Mary would, however, channel the growth of a management capability in a cautious direction.

During the Tyler administration, a primitive administrative structure was developed at the College of William and Mary, but the full flowering of progressive methods in government and organization would not occur until the subsequent J. A. C. Chandler administration. Tyler created a more diversified and specialized academic structure by expanding the number of departments. He also hired a secretary to handle correspondence, appointed a registrar to manage business affairs,

elevated an English professor to the new office of part-time dean, and employed a dean of women. His own extensive scholarly interests and the unwillingness of members of the board to release him from a substantial class load limited his freedom to function as an executive, politician, and fund-raiser. Tyler's dynamic successor would become a stereotypical example of powerful executive leadership in the best progressive style, because of his accomplishments in greatly expanding the College and in organizing the enterprise on a sound business footing. (53) The small administrative organization created during the Tyler years was sufficient for the needs of a small institution, however, and was more similar to the management structure of the typical American College of that time than was the elaborate "corps" of functionaries mentioned above.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the College organized and codified its governmental affairs by writing comprehensive sets of regulations describing the rights and duties of the Board and of the President that in some respects strengthened executive power. But the Board kept the discretionary power of the executive officer at a minimum and, in practice, continued to perform some administrative duties itself. This condition was partly a result of the limitations of Tyler as a business leader and partly a result of domination by Robert H. Hughes, the powerful Rector of the Board from 1905 to 1918. One of Virginia's most prominent Republican attorneys and an amateur historian, "Hughes considered himself to be the repository and guardian of all that was noble and good in the history, culture, and tradition of William and Mary." (54) Because of their rival pretensions as interpreters of the

College role and tradition, there was a conflict of personalities between Tyler and Hughes. A nephew of Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston and son of the Republican candidate for governor of Virginia in 1873, Hughes shared many traditional ideas with Tyler. Both felt a conservative reverence for the past and saw it as a guide to the present and future. Both thought that the historical traditions of the College and surrounding area stimulated many of the students to "reach out for higher things." (55) After graduating from William and Mary, Hughes was for two years a classmate of Tyler at the University of Virginia. There they both completed the Master of Arts and then studied law without taking the degree. Thereafter, Hughes established a legal practice in Norfolk specializing in marine law. His election as president of the Virginia Bar in 1895 was proof that a man who first came to college in homemade clothes had established a distinguished reputation among Virginia lawyers. His annual lecture series in admiralty law at Washington and Lee University, Georgetown College, and George Washington University, along with his standard textbook on that subject, made him Virginia's leading authority on maritime jurisprudence.

The 1905 election of a new man to head the Board of Visitors after the death of John W. Lawson led to a confrontation of personalities between Hughes and Tyler. Hughes' length of service as a Visitor, the proximity of his residence to Williamsburg, and his experience in helping to manage College affairs made him the most likely candidate to succeed Lawson. Tyler actively opposed Hughes because of Hughes' tight financial control, his failure to consult the president on College business, and his membership in the Republican party. Tyler's candidate

for the position was Armistead C. Gordon, a Staunton attorney. Gordon was well respected throughout the Old Dominion because of his stature as an educational leader, amateur historian, and unofficial poet laureate of the Commonwealth. Gordon was a University of Virginia student at the same time as Hughes and Tyler and had previously served as Rector of the University. Probably Gordon was an especially attractive candidate for the office from Tyler's viewpoint partly because of his views on executive leadership. As Rector at the University of Virginia, he had spearheaded the campaign that led to the establishment of a powerful presidential office at that school in 1902. (56) Gordon would later send his sons to William and Mary because of his desire that they "imbibe the principles and ideas" for which Tyler stood. (57)

In June, 1905, the Members of the Board of Visitors became deadlocked between the two candidates. Half of the members opposed Hughes because of their belief that his Republican politics might damage the interests of the College, since the Democratic Party dominated the politics of the Commonwealth. (58) The election was carried over, and Hughes actively campaigned in his own behalf in response to Tyler's "indelicate politicking" against him. (59) Gordon soon withdrew, and the Board united around Hughes. Vice-Rector J. N. Stubbs attempted to resign because he felt that having two Republicans at the head of the Board might seriously prejudice the legislature against the College. (60) Tyler persuaded his friend to stay on the Board, writing that "I did not oppose Hughes' appointment any more than you did, but we must all meet and carry him on our shoulders if necessary just for the sake of the old college." (61) Although Hughes and Tyler frustrated each other, Tyler's

action in persuading Governor William Hodges Mann to restore the "most efficient member" Hughes to the Board after his resignation in 1910 fairly characterized the ability of the two men to accommodate each other. (62) Hughes would remain Rector of the Board of Visitors for thirteen years (1905-1918). It is impossible to tell if his affiliation with the Republican party damaged the interest of the College in the legislature. It does seem significant, however, that the Rector and Vice-Rector of the College were the only two white Republicans among Virginia's 100 college Board officers in 1912. (63)

Hughes, as Rector of the Board of Visitors, assumed an influential position in College affairs because of his great ability and willingness to work. His judgment became an important factor in College government. He oversaw most new construction, gave advice on the investment of College funds, approved requests of the professors for leaves of absence, controlled details of architectural style, and at times modified the menu of the College boardinghouse.

At the time that Tyler began working to transfer the school from its private status to that of a state institution, he also began a campaign to increase his own power. In order to gain support from authoritative sources, he solicited statements from other Virginia college presidents regarding the powers of their offices. Their responses indicated that the executive officers of Virginia's other schools generally wielded more power than Tyler did. The president of Hampden-Sydney claimed to have "a free hand to do what he pleases . . . so long as he succeeds." (64) Like William and Mary, Randolph-Macon had no codified regulations for the president, who had "very vague"

authority over the faculty but was an ex officio member of the executive committee. (65) The president of Washington and Lee was a powerful official who controlled the budget and the faculty and served as ex officio chairman of all board committees of executive power. (66) Although the "old boy" network of the faculty actually retained significant power at the University of Virginia, Armistead C. Gordon's new regulations theoretically created a powerful president who controlled the faculty, the curriculum, and appointments besides serving as an ex officio member of the Board and all executive committees. (67)

Feeling that he was in danger of becoming a mere chairman of the faculty, Tyler asked that the powers of the president be stated in writing. (68) The Board responded in 1905 with a set of regulations that theoretically strengthened the authority of the president by giving him control over the faculty, a share in the control of the budget along with the treasurer, and ex officio membership in the Board and in the executive committee. (69) Although the Board actually retained extensive administrative powers, Tyler particularly appreciated the provision that outlawed independent communication between the faculty members and the Board. (70) The continuing progressive trend to provide a more highly developed organizational structure for the institution was revealed both in the Board's 1907 codification of regulations governing its own conduct and in the 1909 action of the faculty in establishing a more highly articulated system of committees. The presidency would not begin to become a powerful office until 1913, however, when Governor Westmoreland Davis failed to reappoint most of the Hughes contingent to the Board. That group had favored an active role for the Board of

Visitors in the government of the institution. As Tyler would later summarize the period 1905 to 1918,

the idea of tying the hands of the President was persisted in until the new Board, under Westmoreland Davis came on, who I found, believed in vesting the President with proper authority. (71)

Throughout his thirteen-year tenure as Rector of the Board, Hughes felt that Tyler seemed to be not only an inefficient business manager but also a less than ideal fund-raiser. (72) The increase in the scale and sophistication of academic operations and the consequent rise in the cost of efficient institutional support at most colleges during the progressive era made the quest for outside funds a critical concern. Like most Virginia colleges, William and Mary showed a particular interest in the educational grants of the multi-million-dollar foundations organized mostly after the turn of the century by philanthropists like Carnegie and Rockefeller.

Between about 1902 and 1914, the College made many applications for grant funds to the foundations established by George Peabody, Robert C. Ogden, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller. The school usually justified its proposals for grants assistance by citing its historical achievements and its contributions to the development of the Virginia schools. Between 1902 and 1908, William and Mary appears to have placed three applications with the Peabody Fund, a trust then awarding grants to strengthen teacher training in the South. Positive results were expected because the annual Peabody reports had frequently praised the work of the College and the professor of education was a friend of a senior staff member at the foundation. (73) Tyler furnished information on the historical traditions and current achievements of the school, the

board members exerted influence through their friends, and Peabody sent field agents to Williamsburg. The closest the College approached an award from the Peabody Fund was in 1908, however, when the foundation decided to finance a new department of education at the University of Alabama rather than strengthening the education program at William and Mary. (74) Although foundation officers implied that the College would receive funds the next year, the trust was dissolved in 1909 with the bulk of the proceeds going to Peabody College in Tennessee. (75)

Between 1902 and 1907, the College attempted to secure funds from the prestigious Ogden Board, a foundation awarding grants primarily for the improvement of educational opportunity for blacks and lower-class whites. In 1903, Tyler invited the Ogden Board to visit William and Mary on its way to a meeting at Hampton Institute, the school for blacks about thirty miles east of Williamsburg. In order to entertain the Ogden officials, Tyler requested \$50 from his Board president and received a grudging \$30. (76) The Ogden group responded to the William and Mary proposals with routine rejections. (77)

Much larger sources of grant funds were the Carnegie Foundation and Rockefeller's General Education Board. While the capital of the Peabody Fund was less than \$3,500,000, the General Education Board distributed \$118,000,000 in grants between 1905 and 1919, and the Carnegie Foundation disbursed a similar amount of funds. (78) The College requested funds from these two agencies in proposals to strengthen teacher training, in scientific and industrial arts, to provide an endowment for the education department, and to construct a new library building. The administrative officials of the College do not appear to

have generated such personal influence in dealing with either foundation, and the executive head of the Rockefeller group once declined to interview Tyler. (79) Tyler consequently courted the foundation giants by mail, for example furnishing the Carnegie group with a summary of the school's services to Virginia's rural schools, a College Catalogue that emphasized the school's historical traditions at least as much as its curriculum, and a statement pointing out that the founder of William and Mary was, like Carnegie, a Scot. (80)

The College campaign for major funding from the Carnegie and Rockefeller groups struck a major obstacle in 1905. While perfecting a systematic plan and guidelines to govern his grants to Southern educational institutions, John D. Rockefeller requested advice from University of Virginia President Edwin A. Alderman. Generally recognized as the leading educator in the South at the time, Alderman shared Jefferson's old dream of making the University the head of the school system in Virginia. (81) Alderman's desire to further this goal by establishing a strong education department at the University conflicted with William and Mary's attempt to strengthen its current role as the leader of the public schools by securing foundation funds. Alderman, consequently, told Rockefeller that (1) the College was located in an unhealthy area, (2) its institutional strength was not sufficient to merit a grant, and besides (3) the University was about to absorb the College in forming a new system of higher education in the Commonwealth. (82) Rockefeller apparently shared Alderman's views with Carnegie, and both philanthropists rejected the William and Mary applications. Just as hundreds of other applicants, the College received \$20,000 from Carnegie

toward construction of a new library. The University of Virginia, in contrast, received \$100,000 in Rockefeller funds to endow a new department of education. (83) The new funding allowed the University to hire William and Mary's capable and energetic professor of education, Bruce R. Payne, and to establish a leading role in the founding of high schools by assigning one professor to travel widely and develop public opinion in favor of secondary schools. Alderman's attempt to discredit the College in order to make way for University leadership in public education would be a continuing theme during his tenure in office. (84)

Except for monies for the Carnegie library, the College appears to have received no foundation grant funds during the Tyler administration. The requests for funds made by the Tyler administration to strengthen the education department usually met the technical qualifications for funding, but often they were neither carefully planned nor supported by personal influence. According to Tyler's 1915 assessment of the school's failure to win grants,

these people make such drastic conditions that we found it impossible to comply with them. Their practice is to offer \$10,000 if \$90,000 is raised or something like that. Now such propositions require much time to consummate, and our finances are too narrow to employ an agent and the President is bound down by lectures, and unable to leave the College for any length of time. (85)

The large foundations usually showed the most interest in accommodating the need of institutions that were stronger, better located, and more innovative than William and Mary. The Virginia schools Richmond College, Roanoke College, Emory and Henry, and the University of Virginia won substantial awards. (86) The William and Mary tactic of emphasizing the historical accomplishments of the school as justification for making

grants awards failed to impress foundation officials, who were flooded with appeals from the South, "to help some church college, or some university because of its antebellum [sic] traditions." (87)

In canvassing for gifts of private funds, Tyler frequently made brief trips to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. The expectation he had voiced in supporting the original William and Mary bill on the floor of the House in 1888 that many donations from the North would "shower down" upon the College because of its historical reputation met disappointment. (88) Although he collected \$17,500 in one year to help match the Carnegie library grant, his overall record in developing private funds was meager, when compared to the growing needs of the institution. The Society of the Alumni contributed nothing. Two individuals working as fund-raising agents on commission, however, achieved modest results after 1905.

For ten years, Tyler and one of the commission agents, William B. Matthews, carefully cultivated George Clinton Batcheller, a wealthy New York corset manufacturer. A man whose education stopped at the secondary level, Batcheller loved to visit Williamsburg and was impressed by the historical traditions of the school. The largest private donor during the Tyler administration, Batcheller contributed more than \$10,000 because of his belief that

a college identified with the earliest history of our country, and enjoying traditions which accrue from such a long and honorable career, is capable of inspiring students who may hereafter seek its instruction in a manner impossible to more recent foundations. (89)

A satirical article about the eccentric-looking bearded gentleman in the student Flat hat newspaper along with the demands of his family

apparently prevented the bequest of a much larger sum upon his death in 1915.

Tyler's prediction that the 1906 transfer of the College of William and Mary from a private corporation to a public enterprise would make the institution secure "for all time" overestimated the willingness of the State to become a generous and loyal patron to the College. The award of appropriations for capital improvements in most buildings and for a new dormitory indicated a significant improvement in relations between the school and the legislature. But many leaders of the Commonwealth would not begin to regard the College as a financially efficient member of the Virginia higher education community until the period 1920 to 1930. The return of Virginia politics to its normal conservative pattern after 1908, the aggressive competition of the well-financed education program at the University of Virginia, and the failure of the College of William and Mary to gain outside financial resources contributed to the perpetuation of an unfavorable institutional image in the minds of many individuals who held high political office. This largely unfavorable view was expressed in the Virginia Education Commission reports of 1912 and 1920, both of which cast doubt on the value of the school's contribution to the state. (90)

Official opinion toward the College of William and Mary during the last decade of the Tyler administration seems to have been reflected in the work of the Education Commission, 1908-1912. The chairman of the Commission was E. A. Alderman, the College's archival. In a preliminary report issued in 1910 the Commission incorrectly classified the College of William and Mary as a lower level normal school rather than a senior

college and recommended increases in the appropriations of all state colleges other than William and Mary. The official report submitted to the legislature in 1912 suggested that the institution delete its liberal arts program in order to concentrate more fully on the preparation of high school teachers and principals. (91) Fortunately for the College, the legislature declined to act on most recommendations of the Commission. Perhaps typical of the attitude shared by many College detractors was the appended staff report of consultant Kendrick C. Babcock, a specialist in higher education from the United States Bureau of Education:

The mellow and gracious charm of the place, its heritage of great memories of the great services of its former students, its sincere ambition to serve, are apt to blind one, looking at it at close range, to the serious limitations put by the tide of the times upon the college. It is too late to discuss the wisdom of state support to this ancient institution. It is now part of the State system, and should be made to serve its best uses regardless of its own pretensions and claims to immunities

.....

Granting that the condition of the college is sound and its service satisfactory, it seems clear to me that the institution has little prospect, or none, of any further development. Its location is distinctly against its growth. Its history and traditions cannot be largely capitalized. I should be surprised if its endowment were to be greatly enlarged by private gift. The inexpensiveness of a course at the college and the simplicity of its surroundings offer certain attractions to a limited group of students, and these, with the maintenance of a faculty of the worth and loyalty of the present body of professors and instructors will be its chief reliance in continuing as a part of the State system. (92)

Like Babcock, many Virginia officials seem to have felt a genuine regard for the College traditions but to have shared serious reservations about

the ability of the institution to meet the twentieth century needs of the Commonwealth. The view that was expressed in the 1912 report would remain unchanged until after the work of the 1920 Education Commission. That body, which included nearly one-fourth William and Mary people among its panel and staff members, found it impossible to conclude "whether or not the state is justified in maintaining or subsidizing this institution" until there was sufficient time to evaluate the new administration of the "master schoolman," J. A. C. Chandler. (93)

A brief examination of political, economic, and demographic trends in their relation to public school development between 1900 and 1920 will help to further one's understanding of the relationship between the College and the State. A marked decline in public sentiment for reform allowed the Democratic machine to revert to a position of "chilly indifference if not hostility to education" after 1909. (94) But the rapid economic and demographic modernization of the Commonwealth combined to foster continued school development. Between 1900 and 1920, the number of independent cities increased from twenty-seven to thirty-nine, and the proportion of the population living in cities rose from seventeen to twenty-three percent. (95) When controlled for an increase in population of twenty-five percent, the number of people employed in trade and transportation rose by fifty-three percent, and the number in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits advanced by sixty percent, while the number in agriculture grew by less than two percent. (96) The expansion of the economy caused the annual state revenue to swell from \$3,500,000 to \$21,000,000. (97) Since the school tax rate remained unchanged, school spending, by the state government increased at

the same rate as public revenue and continued to account for about one-third of state spending. (98) When one takes into consideration inflation amounting to about 100 percent between 1900 and 1920, school spending still increased 300 percent in real dollars during the period. (99)

The rapid rate of public school growth made possible by increasing prosperity during the last half of the Tyler administration created a rising demand for professionally trained school personnel in spite of political indifference to school issues. Between 1905 and 1915, the total number of pupils in daily attendance increased fifty percent, and between 1906 and 1918, the number of high schools grew from seventy-five to 575. (100) As the system expanded, the State Department of Public Instruction attempted to secure legislation and promulgate regulations that would encourage the professionalization of school personnel. Before World War I, consequently, full-time superintendents, some of whom were professionally trained, largely replaced part-time officials in most localities, and professionally educated men came to hold most city principalships. But the widespread lack of professional and general education among the teacher force occasioned by the "inexcusably low salaries paid teachers" would remain a critical bottleneck into the decade of the 1920s. (101)

Ever since 1838, William and Mary's official mission had been to prepare administrators and high-school teachers to provide professional leadership for the Virginia schools. Rockefeller and Carnegie's 1906 creation of the well-financed Curry School of Education at the University of Virginia, claiming essentially the same mission, created

conflict between the two institutions as to their respective purpose and function. Alderman's commitment to the University's historic drive to become the leader of the Virginia school system led him to oppose the development of William and Mary and undoubtedly helped to create a bias against the College in the report of the 1908-1912 Education Commission.

(102) Formed primarily to establish coordination and eliminate duplication within the entire school system, the Commission did not directly address the delicate issue of the duplicate undergraduate education programs. Although there was indeed a good deal of overlap between the two, they did differ somewhat in that the College produced substantially more professionals while the University emphasized public relations work, such as assisting Virginia communities in planning and developing high schools. (103)

Analysis of Virginia school records suggests that the College played a substantial role in the upgrading of the Virginia school system during the progressive period. As was indicated above, the school furnished scores of teachers and principals who had received the highest quality professional training offered in the Old Dominion during the decade of the 1890s. Most of the William and Mary students were rural in background, and many returned home to teach, thus enriching Virginia's country schools. A year-by-year tabulation of the institutional origins of Virginia's college-educated teachers from 1907 through 1919 reveals that the College provided twice as many teachers as the University and in fact furnished more teachers than all of the other senior colleges in the Commonwealth combined. (104)

The fact that the number of William and Mary teachers serving the

Commonwealth apparently never exceeded 118 in any single year during the last decade of the Tyler administration reflected the low level of teacher salaries rather than any dereliction on the part of the institution. (105) In 1912, for example, the average length of service for Virginia teachers was six years, and it is suspected that the tenure of William and Mary teachers was much shorter, since their collegiate educations furnished competitive credentials for entry into more lucrative fields. (106)

The College achieved a much higher level of success in educating career administrators because there were a substantial number of superintendencies, city principalships, and State Department of Education positions paying salaries sufficient to retain capable men. The College trained "many of the best principals" and about one-sixth of all superintendents between 1900 and 1919, and most of those principals and superintendents with professional training came from the College. (107) The most important single service of the school to public education may have been the provision of aggressive and capable personnel appointed to the State Department of Education. During the last half of the Tyler administration, William and Mary alumni sometimes held nearly half of the positions on the State Board of Education. (108)

Probably more consequential, however, William and Mary men formed a core of one-third to one-half of the staff on the State Board of Examiners and Inspectors. Organized in 1905 primarily to standardize practices and procedures in the school system, that agency attracted an "outstanding" staff of "young[,] enthusiastic[,] and energetic men" who "became the educational dynamos in their respective sections of the

state." (109) "By speaking at innumerable public meetings and by repeated visits to the schools and to the superintendents of the counties . . . , they built up among the country people an eagerness for better schools which constituted a firm foundation for the progress of the next decade." (110) Perhaps most notable among the early inspectors was William and Mary honor graduate John B. Terrell, Virginia's first high school inspector (1912-1916). The organization of new secondary schools accessible to most localities was one of the critical educational undertakings of the era, and Terrell was assigned to "bring the entire high school situation of the state under the control and observation of one mind." (111)

Although the attitude of most influential political leaders remained conservative, the state experienced a noticeable liberalizing trend in policy formation during the era of World War I. For present purposes, it was significant in its contribution to a somewhat greater readiness on the part of the Commonwealth to accommodate the needs of the public schools and the College of William and Mary. After 1915, most Virginians began looking more to the present and to the future rather than to the past for a guide to action. (112) Motivated partly by the national reform achievements of the Woodrow Wilson administration and more by a desire to continue the prosperous conditions associated with the war, an important minority of legislators articulated a philosophy of undertaking limited state action in order to achieve orderly reforms that would foster continued rapid economic development. (113) The reformers achieved moderate success in fighting for greater educational efficiency through such "human conservation measures" as free textbooks,

longer school terms, and more stringent compulsory attendance laws, all of which were intended to contribute to economic growth. (114) The re-emerging legislative interest in developing a healthier and more efficient school system would contribute to a large qualitative improvement in the public schools during the decade of the 1920s.

Two events that occurred during the final eighteen months of the Tyler administration would play an important role in preparing the way for the large increase in material prosperity the school experienced after 1919. By becoming Virginia's first state senior college to admit women, the institution greatly enlarged its pool of potential clientele and thus its capacity for growth. At the same time, the personal interest that Governor Westmoreland Davis showed in improving the school marked the first effective expression of concern for the institution on the part of a Virginia chief executive in a century. As will be seen below, Davis would assist the school in obtaining funds from the Commonwealth.

A twenty-five percent decline in enrollment in the fall of 1917 caused by the approach of World War I persuaded Tyler that the College should admit women in order to maintain a viable number of students. The hitherto unsuccessful campaign to admit women to the University of Virginia that began in 1910 had revealed a significant public interest in providing state senior college facilities for the education of women. (115) A man who had actively supported equal rights for women during much of his adult life, Tyler led the campaign, arguing that the admission of women would lead to an increase in the College appropriation. (116) Rector Hughes opposed because of his belief that

"it would destroy the historic atmosphere of the College." (117) Alumnus William Kavanaugh Doty opposed because of his feeling that the College was "a national institution, a national monument, and the present Faculty and Visitors had no right to so radically and irreparably alter it." (118) Most of the alumni and students appear, however, to have been indifferent to the proposal, while nearly all of the faculty and a majority of the Visitors favored it. The bill to admit women passed in the legislature on 15 March 1918, apparently in large part because of the momentum achieved by the hard-fought campaign for the admission of women to the University of Virginia. (119) Tyler planned carefully for the arrival of the women in the fall, and the new Dean of Women showed her sensitivity to College customs by urging the women to "establish a tradition" rather than framing a stringent set of regulations to govern their conduct. (120) The generosity of the 1918 legislature in advancing the appropriation by \$7,000 and awarding \$13,500 in capital funds and the rise in student population to 675 by the time the first class of women graduated indicated the accuracy of Tyler's prediction that the admission of women would contribute substantially to the material improvement of the institution.

"A member of the early twentieth century efficiency and systematization cult," Governor Westmoreland Davis (1918-1922) made his administration an "almost maniacal campaign" to eliminate waste in "every field within reach of his control." (121) Davis supported the improvement of schooling because he felt that "education meant enlightenment; enlightenment bred scientific efficiency, and efficiency brought about an abundance of order which makes man happy." (122) A

graduate of the University of Virginia, Davis became "deeply interested in the development of the great institution" of William and Mary. (123) According to J. Wilfred Lambert, a former William and Mary professor and dean who knew Davis personally before and during his term in the executive office, the governor felt that the College was a weak institution that should either be improved or be closed. (124) Although Tyler had made large material improvements in nearly every aspect of College operations since 1888, the growth of the institution had failed to keep pace with the rising expectations of the public for larger and better-financed schools. Davis thoroughly explored College business affairs and became intimately acquainted with the staffing pattern, administrative procedures, financial practices, and physical condition of the institution. (125) An immediate result of the Governor's interest was the passage of a capital appropriation for new roofs, additional furniture, and hot water where needed a year before Tyler retired. The governor would continue to work closely with President J. A. C. Chandler for the improvement of the school after 1919.

An analysis of important trends and events during the Tyler administration serves to establish a perspective on the relationship between the Virginia political environment and the traditions that constituted the College saga or ethos. The continuing hostility of some legislators toward the College appropriation that peaked in the 1898 drive for efficiency in government and in the 1901 to 1902 Constitutional Convention revealed the abiding opposition of Virginia's more aristocratic political leaders to public spending for expanded public-school-related services. The fact that the only other

teacher-training institution for whites in Virginia during the period 1898 to 1902 apparently did not experience such severe opposition suggests, however, that the College's equivocal status as a private institution drawing public support may have made it a special target for the hostility of individuals who opposed public school development.

The class and regional biases of many legislators and the jealousy of Virginia's denominational colleges combined to put the annual William and Mary appropriation in jeopardy until after the turn of the century. The rise of a powerful machine or organization of conservative Democrats who favored the social status quo and a restrictive policy on educational spending was unfavorable to College prospects. But the modernizing forces of industrialization and urbanization and the readiness of more liberal-minded "independent" Democrats to educate the public in the advantages of progressive political reforms created a popular outcry for reform between 1902 and 1908. The result was a notable upsurge of progressive legislation that, in its educational aspects, promoted large improvements in the public school system and made possible the transfer of the College from the control of the dual board to state ownership in 1906.

The clarification of the College's status as a state institution prompted the legislature to be more generous in voting capital appropriations to improve the plant, and President Tyler continued to lead in strengthening every material indicator of College prosperity. By the end of his administration, the faculty had grown from six to eighteen, the students from about 100 to 250 (plus a nearly equal number of subcollegiate level students most years), and the library had

increased from 5,000 to 18,000 volumes. The number of buildings had risen from five to fourteen, the annual appropriation from \$10,000 to \$54,500, and the endowment from \$20,000 to \$200,000. (126) Because of the failure to augment inadequate state revenue with sufficient private and foundation funds, however, the school was unable to play the dynamic role in the educational affairs of the Commonwealth to which its leaders aspired. A reduced emphasis on reform after 1908 and the continued control of the political process by the conservative Democratic machine established an environment that was not conducive to the rapid advancement of a people's college like William and Mary. While applauding the achievements of the Tyler administration, many candid observers recognized that the College had failed to build a strong position among the Virginia institutions of higher education at the end of the period. But the broadening of the base for potential growth when the College of William and Mary became the first four year state school to admit women (1918) and the personal interest that Governor Westmoreland Davis (1918-1922) expressed in the College helped to lay the foundation for the strengthening of the institution during Virginia's cultural renaissance in the decade, 1920 to 1930. (127)

The analysis of the evidence presented in this section of the present work indicates that the institutional saga played a prominent role in the political affairs of the College of William and Mary. In campaigning for financial support from both public and private sources, the College leaders presented an institutional image based in part on the service of the school both to public education and to an emerging class of students. Since these factors were not persuasive with many of the

leading legislators and with other individuals sharing aristocratic views, the College leadership usually sought to project an institutional image based largely on the traditional saga when appealing for funds. Thus the legislature, foundations, and private philanthropists were repeatedly told that the unique historical experience of the College endowed the school with many of the qualities of a national monument and that the institution consequently merited extraordinary consideration because of events that transpired in the distant past. Considering Virginia's particular reverence for celebrated old traditions and the school's current lack of an esteemed status, it is understandable why the institution presented a public image based in large part on its close connection with some of the most notable events in the history of the Commonwealth and of the nation. That approach to the public relations of the College represented an attempt by the leaders of the school to establish an attractive institutional image based on the limited possibilities at their disposal.

The nature of the response to College appeals for money indicates that the institutional saga was not persuasive with most individuals who controlled funding decisions. Although some legislators expressed admiration for the school's accomplishments, most of the powerful machine members probably felt that the school's aristocratic traditions failed to agree with its current mission of producing school officials from a relatively low social class of students. Indicative of official opinion was the 1912 Education Commission report, that claimed to allow for the historical aspirations of individual institutions and then essentially ignored such factors in its recommendations concerning

William and Mary. In Virginia and elsewhere the progressive era was a practical period in which funding decisions came to rest more on considerations of business efficiency and less on traditional sentimentality. To legislators and foundation officials, the College's relatively isolated location, small size, and previous lack of success in developing outside funds spoke against the prospect of securing large appropriations and grants. The amount of funds necessary to convert the College of William and Mary into a strong institution did not appear to be justified in terms of common sense. Since most of the William and Mary teacher-graduates soon entered higher paying positions in other fields, it may have seemed to some Virginia politicians that the institution was not cost-effective in producing teachers. Although several small private donors found the College tradition to be a source of inspiration, George Clinton Batcheller appears to have been the only benefactor who made sizeable contributions largely on grounds of the historical reputation of the school. Tyler's expectation that Northern funds would shower down upon the College because of its historical traditions met disappointment, and no Virginia philanthropists chose to honor the school with large contributions.

Other reasons for the failure of the College to develop the political stature that would lead to large funding lay in the internal governance of the institution. The unwillingness of the Board to give the president the freedom of action needed by an effective educational executive curtailed his ability to communicate persuasively with the foundations. The competing aspirations of the University of Virginia limited the magnitude of College success, not only with the foundations

but also in Virginia, since University alumni largely dominated the political process.

By the time Tyler retired in the summer of 1919, the College had become a fixture in the higher education community, even though the more conservative leaders of the Old Dominion did not look on the institution with high regard. What had been "little more than a high school" in 1888 had become a four-year College with standards approximating those of the state's other collegiate institutions. For assisting a "deserving" class of young men to obtain higher education, the school won the plaudits of many leaders ready to accept social mobility resulting from educational attainment. (128) Through educating school personnel for leadership positions, the dedicated and capable faculty contributed materially to the formation of "the teaching ideals of the state." (129) Based on its various practical and traditional appeals to the legislature, the institution also overcame conservative opposition to maintain a record for advancement in annual appropriations not far different from the other white state colleges between 1888 and 1919. (130)

The conception of the College tradition played an important role not only in the external political affairs of the institution but also in its internal curricular affairs. This chapter dealt almost entirely with the external political aspects of the College saga, and the next chapter will undertake an analysis of the largely internal curricular aspects of the saga. The current chapter, however, drew out certain important ramifications of the institutional saga in its relation to the internal affairs of the institution. It was pointed out, for example, that the high quality of the faculty resulted partly from the

attractions of the institutional tradition. A part of the friction between the President and the Rector resulted, furthermore, from the rival pretensions of the two officers to the authority to interpret the tradition. A few individuals expressed opposition both to the transfer of the institution to the State and to the admission of women on traditional grounds. The first dean of women, finally, urged the women to establish a tradition rather than framing a stringent code of regulations. Although the idea of the College tradition does not appear to have been influential with most funding authorities, it was influential in the educational experience. As is revealed in the next section of the work, the traditional heritage of the school would play an influential role in the curricular affairs of the College.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

(1) A review of degrees awarded during the decade of the 1890s as shown in the Faculty Minutes reveals that no more than nine percent of any class completed the Bachelor's degree. A substantial number did, however, complete the two year teacher's degree.

(2) These conclusions are based on a complete analysis of student careers for the alumni of the Tyler years as listed in the Historical Catalogues of 1923 and 1932. Only 11 percent of the approximately 2,000 alumni remained in education by 1932, but many of these individuals held important positions in the public schools and in institutions of higher education.

(3) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College," 1 March 1898, pp. 1-16 [a pamphlet prepared for presentation to the Joint Committee for Retrenchment and Reform in the TFP].

(4) The annual reports of the Peabody Fund frequently praised the quality of the William and Mary education program. As will be seen below, the Education Commission of 1912 recognized the efficiency of the program, although certain areas were criticized.

(5) Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 359.

(6) This theme will be developed at greater length in the next chapter.

(7) "The College of William and Mary" (1912) [a flyer in the WACF].

(8) Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, pp. 95-99.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 111.

(10) Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, p. 134.

- (11) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College" (1898), p. 2 [WHCP].
- (12) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College," Tyler's Quarterly (April 1935), p. 220 [written 23 Dec 1927]; President's Report, Visitors Minutes (9 June 1919), pp. 419-425.
- (13) Senate Journal (1889-1890), pp. 210, 217, 272, 279, 326, 344-345, and 416.
- (14) Lyon G. Tyler to Annie Tucker Tyler, Richmond, 3 March 1892 [TFP II-7-3].
- (15) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College," Tyler's Quarterly (April 1935), p. 222.
- (16) Robert Clinton Burton, "History of Taxation in Virginia, 1870-1901," a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Virginia, 1962, pp. 193-194.
- (17) Ibid, pp. 193 and 203.
- (18) Ibid, p. 214.
- (19) Long Term Economic Growth, 1860-1970 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, June 1973), p. 222.
- (20) Leverley D. Tucker to Lyon G. Tyler, Norfolk, Virginia, 30 March 1895 [TFP].
- (21) C. I. Carey to James S. Kelley, St. Petersburg, Fla., 28 Dec 1966 [WHCP].
- (22) Statistics and figures drawn from the 1888-1898 Virginia School Report volumes.
- (23) Cornelius J. Heatwole, History of Education in Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1916), pp. 244-261.
- (24) Data extracted from various statistical tables in the Virginia School Report volumes for 1887-1888 and 1897-1898.
- (25) Richard L. Norton, History of Virginia . . . Since 1861 (NY: American Historical Society, 1924), Vol. III, p. 273.
- (26) Peabody Education Fund Proceedings (Boston: John Wilson, 1899), Vol. V, p. 379.
- (27) William Edward Eisenberg, Roanoke College (Salem, Va.: The Trustees, 1942), p. 160, Virginia School Report (1898-1899), p. 262.
- (28) Robert Clinton Burton, "History of Taxation in Virginia, 1870-1901," a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Virginia, 1962,

pp. 204-224.

- (29) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College" (16 Feb 1898), p. 1 [WACP].
- (30) Ralph Clipman McDanel, The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902 (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University, 1928), p. 126.
- (31) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College" (16 Feb 1898), pp. 1-23.
- (32) John B. Waller to Lyon G. Tyler, Alexandria, Virginia, 9 Feb 1898 [TFP II-2-4].
- (33) Robert Clinton Burton, "History of Taxation in Virginia 1570-1901," a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Virginia, 1962, p. 220.
- (34) Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, pp. 66-91.
- (35) Joseph F. Hall to Lyon G. Tyler, Richmond, 12 Aug 1901 [TFP II-6-1].
- (36) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College," Tyler's Quarterly (April 1935), p. 221.
- (37) Joseph Bryan to Lyon G. Tyler, Richmond, 13 Aug 1901 [TFP II-6-7].
- (38) Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, p. 169.
- (39) Ibid, p. 133.
- (40) Information on the progressive revitalization of the schools between 1902 and 1908 may be found in the following sources: Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, pp. 239-259; Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, pp. 132-146; Cornelius J. Heatwole, History of Education in Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1916), pp. 305-320; J. L. Blair Buck, The Development of Public Schools in Virginia (Richmond: State Board of Education, 1952), pp. 121-139.
- (41) Visitors Minutes (21 June 1904), p. 53.
- (42) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College," Tyler's Quarterly (April 1935), p. 222.
- (43) Virginia, Acts of the Assembly, 1905-1906 (7 March 1906), pp. 94-96.
- (44) Cornelius J. Heatwole, History of Education in Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1916), p. 331.
- (45) J. Gordon Bohannon, "Alumni Day Address," Alumni Gazette (31 Aug 1935), p. 2 [a supplementary issue].

- (46) Thomas M. Barnes to R. M. Hughes, Elwood, Virginia, 1 July 1894 [WACP].
- (47) Ibid.
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) In 1898 Professor Thomas Jefferson Stubbs, a brother of Visitor J. H. Stubbs, proposed that the Faculty begin presenting curricular changes for the approval of the Curriculum Committees of the Board, which had "hitherto interposed no bar" to the Faculty's "free action in such matters," but he was voted down. Faculty Minutes (26 May 1898), p. 269.
- (50) United States, Report of the Commissioner of Education (1888-1889), Vol. I, p. XVIII; Ibid (1915-1916), Vol. I, p. 7.
- (51) Alfred D. Chandler, "The Beginnings of 'Big Business' in American Industry," Business History Review (Spring 1959) Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, pp. 1-32.
- (52) Frederick Rudolph, "The Organized Institution," The American College and University (NY: Random House, 1962), pp. 417-439 [referred to below as Rudolph, American College and University].
- (53) Russell T. Smith, "J. A. C. Chandler: W & M's Master Builder," Alumni Gazette (April 1976) pp. 8-10.
- (54) Interview of J. Wilfred Lambert, Williamsburg, Virginia, 20 June 1977.
- (55) Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," pp. 201-202.
- (56) Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "Armistead Churchill Gordon," Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (NY: Lewis Historical Publishers, 1915), Vol. V, pp. 796-797.
- (57) A. C. Gordon to L. G. Tyler, Staunton, Virginia, 5 Sept 1913 [TFP II-11-1].
- (58) William Lamb, "Diary" (6 June 1905) [Swem Library Special Collections]; T. A. Cary to R. M. Hughes, Richmond, Virginia, 12 Jan 1905 [WACP].
- (59) R. M. Hughes to B. B. Munford, Norfolk, Virginia, 9 June 1905 [WACP].
- (60) J. H. Stubbs to L. G. Tyler, Gloucester, Virginia, 24 Oct 1905 [TFP].
- (61) L. G. Tyler to J. H. Stubbs, Williamsburg, Virginia, 26 Oct 1905 [TFP].

(62) William Hodges Mann to Robert M. Hughes, Richmond, Virginia, 28 April 1910 [WMCP].

(63) F. A. Magruder, Recent Administration in Virginia (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University, 1912), p. 47 [Published as monograph no. 1, series XXX in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science].

(64) W. H. Whiting, Jr. to Lyon G. Tyler, Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, 17 April 1905 [TFP].

(65) R. E. Blackwell to Lyon G. Tyler, Ashland, Virginia, 13 Oct 1904 [TFP].

(66) George H. Dewey to Lyon G. Tyler, Lexington, Virginia, 15 Oct 1904 [TFP].

(67) Dumas Malone, Edwin A. Alderman: A Biography (NY: Doubleday, 1940); p. 229; "Items of Interest," University of Virginia Alumni Bulletin (c 1904) [a clipping containing the rules and regulations governing the presidency at the University in the Tyler Family Papers].

(68) L. G. Tyler to T. A. Cary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 7 Oct 1904 [TFP].

(69) "Rules and Regulations of William and Mary College adopted by the Board of Visitors at their meeting in June, 1907" [a flyer in the WMCP].

(70) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary College," Tyler's Quarterly (April 1935), p. 227.

(71) *Ibid*, p. 226.

(72) As head of the "dual Board" from 1905 to 1906, Hughes was President, but after the reformation of the Board in 1906 when the school was transferred to the state, he assumed the traditional title of Rector.

(73) Frank Brent to Lyon G. Tyler, Richmond, Virginia, 9 Aug 1900 [TFP].

(74) Wicliffe Rose to Lyon G. Tyler, NP, 10 April 1908 [TFP].

(75) Peabody College Catalogue (1974-1975), p. 15.

(76) John W. Lawson to Lyon G. Tyler, Smithfield, Virginia 10 March 1903 [TFP].

(77) Robert C. Ogden to Lyon G. Tyler, New York, New York, 7 Oct 1904 [TFP]; *Ibid*, 16 April 1906.

(78) Earle Curti and Roderick Nash, Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1965), p. 216.

- (79) F. T. Gates to Howard Page, New York, New York, 9 May 1905 [TFP II-7-6].
- (80) Lyon G. Tyler to Robert Fulton Cutting, Williamsburg, Virginia, 10 March 1905 [TFP II-7-4].
- (81) James H. Becker, "Education and the Southern Aristocracy: The Southern Education Movement, 1881-1913," a Master of Arts thesis at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1972, pp. 102-103.
- (82) Lyon G. Tyler to Edwin A. Alderman, Williamsburg, Virginia, 18 April 1905 [TFP II-7-6]; Edwin A. Alderman to Lyon G. Tyler, Charlottesville, Virginia, 21 April 1905 [Alderman Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia].
- (83) Dumas Malone, Edwin A. Alderman, A Biography (NY: Doubleday, 1940), pp. 203-204; a good summary of the relationship between the University, the public schools, and the grant may be found in Philip Alexander Bruce's History of the University of Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1922), Vol. V, pp. 198-211.
- (84) Aspirations of University of Virginia leaders to make that institution the head of the Virginia school system existing from the time of Jefferson to that of Alderman are well noted in many different places. Alderman's fear that the expansion of the College of William and Mary might endanger the prosperity of the University was expressed in the several different ways between 1905 and 1918. In 1910 the Virginia Education Commission that Alderman chaired issued a preliminary report unfriendly to the College. In 1911 Alderman attacked the College in the press with a view toward eliminating the liberal arts work and reducing the institution to the status of a normal school. On several occasions between 1905 and 1915, Alderman advanced the idea of making the College a subordinate branch of the University, perhaps for shock value in his attempt to keep the College leaders off balance in the contest for state funds. When William and Mary first admitted women in 1918, Alderman worried that William and Mary might gain a relative advantage over the all-male University because of the potential for greatly increased enrollment arising from female admissions.
- (85) Lyon G. Tyler to Clarence Hodson, Williamsburg, Virginia, 20 Feb 1915 [TFP].
- (86) Reuben E. Alley, History of the University of Richmond (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1977), pp. 76, 96, 101-103, 121-122, 125-127, 137, 176-177, 186-187, and 210; William Edward Eisenberg, Roanoke College (Salem, Va.: Roanoke Trustees, 1942), pp. 246, 305, and 310-324; and George J. Stevenson, Increase in Excellence (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), pp. 114-121.
- (87) Ollinger Crenshaw, General Lee's College (NY: Random House, 1969), p. 239.

- (88) "The Legislature," Richmond Daily Times (24 Feb 1888), p. 1.
- (89) George Clinton Batcheller to Lyon G. Tyler, New York, New York, 29 May 1906 [TFP].
- (90) The significance of these important reports will be explored in greater detail below.
- (91) "Report of the Virginia Education Commission to the General Assembly," Senate Journal and Documents (1912), Doc. No. III, pp. 30-33.
- (92) *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.
- (93) Virginia Public Schools: Education Commission Report to the General Assembly of Virginia and Survey Staff's Report to the Education Commission (Richmond: Everett Waddy, 1919), p. 156.
- (94) Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 255.
- (95) A city is an incorporated area of contiguous dwellings with a population of 2,500 or more according to United States census usages. Leon E. Truesdell, Virginia Population (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1941), p. 1.
- (96) United States Census (1900), "Occupations" Vol., pp. 403-407; *Ibid* (1920), Vol. IV, pp. 1032-1036.
- (97) Virginia, Annual Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts (1901), p. iii; *Ibid* (1921), p. viii.
- (98) J. L. Blair Luck, Development of Public Schools in Virginia (Richmond: State Board of Education, 1952), pp. 164-169.
- (99) Long Term Economic Growth, 1860-1970 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, June 197), p. 222.
- (100) Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, pp. 251 and 254.
- (101) Virginia Public Schools: Education Commission Report to the Assembly of Virginia and Survey Staff's Report to the Education Commission (Richmond: Everett Waddy, 1919), pp. 32 and 60.
- (102) After initially "bushwhacking" the College in his 1905 conference with Rockefeller, Alderman continued to oppose the institution through such means as unwarranted attacks in the press and threats that the University would absorb William and Mary because of his fear that any advantage for the College would be a disadvantage for the University. Douglas Southall Freeman to Lyon G. Tyler, Richmond, 7 July 1911 [TFP II-11-2].
- (103) Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1921), Vol. V, pp. 196-211.

(104) Conclusions based on data drawn from various places in the Virginia School Report volumes for the years 1907 through 1919.

(105) Conclusions based on data drawn from the Virginia School Report volumes for the period 1909-1919.

(106) F. A. Magruder, Recent Administration in Virginia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1912), p. 52.

(107) "Report of the Virginia Education Commission to the General Assembly," Senate Journal and Documents (1912), Doc. No. 111, p. 31.

(108) Conclusions based on an analysis of the annual listings of State Board officials in the Virginia School Report volumes for the years 1888 to 1919. Considerable impressionistic evidence suggests that the University of Virginia exerted a much stronger influence on state school board policies than William and Mary did, although College educators became more and more prominent, especially in staff work at the state level, as time passed.

(109) F. A. Magruder, Recent Administration in Virginia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1912) p. 27; Cornelius J. Heatwole, History of Education in Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1916), p. 323.

(110) J. L. Blair Buck, The Development of Public Schools in Virginia (Richmond: State Board of Education, 1952), p. 136.

(111) Virginia School Report (1915-1916), p. 58.

(112) Roger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 264.

(113) Orelia Sparrow Dann, "Reform and the Virginia General Assembly, 1916-1920," a Master of Arts thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1973, pp. 16-17.

(114) *Ibid*, pp. 35-47.

(115) Sara S. Rogers, "The Southern Lady Versus the Old Dominion: The Battle for Higher Education for Virginia's Women, 1910-1920," a senior honors thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1975, pp. 32-124.

(116) Lyon G. Tyler to Annie B. Tucker, Williamsburg, Virginia, 6 June 1878 [TFP]; William Asbury Christian, Richmond (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1912) p. 524; President's Report, Visitors Minutes (9 June 1919), p. 425.

(117) Robert W. Hughes to Lyon G. Tyler, Norfolk, Virginia, 20 Jan 1918 [WACP F 54E].

(118) William Kavanaugh Doty to James Southall Wilson, Waynesboro, Virginia, 20 Feb 1918 [WACP].

(119) Sara S. Rogers, "The Southern Lady Versus the Old Dominion: The Battle for Higher Education for Virginia's Women, 1910-1920," a senior thesis at the College of William and Mary, 1975, p. 124.

(120) Janet Coleman Kimbrough Interview, College of William and Mary Oral History Project, 2 June 1975, College Archives.

(121) Jack Temple Kirby, Westmoreland Davis: Virginia Planter-Politician, 1859-1942 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), p. 81.

(122) Ibid, p. 153.

(123) Westmoreland Davis to J. A. C. Chandler, Richmond, Virginia, 1 Nov 1919, Chandler Papers, College of William and Mary.

(124) Interview of J. Wilfred Lambert, Williamsburg, Virginia, 3 Feb 1880.

(125) Governor Davis explored College affairs in several letters to Lyon G. Tyler during the first nine months of 1919 in TFP II-12-5.

(126) J. Gordon Bohannon, "Alumni Day Address," Alumni Gazette (31 Aug 1935), p. 2 [a supplementary issue].

(127) Lester J. Cappon, "Two Decades of historical Activity in Virginia" (Journal of Southern History, May 1940), Vol. VI. p. 189.

(128) The College papers contain several letters from state senators and delegates who expressed admiration for the College's achievements in educating a relatively low class of student for positions of leadership. These statements tended to come from "Independent" Democrats and Republicans but never from machine Democrats, so far as is known.

(129) Lyon G. Tyler, "William and Mary the College of Epochs," Virginia Journal of Education (April 1919), Vol. XII, pp. 320-321.

(130) Conclusion based on a comparison of annual appropriations to Virginia state colleges as listed in the Virginia School Report volumes for 1889 and 1919.

CHAPTER V

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION
AND THE NEW COLLEGE CURRICULUM, 1888 TO 1919

Princeton University President Woodrow Wilson's comment that "reforming a college curriculum is as difficult as moving a graveyard" seems to apply to the case of William and Mary. (1) When the College reopened in 1888, its program of instruction was similar to that of a classical college with an education department superimposed on the traditional structure. Although the adoption of the teacher-training mission endowed the institution with the modern function of providing professional instruction, many classical features remained in the curriculum. During the subsequent thirty-one years of the Tyler administration, alterations in academic and student life would gradually reorient the institution away from the classical tradition and toward a regimen of more practical affairs. By the time that Tyler retired in 1919, the institution would assume a character more similar to the college of 1980 than to the old time classical college.

An analysis of the William and Mary curriculum that is focused on the role of institutional traditions in the development of the organizational mission of the College is provided in this chapter. It is contended that the ideas associated with the College tradition played a

central part in the educational experience by providing role models effective in shaping the growth of the student values and aspirations. Especially during the early years of the administration, members of the College community made extensive use of the College saga. They were probably attempting to utilize the heroic institutional tradition to compensate for the insecurity of their situation as low income students who were both attending a weak academic institution and pursuing training for careers in an occupational area not well respected by many of the most influential Virginia leaders.

Early in the twentieth century, the emphasis on the ideas connected with the College saga apparently declined a great deal. Probably influential in causing the de-emphasis of the saga were such factors as (1) the strengthening of institutional finances, (2) the improvement of Virginia opinion concerning both public and normal schooling, and (3) the enrichment and modernization of the curriculum. The community of individuals associated with a stronger and better-respected institution had less need to compensate for inadequacy. Since the improvement of institutional finance and Virginia opinion have been explored previously, the material in the current chapter is concerned mostly with curricular affairs.

Since the research design is aimed, in part, at assessing the nature of the changes in the curriculum between 1888 and 1919, it seems appropriate to organize the material in a developmental framework. Thus this section will begin with an examination of the College program during the early years of the Tyler administration. In that examination emphasis will be placed on some of the important institutional

achievements that contributed to the formation of the College tradition, the interpretation of that tradition in historical literature written by Tyler, and the receptivity of the College community to Tyler's views of the tradition. In order to evaluate the relationship between the traditional ideas and the modernizing forces that contributed to curriculum reform, selected areas of the program will be examined in detail. Areas of primary interest will include the influence of the education program, the nature of faculty research and scholarship, the level of academic standards, the style of student discipline, the consistency of student life, and the character of the liberal arts program in such areas as classical and scientific studies. Each of these themes will be developed through the time period 1888 to 1919. Parallel material concerning curriculum development and the role of school traditions at other Virginia institutions of higher education will be touched upon briefly.

It appears that, collectively, the curricular changes that occurred during this period resulted in a program that was modern in many respects by 1919. In terms of typical national standards of the times, the adoption of a modern curriculum in a collegiate institution suggested the abandonment of faculty psychology, moral philosophy, classical languages, pietistic values, and the principal of service limited to an aristocratic clientele. (2) It included the substitution of a new emphasis on such factors as scientific coursework, vocational programs, utilitarian purposes, intercollegiate athletics, professionally trained faculties, Greek-letter fraternities, empirical research, and homogenized standards resulting from such factors as the

requirements of accrediting bodies, grants agencies, and the College Entrance Examination Board. (3) As will be found in subsequent analysis, William and Mary experienced many of the modern curricular developments outlined above, although the process of curricular change was probably slower and less thorough at the College than it was at some of the better-financed institutions. One should realize, however, that the emotional commitment to traditional values prevalent at the College was a conservative influence on the process of academic change. The tendency of the College community to cling to traditional arrangements was revealed, for example, in the informal practice of requiring freshmen to memorize the College "priorities" that continued into the decade of the 1960s. (4)

If an academic investigator had called at the College of William and Mary during the decade of the 1890s to evaluate the curriculum, he would have found an institutional program that in many ways reflected the conservative or reactionary tendencies that seem to have been inherent in the culture of the Commonwealth. (5) The adoption of the new teacher-training program represented an almost revolutionary change in the mission of the institution. In much of their educational philosophy and intellectual outlook, however, many individuals connected with the school retained a commitment to conservative values and practices similar in style to those expressed in the Yale Report of 1828. Tyler interviewed each student personally at the President's House upon enrollment and appears to have known most individuals by name. He taught political economy from a textbook written during the Andrew Jackson period by Thomas R. Dew, a former president of the College who had been

a nationally noted apostle of the plantation economy and of proslavery thought. (6) Moral philosophy remained in the catalogue until 1898. Most of the members of the College community appear to have shared a belief in the romantic and idealistic values of the Old South and to have opposed the materialistic philosophy of the rising industrial economy. Through their literary productions, several faculty members and students expressed a great interest in the cult of the Lost Cause. The Faculty enforced strict discipline according to the rule of *in loco parentis*. Most of the professors appear to have felt both that the goal of teaching proper moral values to the students was more important than maintaining high academic standards and that the curricular philosophy of developing mental discipline was appropriate to the needs of the College. (7) Except for education professor Hugh S. Bird (1888-1904), all of the faculty members were noted for their old-fashioned ideas. (8) The scientific coursework was general in nature rather than specialized, and all candidates for degrees were required to complete studies in Latin.

During the period before the turn of the century, the ideas that were associated with the College tradition seem to have played an especially prominent role in the educational experience at the institution. The College catalogues contained laudatory historical commentaries recounting early exploits connected with the school. Occasional speeches extolled the virtues of early statesmen who were alumni of the College. (9) Toasts at festive gatherings addressed the splendid institutional achievements of the distant past. Advertisements appearing in journals emphasized the antiquity of the school, and one

broadside headed "Please Post Conspicuously!" even referred to the institution as "The oldest and cheapest College in the South." (10) The students frequently editorialized on themes connected with the institutional tradition in the journal of the literary societies. The most prominent source of publicity concerning the College tradition, however, appears to have been that found in Tyler's extensive historical writings.

In order to understand Tyler's role as the chief exponent of the historical tradition associated with the College, it will be helpful to examine his philosophy of history. In Tyler's opinion the highest purpose of the historian was moral instruction. In numerous books, articles, speeches, and pamphlets, he espoused the view that the proper function of the historian was that of encouraging socially desirable behavior. (11) By presenting appropriately selected examples of daring deeds, illustrious achievements, resourceful leadership, and pioneering experiences, the historian believed he could teach lessons which would inspire a desire in his readers for similarly exceptional performance. By striving to emulate the behavior of the most successful figures in history, Tyler felt, ordinary individuals could improve their own lives, while some people might win acclaim and distinction equal to that of the past heroes who were offered as role models. (12)

In his historical literature Tyler emphasized several traditional themes of Old Virginia history which were thought to have an inspirational value for many individuals in the Commonwealth. Prominent motifs included the salutary influence of the great families, the selfless leadership of the Virginia statesmen, and the notable role of

the College in educating great men. Perhaps because of his favorable memories of growing up on a large plantation, most of his work reflected an intense commitment to the idea that ante bellum Southern civilization represented the ideal way of life. Examples of the most elevated values and the most promising behavior drawn from the Old Virginia experience were frequently presented as worthy role models for contemporary citizens of the Commonwealth. (13) Perhaps the most persistent theme in the Tyler literature was that of the glorious College tradition.

As the chief interpreter of College history, Tyler took a pre-existing tradition and magnified it. According to an alumnus, his central purpose in emphasizing the institutional tradition was to remind the students of "the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship and that they might make of their own lives more than the mere commonplace." (14) In presenting case histories of some of the great men who were alumni of the College and in presenting the collective accomplishments of the institution, Tyler seemed to be challenging the students to strive for similar distinction in their own lives. "More than two hundred students who became pre-eminently distinguished as scholars, divines, soldiers, and statesmen," Tyler wrote, were alumni of the College. (15) These individuals included United States presidents, Supreme Court justices, cabinet officers, ambassadors, governors, and other dignitaries, most of whom were alumni of the school during the period before 1820. He attempted to enshrine the educational precedents that he felt the College had set in a list of College "priorities." A former student explained Tyler's view of the institutional priorities as follows:

The College . . . was possessed, he felt, of an individuality which set it apart from other Colleges. Its age . . . gave to it a dignity which age alone imparts. Its royal charter, the first to be received from the Crown, and its coat of arms from the College of Heralds in London, lent to it a distinction which no other College shared. He was proud of its priorities, of the fact that William and Mary was the first college in America to have a full faculty of professors, the first to adopt the lecture and honor systems, the first to widen its scope to that of a university, the first to establish courses in municipal and constitutional law, modern languages, political economy and history and that here was organized the first Greek letter intercollegiate fraternity. (16)

It seemed to him that "William and Mary was identified in the minds of men with nearly all that was glorious in the early history of Virginia, and that early history was identified with much that was glorious in the history of the Union." (17) Elsewhere, notable events that transpired near the community of Williamsburg were interpreted as forming a part of the College identity. Often cited examples were the establishment of the first English colony at Jamestown, the speeches of Patrick Henry at the old colonial capital, and the capitulation of the British at Yorktown.

The six faculty members in the liberal arts departments during the period 1888 to 1905 seem to have shared many traditional ideas similar to those expressed by Tyler. "What rich young university shall buy the poetry and glory of old William and Mary?" wrote English Professor J. Lesslie Hall, who had earned the Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University in Old English literature. (18) Professor of classics Charles Edward Bishop, a Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig, felt that the central purpose of his courses was to acquaint the students with the elevating thoughts and dreams of the ancient intellects. (19) Most of the faculty members retained a commitment to the Old South standard of the Lost

Cause, and one of the three professors who were Confederate veterans died in his uniform en route to a reunion with his military unit. (20) Several of the professors recorded their belief that moral instruction was the greatest need of the academy. (21)

The historical tradition, as interpreted by Tyler and the faculty, seems to have been closely related to the quality of the educational experience at the College. Despite the fact that some aristocratic Virginians tended to view the College in light of its current role as a normal school, the historical tradition probably played the most prominent role in the formation of the institutional identity. Many students and their families selected the College in the first place, not only because of its open admissions, Tidewater locality, and low tuition, but also because of its institutional image. (22) Judging mostly from student literary productions and alumni reminiscences, it appears that the ideas of the College tradition may have been instrumental in the formation of student values, goals, and ambitions. It seems likely that the historical tradition also contributed to the establishment of a conservative intellectual environment on the campus that fostered the preservation of conventional curricular values and practices.

The style and reputation of the College and its leadership appealed to a variety of potential students from families that valued the virtues of Old Virginia. As was mentioned above, University of Virginia Rector Armistead C. Gordon sent his sons to William and Mary because of his respect for the traditional values that Tyler espoused. Staunton attorney Charles Curry sent his son to William and Mary "as much for the

old Virginia sentiment as anything else. I love the old Virginia sentiment," he wrote. "There is something so beautiful and elevating about it, and I have always from my earliest childhood looked upon old William and Mary as the fountain source of it all." (23) W. T. L. Taliaferro, a son of General William B. Taliaferro and an alumnus of the College, said that many members of his family had attended the school because they considered it to be "an inspiration for all that ends to the making of a citizen, a gentleman, and a scholar." (24) In listing citizenship first, gentility second, and scholarship last as the attractions of the school, Taliaferro probably placed the same relative emphasis on the College functions as did most of the Faculty and Board members during the Tyler period. (25) A review of many of the letters from the parents of prospective students leads one to the conclusion that most of the families shared similar expectations concerning the College program.

Student presentations in the literary society journal and elsewhere help to provide evidence that the students were responsive to the complex of values represented in Tyler's historical rhetoric, especially during the early years of his administration. In well-explored themes, one may discern that many of the students apparently shared a belief that the experience of the past would serve as the best guide for progress both in the present and in the future. Whereas the materialistic values of the new industrial economy were frequently depicted as "the greatest menace to our nation," the more idealistic society of the Old South was often considered to be "the fountain of knowledge, the cradle of eloquence, the birth place [sic] of chivalry,

the home of independence and liberty, the seat of self-government, the defender of individual rights, the abode of fraternal love, the encourager of religious freedom." (26) Many student commentators lamented the passing of the aristocratic age of the soldier-statesman but expressed the view that virtuous men from more humble backgrounds could still achieve true greatness by doing their duty in accordance with the examples of the past. (27) The most prevalent of these themes to appear in student literature seems to have been related to the College tradition. In fact nearly every issue of the student literary magazine appearing before the turn of the century addressed the institutional tradition in some manner.

Numerous student commentators voiced their belief that the distinctive traditions of the school constituted an inspiration for altruistic behavior and for personal accomplishment. In his final address to the Philomathean (literary) Society, Fleet W. Cox declared that the lesson of the College tradition was that "you are the guardian of a glorious heritage. Upon you falls the spotless mantle of the brave. Yours is a sacred trust. Be vigilant to preserve it inviolate." (28) An editor of the College annual advanced the view that all the youth in America might benefit from the examples of the illustrious William and Mary alumni:

While it seems that the day of exulting in the deeds of ancestors and predecessors has passed away in this practical age of ours, and we are more concerned in grasping the problems of the living present, yet it is more than a mere fancy that the student will gain some inspiration by enrolling his name with those of our nation's greatest heroes--to emulate and follow whom, should be the greatest ambition of the youth of America. That same spirit which inspired so many to follow wisdom, truth, and

justice," still hovers around the walls of the institution. (29)

In reporting the visit of a legislative committee to the campus, a literary magazine editor predicted that, while the College "may never be the mother of another president, she will furnish the full quota of men to make up the great backbone of our state." (30)

In several reminiscences of the Tyler alumni, there are impressions of the College tradition similar to those found in the student sources. "When, in 1888, Dr. Tyler and his handful of associates reopened the College," Joseph F. Hall recollected fifty years later, "it seemed little more than a gesture. But there was a spirit on this campus that would not die. The shades of distinguished sons of bygone days seemed to hover here and defy extinction." (31) H. Page Williams appeared to attach a spiritual meaning to his first view of the campus:

I well recall the day back in 1911 when, in late afternoon on a September day, I beheld for the first time the ivy-covered buildings of the venerable College of William and Mary. I was just a lad of fifteen then, but that first impression has remained with me always. The spirits of men long dead seemed to say to me "Welcome, young man, welcome to this ancient and honored shrine of learning. It is your privilege here to reap a rich harvest. You know little of the soil, of the sowing of seeds, but now the harvest is yours." (32)

According to J. Gordon Bohannon, the College experience cultivated a view among the students that "in the contemplation of William and Mary of the past, they might find a new hope, a new ambition stirring within them." (33)

It is probable that the students were receptive to the traditional ideas of Tyler regarding the lessons of the past partly because of his personal influence but much more because his conceptions fit the needs

of the community. His philosophy seems to have succeeded in connecting some of the most inspiring traditions in the history of the Commonwealth to the ambitions of a group of low income students who were attending an institution with a weak academic reputation for the purpose of advancing their careers. In its educational impact, Tyler's philosophy of history represented a continuation of the Jeffersonian interpretation of the Renaissance idea that individuals from ordinary social backgrounds could improve their status by learning the proper values, knowledge, and behavior. A person who learned to behave like a gentleman might in fact become a gentleman. The large emphasis that Tyler placed on the traditions of the College itself appears to have played an inspirational role by allowing the students to feel that they were connected to the illustrious heritage of the past through their alma mater.

The question that asks if the College tradition really did influence the alumni to develop extraordinary personal values or professional careers is not easily answered. According to tradition, the answer is yes, and the current commentator on higher education, Howard R. Bowen, agrees that such results are possible: "Obscure colleges serving students of mediocre qualifications can, and some do, produce more change [in the students] or value added than the most prestigious institutions with the most carefully selected student bodies." (34) In the case of William and Mary, however, an answer to the question regarding the influence of College traditions on alumni careers must await further research.

The emphasis placed on the traditions of the past at William and Mary during the progressive era makes the school seem like a reactionary

institution. It would probably be more accurate, however, to view the College as a conservative organization in which traditions guided and moderated change. Beginning at the time when education courses were added to the curriculum, the institution entered a transitional period that lasted about three decades (1888-1919). During this period it would assume many of the characteristics associated with a modern college. The adoption of the professional teacher-training function in 1888 endowed the school with a modern social role. But the old-fashioned structure of values, thought, and organization that obtained at the institution during the decade of the 1890s would not change substantially until after the turn of the century.

The modernization of the curriculum would gradually help to relegate the ideas of the College tradition to a less visible position between about 1900 and 1920. Basically the modernization of the program involved (1) the general strengthening of academic and student affairs and (2) the rise of a more critical or scientific outlook among the leaders of the institution. It is contended that the strengthening of the program helped to create a new sense of self-confidence among those connected with the institution that did not exist during the days when the University of Virginia boys derided William and Mary as being a mere normal school. (35) The establishment of a strong curriculum would partly remove the cause for the sense of inferiority that had fostered the expansion of the institutional saga. The rise of a more scientific outlook may have helped to render exaggerated statements of the institutional saga such as those made by Tyler less attractive as time passed. The examination of five curricular areas undertaken below

reveals the effect of modernization on the role of the institutional saga. The five areas include the following developments: (1) science replaced ancient languages as the dominant area of coursework; (2) the rise of student self-government gave the students a role in the maintenance of discipline; (3) student life became more sophisticated and variegated than before; (4) academic standards rose from high school to college level; and (5) the faculty began to produce some scientific research in addition to the partisan and literary pieces that had dominated faculty scholarship during the decade of the 1890s. One should neither think that the modernization of the program nullified the institutional saga nor that it led to the complete destruction of traditional curricular practices. The idea that the heritage of the College made the institution an exceptional school would remain a vital but less extensively heralded force in the life of the institution. The voice of tradition would retain some vitality in the area of curricular philosophy because of such factors as the continuing commitment of several professors to the idea that moral instruction was the most important function of the institution. (36)

The gradual transition from a curriculum dominated by classical studies to a curriculum dominated by science probably typifies the nature of change in the liberal arts program at the College. Before the turn of the century, the classical course dominated the liberal arts curriculum in much the same manner as it did at most colleges prior to the Civil War. Students frequently defended the ancient languages in the literary journal because of such supposed virtues as their "exquisite beauty of expression" and their "exactness of thought." (37)

In a manner reminiscent of Tyler's historical philosophy, some individuals expressed the idea that classical studies were valuable because they allowed the students to learn from the examples of ancient civilizations that were held to be superior to their own. (38) After 1900, however, the interest of the students in the classics began to decline. Literary defenses of the classics appeared less frequently and then practically disappeared, while enrollment in classics courses dropped. Although much of the classical spirit disappeared from the curriculum during the decade after 1900, one may note that the College retained a closer connection to its classical background than did more progressive institutions. In 1920, for example, twenty-six percent of all William and Mary students were enrolled in classics courses, whereas only eight percent of the University of Virginia students were enrolled in such courses. (39)

The decline of classical studies coincided with the rise of a new emphasis on scientific coursework. It was accompanied by a trend toward the adoption of scientific methods or standards of critical objectivity in several areas of faculty inquiry and by a certain amount of scientific research. During the decade of the 1890s, the science program consisted of general courses taught mostly at the subcollegiate level by a physician-professor. A small amount of archaic laboratory apparatus was used in student experimentation. (40) After 1900, however, two new professors were added, and a variety of specialized courses in chemistry, biology, physics, and physiology were introduced. Indications were that there was a substantial growth of the scientific program in complexity and in sophistication. (41) The addition of some modern

laboratory equipment, a mineral collection, a botanical garden, and a greenhouse represented attempts by the faculty to make the coursework more practical. Many of the improvements in scientific instruction probably reflected a response to the changing needs of premedical students and candidates for teaching positions. A steady rise in admissions requirements at the nearby Medical College of Virginia and the proliferation of high schools in the Old Dominion helped to create a need for more diversified and higher level science offerings. (42) One may more readily understand the change in the philosophical underpinnings of the science program when one contrasts the anti-evolutionist tenor of the 1897 Baccalaureate address with the student discussions of Einstein during the era of World War I. (43)

During the two decades after the turn of the century, most members of the College community slowly adopted a more scientific outlook. Several factors that are explored in greater detail below serve to demonstrate the rising tide of scientism at William and Mary. The scientific and philosophical ideas of John Dewey, William James, and Edward Lynn Thorndike seem to have challenged some of the traditional opinions shared by many members of the College community. In some of their research reports and public service projects the faculty achieved standards of quality superior to those which might be expected from low-salaried professors with heavy teaching loads at a school lacking research facilities. A large proportion of the critical ideas either introduced into or coming from the institution were directly or indirectly associated with the education department. Science professors Van F. Garrett and John W. Ritchie, for example, published textbooks

largely confined to the area of school hygiene, while psychologist George Oscar Ferguson published research reports based largely on investigation performed in a public school setting. (44)

From its inception, the education department apparently served as a change agent in the life of the institution. It seems in many respects accurate to suggest that, especially during the period before the turn of the century, the education department introduced a state of disequilibrium into the life of the institution. Whereas some of the liberal arts departments were oriented toward the classical tradition of the past, the education department was future-oriented because of its mission of providing professional education. As shown previously, the two liberal arts professors of the original faculty who had completed doctoral training shared traditional ideas similar to those publicized by Tyler. The education department, on the other hand, was led mostly by dynamic men such as Hugh S. Bird and Bruce R. Payne who were recognized for their progressive ideas and who thus helped to endow that department with a modern character. As is revealed in the subsequent material, the education department seems to have served as a progressive example for the liberal arts departments. Partly as a result of the role model furnished by the education department, the other departments slowly became more modern in outlook until the state of disequilibrium largely disappeared. It should be noted, however, that the education department also absorbed some of the conservative characteristics that apparently were inherent in the culture of the College, such as a sense of respect for the College tradition.

The central mission of the College was to train high school

teachers, supervisors, and administrators. Although the idea of teacher training was not in complete accord with the school tradition, the College leadership attempted to assume the new role in a professional manner. Practice teaching was required for all teacher candidates. The strategy of offering the core courses of the education program in the education department while offering supplementary teacher-training courses in all other departments probably made the program one of the most liberally oriented in the nation. Before the turn of the century, most teacher-training programs in the United States did not include much work in the liberal arts areas, much less offering specialized pedagogy courses in different liberal arts departments. (45) At William and Mary, distribution requirements insured that most teacher candidates studied a broad range of liberal arts subjects in addition to the education courses. The schedule of courses in the education department during the period 1888 to 1900 was limited, but it was expanded significantly during the twentieth century, especially in the area of educational administration. As mentioned previously, the frequently laudatory reports of the Peabody Fund and of legislative oversight committees concerning the educational work of the College reflected favorably on the quality of the instruction.

An analysis of various literary materials suggests that some of the education students shared the traditional values common to a large portion of the College community. Although the literary journal contained little commentary on educational topics, a few essayists expressed the idea that the past is the key to the present in educational terms. One writer, for example, felt that the characters of

the illustrious alumni offered appropriate inspirational material for use in the public school classroom. (46) The 1904 College catalogue endorsed a similar view in stating that, in the education department,

continual effort is made to harmonize the study of history; the past is made to throw light on the present, and the present upon the past, the student being taught to apply his newly acquired information to living and burning questions of his own day and of his own country. (47)

A 1904 prize-winning thesis may have warmed the hearts of the faculty when the author combined lessons drawn from Greek mythology, Jesus, and Spencer and then suggested the following moral:

Every teacher hopes to leave the stamp of his own personality upon those entrusted to his care, and if he does not teach the golden lesson of altruism, of self-restraint, of integrity, honor and true nobility of his every day life, he is an imposter. (48)

When one examines the educational backgrounds, the personal qualities, the publishing records, and the classroom ideas of the education professors, the progressive character of the department becomes apparent. Except for one individual who was released for inefficiency, the education faculty included alumni of Peabody College, of Teachers College at Columbia University, and of the University of Chicago. At the time, Peabody was generally thought to be the leading teacher training school in the South, while Columbia and Chicago frequently shared consideration as being the best in the nation. The careers of the three professors subsequent to leaving the College provide a general indication as to their leadership qualities. Hugh S. Bird, professor of education from 1888 to 1904, later became the Treasurer of International Red Cross. Bruce R. Payne, holder of the

education professorship from 1904 to 1906, subsequently performed notable public service work as a leader in the campaign to develop high schools in Virginia and then became president of Peabody College. Henry E. Bennett, incumbent in the chair from 1907 through the end of the administration, published an extensive repertoire of works on the management of school plant and facilities and gained thereby a reputation that led to his appointment as an executive with a large school equipment manufacturing firm. (49)

Payne introduced to the College the revolutionary works of his professors, John Dewey and Lynn Thorndike, along with those of Henry James. (50) Some of the central concepts developed by those men represented a challenge to the traditional structure of thought at the College. In offering empirical proof that the theory of faculty psychology was unsound, for example, Thorndike refuted the curricular philosophy held by Tyler. (51) In developing the idea of the pragmatic measure of value, James opposed the type of Southern idealism that served as the foundation for the romantic philosophy that obtained at the College. (52) The work of Joseph Roy Geiger, a William and Mary philosophy professor specializing in ethics, suggests that some members of the College community probably did not accept the work of the progressive educational philosophers. Geiger opposed the concept of pragmatism because of his commitment to the idea that philosophy should offer tools capable of advancing moral values. (53)

In evaluating the scholarly output of the College during the progressive era, one may note a trend away from the partisan and literary style of writing that dominated faculty publications during the

early years and toward a new emphasis on research performed according to the standards of scientific enquiry. Johns Hopkins University alumnus J. Lesslie Hall published a limited quantity of work in linguistics, dramatics, and Old English literature before 1900 that merited some scholarly acclaim, but the early period was dominated by the romantic productions of Tyler's partisan pen. (54) As the founder and editor of the William and Mary Quarterly historical review, the author of several monographic studies, and the editor of biographical encyclopedias, Tyler served essentially as a proponent for several ante bellum ideas. He occupied much of his historical career in defending his state, his locality, his college, and his Old South values from the encroachments of materialism and commercialism. The continuity of his thought was apparent in one of the last messages he sent to the College shortly before his death in 1935: "Be true to the standards of the past." (55)

After the turn of the century, much of the scholarly literature produced at the College by individuals other than Tyler began to reveal a commitment to the scientific method. Chemistry professor Van F. Garrett and biology professor John W. Ritchie published school textbooks in physiology and hygiene that were used in many classrooms across the Commonwealth. (56) In his scholarly work, education professor Henry E. Bennett emphasized practical problems associated with the efficient management of school plant and facilities. Educational psychologist George Oscar Ferguson published probably the first scientific study ever undertaken that attempted to compare the intelligence of blacks and whites. (57) Based on extensive and heavily controlled testing of school children in three Virginia cities, the study included a conclusion

contending that blacks were less intelligent than whites. Ferguson's study was the first experimental research report ever completed by a William and Mary professor. (58) His Ferguson Formboards Test is believed to be the second nonverbal test of intelligence ever devised in the world. (59) The shift from the literary to the scientific tradition in research was finally revealed in the scholarship of three younger professors who accepted chairs late in the Tyler administration and who constituted a core of the group continuing with the new administration. Historian Richard L. Morton, biologist Donald W. Davis, and philosopher Joseph Roy Geiger all performed research according to the canons of critical objectivity or the scientific method, although Geiger's belief that philosophical scholarship should promote moral development was in a sense reminiscent of Tyler's idealism. (60)

It is not surprising that much of the intellectual leadership of the College of William and Mary was associated with the education department, considering the new mission of the school. As shown above, research based on scientific methods first appeared in connection with the education department. Scientific work produced outside of the education department such as the school textbooks of Garrett and Ritchie frequently reflected educational purposes. But the influence of traditional curricular ideas on the education department is revealed in the following comment of Henry E. Bennett, the incumbent in the chair of education during the final years of the Tyler administration: "The moral training of his pupils is the first duty of every teacher and the most commonly slighted or utterly neglected." (61) Although some faculty members still espouse the view that moral education is the primary

purpose of the academy, many of the professors at the leading academic institutions began to de-emphasize the idea of moral instruction during the progressive era.

When Tyler retired in 1919, he summarized the academic progress of the previous thirty-one years in a report to the Board. William and Mary reopened with standards similar to those of a high school, he felt, but gradually advanced to the status of a four-year college. (62) The officers of the College were able to achieve such a substantial upgrading in the level of the curriculum because of such factors as the improved financial posture of the institution and the increased availability of high schools for the preparatory education of the college-bound Virginia youth. Directives from the State Board of Education and the regulations of foundations with grant funds to award also played a role in prompting improvements in academic standards. In order to terminate the College's role as a provider of secondary education, the preparatory department was first reorganized and then abolished. The cumulative result of the curricular improvements was that the level of the coursework, admissions standards, and degree requirements came to approximate those of most fully accredited American colleges by the end of the administration. In advancing its standards from the high school to the collegiate level during the progressive era, the College was similar to many other state teacher-training institutions in the United States. (63) (In order to assist in presenting the analysis of the academic standards in an orderly manner, the period will be divided into three eras, the time frames extending from 1888 to 1905, 1905 to 1913, and from 1913 to 1919.)

Both the underdeveloped condition of the public school system in Virginia and the low income nature of the student population of the College help to explain the low academic standards that obtained at the school between 1888 and 1905. Most of the students were rural in origin, and the opportunity for institutional preparatory education in nearly all of Virginia's rural counties was limited to the public primary school and the classical academy. (64) There were few high schools in the rural areas of the Commonwealth before 1906. The matriculation records provide evidence suggesting that a substantial proportion of the students had attended public schools for primary education and then had attended privately supported academies for a higher level of schooling. (65) But the limited income of their families apparently made it impossible for most individuals to spend sufficient time at the academies to complete more than the rudiments of a secondary preparation. (66) As late as 1896, one individual entered the College with no more preparation for advanced studies than that provided by schooling at home. In recognition of the condition of the rural schools, the College maintained an open admissions policy. In 1890 and 1893, for example, no candidates for admission were rejected, although some were assigned to the preparatory department after admissions testing. (67)

The degree structure allowed the freshmen to select from among two plans. The two year Licentiate of Instruction program offered theoretical and practical work designed to produce a teacher trained to a level roughly analogous to that of the Associate degree of today. The liberal arts program included courses in the arts and sciences leading to a three-year Bachelor of Arts degree as well as a four year Master of

Arts degree. All degree requirements were based on a broad distribution plan. In 1899, for example, the distribution plan involved a division of the coursework into four groups. Those groups included (1) Latin, Greek, and Modern Languages; (2) General History, and American Politics; (3) Philosophy, Science and Mathematics; and (4) Pedagogy. Individuals pursuing studies leading to the Bachelor of Arts were required to complete all of the coursework offered in the three subject areas of their choice, but with not more than two subject areas being selected from any one group. They would also complete introductory or intermediate level offerings in the remaining areas, except that one modern language was sufficient for graduation, and teacher candidates would select pedagogy as one of the three areas of concentration. (68) The comment of an alumnus admitted in 1898 that he withdrew from Hampton High School and entered the sophomore class at William and Mary was probably an accurate reflection of academic standards at the time. (69)

Admissions standards and degree requirements rose substantially between 1905 and 1913. Influential in that development were such factors as the transfer of the College to the state, the founding of many new high schools in the Commonwealth, and the requirements of various bureaucratic regulations. As a result of the 1906 transfer to the state, the school leadership reformed the degree structure between 1905 and 1907 in order to make it conform to the practices of the other state colleges. (70) The two-year Licentiate of Instruction was abolished; the Bachelor of Science degree was introduced; and the programs leading to both the Bachelor of Arts and the Master of Arts degrees were upgraded one year. Thus the four year bachelor's degree became the standard

finishing credential at the College of William and Mary.

The initiation of an admissions requirement of fourteen high school credits in 1909 apparently reflected both the improved condition of the Virginia high schools and the regulations of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. (71) As a result of the legislation providing state assistance for high school development, the number of public secondary schools increased from seventy-five in 1906 to 448 in 1913. (72) Many of the new high schools served the rural counties and undoubtedly helped to raise the educational competence of the rural students entering the College.

In 1906 the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching made a large faculty retirement fund available to institutions of higher education that conformed to certain criteria, including the maintenance of a required admissions regulation of fourteen high school credits. (73) The College established the fourteen-credit regulation in 1909 and submitted an application to the foundation that was rejected. (74) It appears that the College honored the new admissions regulation in the breach, however, by allowing for the conditional entry of less well qualified applicants until 1911. The enforcement of the letter of the new admissions rule beginning that year, apparently the result of State Board of Education regulations, was the primary cause for a decline of eighteen percent in the student population. (75) Under the Constitution of 1902 the State Board was authorized to issue regulations carrying the force of law. In 1910 the Superintendent of Public Instruction issued a regulation that was apparently effective in establishing the principle of state regulation over standards of quality within individual public

colleges. (76) In 1912 the State Department of Education inspector visited the College of William and Mary for the first time and found that the school was in fact enforcing the regulations stated in the catalogue. In his report to the College regarding the results of the inspection, the State Superintendent recommended that the coursework in Latin be upgraded one year. (77) That directive was probably the first assertion of state authority over the specific content of the curriculum at the College of William and Mary. It seems significant as a prime example of the manner in which bureaucratic regulation came to dominate many aspects of American institutional life during the progressive era.

In order to maintain the fourteen-credit standard for admission to the College and at the same time to restore the eighteen percent loss in the student population, the preparatory department was officially separated from the institution in 1911. Redesignated as the Normal Academy, the subcollegiate department continued both to train teachers at the secondary level and to receive funding from the College. But the theoretical removal of the secondary students from the College greatly improved statistics reflecting the level of academic standards. Material presented at a 1911 conference of Southern educators concerning entrance standards in fact revealed that William and Mary had succeeded in raising admissions standards higher than many other Southern colleges. (78) The experience of a 1911 graduate who found that a number of graduate schools would not honor his bachelor's degree without an additional year of work indicated, however, some remaining lack of confidence in the academic standards of the College. (79)

By 1919, academic standards at the College of William and Mary had

apparently come to approximate those at most other Virginia Colleges and those at the average school in the nation. Partly as a result of the College's contribution to the improvement of Virginia's public high schools, entering freshmen were usually qualified by ten years of preparatory schooling, plus or minus one year. (80) The Normal Academy had been phased out between 1915 and 1918. The improved status of the degree was revealed, moreover, in the willingness of first-rate graduate schools to accept William and Mary graduates without requiring remedial work. (81)

The College of William and Mary was similar to many other American schools in experiencing a change in student discipline from nearly complete in loco parentis to limited student self-government during the progressive era. (82) The development of student government may have been a more natural process at William and Mary than it was at some other schools in part because of the honor system. Since the eighteenth century, according to tradition, William and Mary students had assisted informally in student discipline by practicing a code of conduct based on the Southern conception of honorable behavior. (83) Because of the force of peer pressure, dishonorable conduct such as lying and cheating was not tolerated. It is thus suggested that the development of student government at the College of William and Mary would, in a sense, represent the institutionalization and expansion of existing practices nearly two centuries old.

The nature of the handling of misconduct cases during the decade of the 1890s reflected a strong emphasis on honorable behavior and on the in loco parentis style of student discipline. In cases of drinking and

of inattention to study, for example, the culprits were generally admonished by the Faculty at first, while incorrigible individuals were allowed to withdraw. (84) Those students who were inattentive to study were often assigned to study hall. The few individuals brought before the Faculty for incidents of vicious hazing were generally expelled because of the Faculty opinion that the practice was dishonorable. One assailant who attacked his enemy from hiding drew a stern reprimand from the Faculty "not so much for the assault as for the brutality and manner of it." (85) According to an alumnus who attended the College from 1898 to 1901, the students vigorously enforced the honor system:

. . . one student was caught cheating, and we had a meeting of the student body. We decided that we'd ask that he be expelled, but he left overnight, and we never heard from him anymore. The honor system was strictly obeyed (Note: "obeyed" and not "enforced"). I never saw a man cheat in all my three years at the College. (86)

In the transition from the regime of in loco parentis to a new system of discipline that included student self-government, the motivating factors and opinions apparently were not well recorded in faculty and student records. The student petition requesting permission to form a Student Council was denied by the Faculty in 1909. In 1914, however, the Faculty responded favorably to a similar proposal, said to have been presented because of "agitation by some students and faculty." (87) In its composition the Student Council was a quasi-democratic body. Whereas the seniors controlled the honor system, the Student Council was controlled by an inverted pyramid including four seniors, three juniors, two sophomores, and one freshman. When the Faculty allowed the first decision of the Student Council to stand against an individual accused

of cheating in June, 1915, the new role of the students in disciplinary affairs became official. (88)

During the Tyler administration, the students not only won a larger role in disciplinary affairs, but they were also instrumental in developing a more diversified and a more sophisticated extracurriculum. When the College reopened, the literary societies apparently offered the only organized extracurricular activities on the campus. Most of the students participated in the literary activities, and the journal of the literary societies recorded the serious attempts of many students to compose creditable essays, short stories, and poems. Other popular activities constituting the informal curriculum of the College included the Friday night dances at the asylum, informally organized ball games, hunting and fishing expeditions, Sunday church services, and Bible study sessions offered in the home of at least one professor. In brief, the extracurriculum was similar to that of a classical college when the school reopened.

During the decade of the 1890's, the students were active in forming a more diverse group of organized extracurricular associations. The most notable of the new activities were (1) the Y.M.C.A., (2) intercollegiate athletics, and (3) Greek-letter fraternities. Founded about 1890, the Y.M.C.A. provided an outlet for the energies of those students who were interested in spiritual enrichment and the temperance cause. The ability of the Y.M.C.A. both to place a volunteer coordinator on each floor of the dormitories and to enlist about half of the students as members accurately reflected the appeal of Christian self-development to a large portion of the students. (89) The College

played its first intercollegiate football game in 1893, and soon afterwards the school also fielded teams in baseball, basketball, and track. The addition of a coach, a primitive gymnasium, and a small stadium after the turn of the century revealed a growing commitment on the part of the institution to satisfying the twentieth century demand for improved physical culture and spectator sports. (90) During the decade of the 1890s, the new fraternities were small and staged few functions other than occasional balls such as those held at graduation time. After 1900, however, several fraternities established off-campus residence houses, while their entertainments became more frequent and more elaborate than before. By 1915, six fraternities helped to satisfy the desire of many students to fashion a secure environment through comraderie and shared experiences with kindred spirits.

Student affairs became more highly organized during the first two decades of the twentieth century. A variety of student organizations arose in response to the development of student interests outside of the areas of athletics, fraternities, and the Y.M.C.A. The students in each dormitory established residence hall associations. Several groups of students from distinctive geographic areas formed clubs open to individuals from their particular regions. Examples of these clubs included the Northern Lights for students from the Northern United States, and the Southside Club for students from that region within the Commonwealth. Other associations seem to have shared social recreational purposes similar to those of the Greek-letter fraternities, although they lacked the national organizational structure of the fraternities. By 1915, the College annual revealed the presence of thirty-nine

different student organizations on campus including twenty-three clubs, six fraternities, and four athletic teams. (91) Although the extracurriculum was expanded a great deal during the administration, one may note that the William and Mary recreational fare appeared to be rather unsophisticated when seen from the perspective of larger institutions. According to the author of a 1917 travelogue titled Rambles in Old College Towns, recreation at William and Mary seemed to be "simple" and "rural" by the standards of such schools as Harvard and Yale. (92)

The advent of World War I radically altered the nature student life for about two years. In the fall of 1917, nearly every able-bodied student enrolled in the William and Mary Student Army Training Corps. The dormitories became barrack buildings and, at the sound of the bugle, the students marched from class to class in formation. The resulting militarization of campus life was said to have virtually destroyed college spirit. (93) Apparently, the only extracurricular society that continued to function was the German Club that sponsored dances. As a result of the severe attrition in enrollment caused by the war, women students were first admitted to the College in the fall of 1918. Although there was widespread concern that coeducation would shatter the College tradition of providing education for male students, the pioneering group of about twenty females was on the whole well received. (94) After the return of peace, many of the campus fraternal, athletic, and service organizations for men were revived, and the women formed a largely parallel structure of their own extracurricular organizations. In the fall of 1919 student affairs once again assumed an air of

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business as usual, except that women had been admitted to the student body.

The flowering of student culture during the Tyler administration revealed the rise of a more independent-minded and self-reliant spirit among the students. Just as government agencies and business corporations erected more sophisticated organizational structures during the period, the students of the College seized the initiative in erecting an organized extracurriculum. The increasing self-confidence and self-reliance of the students reflected in the new organizational achievements of the extracurriculum were probably related to the decline of student interest in the College saga. The students of the 1890s expended considerable energy in writing about the institutional saga in the literary journal. But that theme appeared in the journal only at rare intervals after about 1906. A more active and a more self-confident group of students had less need to rely on a legend as a means of helping to justify their educational careers.

The development of a modern curriculum at William and Mary through such means as the creation of a more diversified student culture and the introduction of a more practical approach to the coursework occurred about one to three decades later than it did at most other Virginia institutions of higher education. While the leaders of the College were struggling to preserve the school's existence during the decade of the 1870s, even the weaker denominational colleges began to diversify their scientific coursework and to offer some commercial subjects. During the same decade, the students at affluent institutions such as Washington and Lee and the University of Virginia established many of the

extracurricular activities that the William and Mary students initiated between 1890 and 1910. (95) The adoption of the state-sponsored teacher-training mission in 1888 may have endowed the College with a stronger professional program than any existing at Virginia's other private schools. But William and Mary would continue to trail all public and most private Virginia colleges in academic standards throughout the Tyler administration, in large part due to insufficient finances. In contrast, Virginia A & M became a first-rate school of scientific agriculture and engineering during the progressive era, while the University of Virginia continued to offer leadership to most Southern colleges because of its stature as a model provider of advanced and professional education. (96)

Among the Virginia institutions of higher education, only the University and Washington and Lee possessed traditions comparable to those of William and Mary. At the University, the heritage of Jefferson's founding leadership coupled with the general excellence of the academic program appear to have made the school one of the most effective educators of youth in the nation. (97) Whereas the historical traditions at the University probably served to augment the effect of an already powerful program, the distinctive traditions at William and Mary may have acted to compensate for the lack of academic reputation. At Washington and Lee, for example, the mantle of Lee's leadership became an emotive legend that contributed to the formation of a distinctive institutional ethos that exhibited a magnetic appeal to many Southerners. (98) All of the other Virginia colleges possessed local traditions influential in academic and student affairs, but these were

traditions that played a less than distinctive role in the curricula of the various institutions. Several of the denominational colleges, for example, shared traditions emphasizing clerical education that helped to endow the learning experience with a religious character. The students at Virginia A & M developed a tradition of sometimes vicious hazing which became so ingrained that the faculty at times seemed powerless to stop it, in spite of the unfavorable attention that the practice attracted from the legislature. (99) At Hampton Institute, the pioneering experience of developing the leading institution of higher education for blacks in America probably helped to fashion a campus environment conducive to the achievement of dedicated student performance. It appears, however, that no other college community in the Commonwealth elevated institutional traditions to as important a position in the educational experience as did the College of William and Mary.

By the time that Tyler retired in 1919, an era had passed because the College had become in many respects a modern institution. Only twenty years before, the school had followed a curricular program that was classical in nearly every respect except for the education department and the social class of the students. At that time, the most influential factor in the life of the institution seems to have been a philosophical orientation toward the standards and practices of the past. Much of the literature published by faculty members exhibited a bias for the values of the Old South. The spirit of intellectual life at the College was largely captivated by classical languages and civilization. The Faculty maintained firm control of discipline through

the method of *in loco parentis*. Academic standards stood at a level between those of a secondary school and those of a senior college. Probably most important, the College saga played a prominent role in helping to form the identity of the institution.

The saga contributed significantly to the establishment of a distinctive academic environment at the College. During the period 1890 to 1900 especially, the school tradition seems to have been instrumental in creating a sense of moral urgency and high resolve within the College community. The low prestige of the school and the aspiring nature of the students combined to create the need for a theme to perpetuate the hope that they could fashion better futures. In answering that need, the College tradition succeeded in transforming mundane realities into heroic potentialities for many of the students.

The adoption of new curricular ideas and methods gradually helped to reorient the program away from the standards of the past and toward the needs of the twentieth century. The proliferation of scientific coursework was largely a response to the development of high schools, the industrialization of the economy, and the growing sophistication of medical training in the Commonwealth. The rise of a scientific and technical research capability among the faculty accorded with the increasing demand for practical public service from the academy. The creation of limited student self-government was an academic reflection of the growing tendency to democratize certain governmental functions during the progressive era. The expansion of student activities revealed the increasing sophistication and self-confidence of the student body. The reestablishment of high academic standards signified that the

institution had recovered a level of prosperity and well-being not experienced since before the Civil War.

As one result of the modernization and improvement of the program, there was a reform in the role of the institutional tradition. The upgrading of the curriculum and the improvement of the College status in the twentieth century helped to make the historical tradition into a self-confident expression that augmented the effect of a good program. The tradition would remain a permanent part of the institutional identity, but modern conditions would help to relegate it to a less visible position. The disappearance of much of the legislative hostility partly removed the need to utilize the tradition as a defensive mechanism. The growing acceptance of the public school idea fostered an improvement in the status of the institution. The establishment of an efficient professional curriculum servicing the needs of Commonwealth schools won the plaudits of some important Virginia leaders such as Governor Davis. The rise of a scientific outlook helped to create an intellectual environment not conducive to the organization of institutional life around ideas represented in historical myths and legends. The cumulative improvements in the formal and informal areas of the program helped to give the students a sense of confidence and pride in their school not present during the decade of the 1890s. No longer did the students concern themselves so extensively with the literary interpretation of the tradition. Instead they occupied themselves with other extracurricular activities such as discussing Einstein and helping to police school dances for the Student Council. (100)

It should not be supposed that the College tradition ceased to play

an important role in the life of the institution after 1919. Many individuals today feel that the College of William and Mary still tends to follow the traditions and practices of the past to a larger degree than most of the other Virginia schools. As late as the decade of the 1960s, moreover, some of the College officials occasionally used rhetoric in testimony presented before legislative committees similar to that popularized by Tyler. (101) The enduring vitality of the College tradition during the period 1919 to the present was symbolic of the conservative nature of modern curricular reform at the College. As the College slowly reestablished a role of leadership in maintaining exceptional academic standards, the institutional tradition continued to shape both student behavior and administrative decisions.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER V

- (1) Clifton F. Conrad, "Initiating and Implementing changes in General Education," in General Education: Issues and Resources (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1980), p. 102.
- (2) Frederick Rudolph, Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636 (San Francisco, Cal.: Jossey-Bass, 1978), pp. 99-239.
- (3) Laurence R. Veysey, The emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965), pp. 1-505.
- (4) Conversations at a reception for the graduate students and faculty in the William and Mary School of Education at the Williamsburg home of Dean Robert Emans during the fall of 1979.
- (5) Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, p. ix.
- (6) College Catalogue (1896-1897), p. 30.
- (7) "Report: College of William and Mary and State Normal School," Virginia School Report (1889), p. 50; College Catalogues (1889-1906).
- (8) C. Vernon Spratley Interview, College of William and Mary Oral History Project, 3 Oct 1975.
- (9) William Lamb, Diary (3 July 1889), NP [Special Collections, Manuscripts Division, Swem Library, College of William and Mary].
- (10) An undated broadside in the WMCP.
- (11) Probably the most complete account of Tyler's philosophy of history is that found in the perface to his edition, Men of Mark in Virginia (Washington, D.C.: Men of Mark Publishing Co., 1906-1909), 5 Vols.
- (12) Ibid.
- (13) A good account of the Renaissance idea that proper education leads to career mobility may be found in Lawrence Stone, "The Educational 'Revolution' in England, 1560-1640," Past & Present (July 1964), pp. 41-80.
- (14) J. Gordon Bohannon, "Alumni Day Address," Alumni Gazette (Summer 1935), pp. 1-2 [A supplementary issue].

(15) Lyon G. Tyler, "Report: College of William and Mary and State Normal School," Virginia School Report (1889), p. 47.

(16) J. Gordon Bohannon, "Alumni Day Address," Alumni Gazette (Summer 1935), pp. 1-2 [a supplementary issue].

(17) Lyon G. Tyler, "Report: College of William and Mary and State Normal School," Virginia School Report (1889), p. 48.

(18) J. Lesslie Hall, Half-Hours in Southern History (Richmond: B. F. Johnson, 1907), p. 26.

(19) C. E. Bishop, "On the Teaching of Modern Languages," William and Mary College Monthly (April 1897), pp. 275-279.

(20) Howard W. Wiseman, The Seven Wise Men (NY: Jaques, 1948), pp. 28-30.

(21) Ibid, pp. 1-42.

(22) Paul Dressel points out how important an institutional image is in regard to student selection of a college in his study, Evaluation in Higher Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), pp. 301-302.

(23) Charles Curry to Lyon G. Tyler, Staunton, Virginia, 23 June 1902 [TFP].

(24) W. T. L. Taliaferro in "Letters Addresses to Dr. J. A. C. Chandler . . . ," WMQ (Oct 1934), p. 286.

(25) Every known statement provided by Faculty and Board members concerning the purposes of the College placed the goals of training for citizenship and gentility ahead of scholarship. Rector Robert M. Hughes, for example, stated that "I would rather see a child of mine fail on every examination and come away a gentleman, than see him take every college honor and come away a snob." Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," p. 202.

(26) "Liberal Education," William and Mary College Monthly (June 1898), p. 333; "The New South, Its Progress and Resources," William and Mary College Monthly (Jan 1891), p. 75.

(27) An articulate statement of this viewpoint may be found in R. T. Bolyn, "The Nature of True Greatness," William and Mary College Monthly (Nov 1896), p. 34 [an oration delivered at the final celebration of the Philamathean Literary Society, 25 June 1896].

(28) Fleet W. Cox, NT, William and Mary College Monthly (January 1897), pp. 118-119 [an address presented during the Philomathean final celebration, 25 June 1896].

(29) College of William and Mary, Colonial Echo (1899), p. 187.

- (30) "Editorials," William and Mary College Magazine (Jan 1894), p. 42.
- (31) "Hall Reminisces at Alumni Day Dinner," Alumni Gazette (Oct 1938), pp. 11-12 and 26.
- (32) H. Page Williams to J. A. C. Chandler, Raleigh NC, 25 April 1934 [WMCP].
- (33) J. Gordon Bohannon, "Alumni Day Address," Alumni Gazette (Summer 1935) pp. 1-2 [a supplementary issue].
- (34) Howard R. Bowen, Investment in Learning: The Individual and Social Value of American Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: Jossey-Bass, 1977), p. 26.
- (35) Plummer F. Jones, "Editorial," William and Mary College Monthly (Jan 1896), pp. 115-117.
- (36) John E. Hobeika, The sage of Lion's Den (NY: Exposition Press, 1948), p. 42.
- (37) G. Mebaine Smith, "The Advantage of the Classics," William and Mary College Monthly (Oct 1894), p. 12.
- (38) "The Value of the Classics," William and Mary Literary Magazine (Nov 1907), p. 21.
- (39) J. A. C. Chandler to Robert M. Hughes, Williamsburg, 21 Feb 1920 [Hughes FAF].
- (40) College of William and Mary, Catalogues (1889-1900).
- (41) Ibid (1900-1919).
- (42) A careful comparison of the curriculum catalogues and the alumni catalogue of William and Mary with those of Medical College of Virginia in Richmond makes it appear likely that the upgrading of the science curriculum at William and Mary resulted in part from a rise in the admissions standards of the medical school. During the Tyler administration, William and Mary was advertised as a premedical institution serving Tidewater Virginia, and at least sixty-five William and Mary alumni enrolled in the medical college. (Figure based on comparison of the matriculation registers in the medical college archives and the 1932 Historical Catalogue of William and Mary alumni.) Between 1900 and 1919, admissions standards of the medical college rose from presentation of a certificate signed by a local school official to completion of at least two years of college, including several specific science courses.
- (43) Janet Coleman Kimbrough Interview, College of William and Mary Oral History Project, 2 June 1975 [College Archives].

(44) Subsequent analysis will contain a more detailed presentation of the work of these three professors.

(45) Jessie M. Pangburg, The Evolution of the American Teachers College (NY: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), pp. 38-39 and 68-69.

(46) B. [pseud.], "The College and the School System," William and Mary Literary Magazine (Jan 1910), pp. 155-161.

(47) College of William and Mary Catalogue (1904), p. 51.

(48) Herman Blankenship, "The Teacher's Opportunity," a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Licentiate of Instruction degree at the College of William and Mary, in Earle Walter Blodgett FAF [Blankenship became a school superintendent].

(49) Henry E. Bennett, "Suggestions on Moral Education," Virginia Journal of Education (March 1908), pp. 1-3. Bennett's best known work was School Posture and Seating (Boston: Ginn, 1928), pp. 328.

(50) College of William and Mary, Catalogue (1904-1905), pp. 38-54.

(51) For a statement of Tyler's curricular philosophy, see "Report: College of William and Mary and State Normal School," Virginia School Report (1889), p. 50; a good account of Thorndike's work is presented in Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams, & Co., 1968[1959]), pp. 459-498.

(52) Ibid, pp. 429-458.

(53) See, for example, Joseph Roy Geiger, Some Religious Implications of Pragmatism (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1919), pp. 54. [published as Number 9 in the Philosophic Studies Series].

(54) J. Lesslie Hall, Beowulf, a Ph.D. dissertation at Johns Hopkins University, 1892, pp. 110.

(55) J. Gordon Bohannon, "Alumni Day Address," Alumni Gazette (Summer 1935), pp. 1-2.

(56) Donald W. Davis, "Biology at William and Mary," Alumni Gazette (March 1940), p. 30.

(57) George Oscar Ferguson, "The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study," Archives of Psychology (NY: NP, April 1916), pp. 1-138.

(58) Richard Hubbard Henneman, "Psychology at William and Mary," Alumni Gazette (May 1941), p. 8.

(59) Ibid.

- (60) Interview of J. Wilfred Lambert, Williamsburg, 5 April 1980.
- (61) Henry E. Bennett, "Suggestions on Moral Education," Virginia Journal of Education (March 1908), pp. 1-3.
- (62) "To the Board of Visitors," Visitors Minutes (10 June 1919), pp. 424-425.
- (63) Jessie M. Pangburn, The Evolution of the American Teachers College (NY: Teachers College, 1932), pp. 84-91.
- (64) Cornelius J. Heatwole, History of Education in Virginia (NY: Macmillan, 1916), pp. 246-261.
- (65) Conclusion based on a thorough analysis of the matriculation cards for the school year 1896-1897, College Archives. Apparently, the only other year of the Tyler period for which the matriculation cards have survived is 1895-1896.
- (66) Analysis of the Matriculation records for the year 1896-1897 reveals that about forty-nine percent of the students had attended private schools. The low level of preparation general to the student body suggests that most of the students did not stay at the academies for extended periods.
- (67) Faculty Minutes (2 and 4 Oct 1890H NP; Ibid (12 Oct 1893), NP.
- (68) Virginia School Report (1899), p. 260.
- (69) C. Vernon Spratley Interview, College of William and Mary Oral History Project, 3 Oct 1975.
- (70) College of William and Mary, Catalogues (1905-1907).
- (71) Henry J. Perkinson, Imperfect Panacea: The American Faith in Education, 1865-1965 (NY: Random, 1968), pp. 136-137.
- (72) Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 251.
- (73) Frederick Rudolph, American College and University (NY: Random, 1962), pp. 431-434.
- (74) Visitors Minutes (8 June 1909H pp. 183-184; House Journal, 1910 (20 Jan 1910H pp. 101-102.
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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to trace the development of the fundamental change in mission occurring at the College of William and Mary between the Civil War and World War I. In the central thesis of the work, it was proposed that the leaders of the College fashioned the record of 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 the 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. The strategy of looking to the personalities, events, and verities of the past for the institutional identity established both a conservative and a traditional ethos on campus reflecting similar values that characterized the Old Dominion.

During the period under study, the role of the institutional tradition in College affairs was altered, largely due to a change in the status of the school. Between 1865 and 1881, the College was beset by financial difficulties but still retained a relatively favorable status as a liberal arts college for gentlemen. At that time, the institutional

tradition played an influential role both in the curriculum and in the political affairs of the school. But it was then a ceremonial and personal matter and was not a topic of frequent discussion and self-conscious concern within the College community. Between 1888 and about 1902, the College was a weak institution that failed to command the respect of both the political and the higher education community in the Commonwealth, partly because of the change in mission from the training of gentlemen to the training of teachers. The substantial deficiency in status experienced by the school during that period was a prime factor in helping to cause members of the College community to develop the saga into a matter of paramount and frequently expressed concern. The gradual strengthening of the College and the modernization of educational attitudes in Virginia after 1900 combined to help enhance the prestige of the school. As the status of the institution rose, the self-confidence of the College community increased, and the expression of ideas concerning the historical tradition became less frequent and less exaggerated. An institutional tradition that had previously served to compensate for perceived inadequacy then came to reinforce a position of emerging institutional strength.

Perhaps the most important factor affecting the development of the institutional tradition or saga was the 1888 reform in mission. The research design was therefore organized around (1) an analysis of causes for the change in mission and (2) an exploration of effects resulting from the change. The study began with an examination of the last sixteen years in the life of the College as a provider of classical education for gentlemen. That examination provided a model from which to compare

subsequent developments. The plan of dividing College affairs into the broad areas of government and curriculum was followed throughout the 1865 to 1919 period, except for the years during which the College was closed and consequently had no curriculum.

Throughout the study, an attempt was made to relate institutional developments at the College to environmental factors such as party politics, social attitudes, economic indicators, demographic features, public school activities, and institutional practices at other Colleges. Although elements of the national environment were at times featured as background to the behavior of the William and Mary community, the main environmental interest was focused on the Old Dominion. Commentators have often noted the abiding affection of many residents in Virginia for the heroic traditions of the Commonwealth during the ante bellum period. In an effort to channel the inspirational power of the Old Virginia motif into the reorganized school, the leaders of the College developed the saga into a major component of the institutional identity.

Except for the possession of a unique historical tradition, the College was in most respects similar to other small schools that had not yet modernized during the period, 1865 to 1881. Partly because financial weakness made innovation almost impossible and partly because the College leadership preferred traditional arrangements, the institution followed a program essentially like that of an old time college. Although Ewell had received practical and scientific training at West Point, he supported the classical curriculum. Despite the modern methods of teaching English and science, the ancient languages dominated the program of instruction. Both the Board and the President felt that

religious and moral development constituted the most important functions of the institution. The students followed an unsophisticated regimen that included small-town recreational activities, literary society forensics, and required Sunday church attendance.

The distinctive historical traditions of the institution, however, differentiated the College of William and Mary from most other small colleges in the nation during the Ewell period. At that time, the saga was not the embracing feature that it would later become, but it did exert a significant influence on the College. The decision to rebuild the College in Williamsburg rested primarily on considerations of the institutional heritage. Appeals for funds were frequently based on the institutional tradition. Contemporary members of the College community sometimes expressed the view that the historical reputation of the school endowed the institution with an aura reflecting the honor of the past on the current students.

In the campaign for the initial William and Mary appropriation, a microcosm of educational attitudes among articulate Virginians was revealed. Conservative and aristocratic Virginians serving on the Board reluctantly elected to undertake radical revision of the curriculum because a change in function from classical education to teacher training represented a considerable decline in prestige for the College. A few supporters of the College who held liberal views on the public school issue, however, recognized that the need of the expanding public school system for improved leadership offered an opportunity to save the College. In campaigning for a state appropriation to revive the school, friends of the institution emphasized some class-based arguments similar

to those popularized by Northern educational reformers. In summary, they felt that middle-class individuals merited an improved opportunity for higher education in order to obtain professional advancement. Many members of the oligarchy that largely dominated Virginia politics opposed the William and Mary bill because they did not believe in spending public resources for projects that would tend to promote social leveling. The negative view expressed by those influential Democrats was a reflection of widely shared upper-class views regarding both public schooling and expanded opportunity for public higher education. On the other hand, legislators who were not allied to the oligarchy and who reflected middle-class interests were more receptive to the ideas of strengthening the public schools and opening higher education to students from lower socioeconomic strata.

The College was able to secure an appropriation and thus to launch the teacher-training program largely due to the perseverance and skill of the lobbyists who supported the school. That small but determined group organized effectively and presented persuasive arguments. They mobilized the support of neighboring Tidewater legislators, garnered the votes of most Republican members, and secured a critical alliance with the western supporters of Virginia A & M. The arguments that they used on the floor of the House and of the Senate included (1) the historical merits of the school, (2) the need of the public schools for trained teachers, and (3) the need of middle-class boys for increased access to higher education. The second and third arguments were probably the most persuasive as Virginia had reached the stage of socioeconomic development at which societies normally require sophisticated

institutions for public schooling and for teacher training.

The College tradition played a significant role in the campaign for a state appropriation. It may not have influenced the vote of most legislators, but it undoubtedly accounted in large part for the loyalty and dedication of those leaders who were determined to preserve the institution. While defending the College bill on the floor of the House, Tyler predicted that donations would shower down upon the school because of its historical traditions. Although that argument had not proved to be effective over the previous twenty years, it would continue to play a prominent part in fund-raising endeavors.

The idea of the College tradition played a central role in the general political affairs of the institution during the Tyler administration. During the decade of the 1890s, the institutional tradition constituted the most valuable public relations asset possessed by the College. As a newly reopened institution possessing the lowest budget of any college in the Old Dominion, William and Mary had great needs for additional resources but few current achievements to justify expanded appropriations. The institution was, furthermore, placed in the ambivalent position of performing a function and serving a constituency unpopular with many of the leaders in the legislature. Many of the more influential legislators were, through their families and associations, a part of the aristocratic Virginia heritage addressed by the College tradition. The extensive use of material drawn from the College tradition in presentations before the legislature represented an attempt by the College leadership to make an affective appeal to such interests.

For various reasons, the largely traditional defense of College

needs failed to impress most legislators. Many of those assemblymen who were either westerners or partisans of the church schools viewed the College's eastern location and Episcopal heritage as factors sufficient to justify opposing appropriations for William and Mary. A more important factor that helps to explain the unfavorable reputation of the College and its failure to extract large resources from the legislature was the nature of the sociopolitical environment. The corporate leaders who dominated the political process during the last decade of the nineteenth century supported inexpensive government and laissez faire business development. As a matter of philosophical principle and practical economics, corporate leaders opposed both public secondary school development and the democratization of higher education. As the most advanced exponent of the principle of meritocracy in Virginia higher education, the College of William and Mary served as a lightning rod to ground the anti-democratic sentiment shared by many of the aristocratic leaders and was at times a notable target for their opprobrium.

After the turn of the century, the sociopolitical modernization of the Commonwealth along with College accomplishments in providing trained leaders for the public schools combined to help promote a change in the function of the College tradition. The rise of a reform movement in 1902 was instrumental not only in modernizing the administrative apparatus of the Commonwealth, but it also helped to promote a change in the attitudes of the Virginia leadership regarding public education. At the same time, College of William and Mary alumni were beginning to play a substantial role in public school leadership. For providing some of the

most effective principals, superintendents, and State Department of Education personnel in the Commonwealth, the College received an increasing level of official recognition. As a result of the consequent improvement in the status of the institution, the College leadership began emphasizing current achievements more than old traditions in political presentations. This tactic addressed the demand of Westmoreland Davis and the efficiency-in-government group for quantified evidence rather than emotional appeals as justification for institutional needs.

The past-oriented concept of the College tradition was a very influential factor in determining the nature of the educational experience at the College during the progressive era. As the most important factor in forming the institutional identity, the College tradition also played a prominent role in attracting applicants for admission. The extensive expression of ideas associated with the College heritage in faculty publications, in student essays, in occasional presentations, and in alumni reminiscences substantiates the contention that the College tradition helped to shape student goals and values. Many of the students espoused the idea of using elements drawn from the institutional heritage as guides for their own behavior. The heritage furnished an attractive source of guidance to many students because it succeeded in capturing some of the most inspiring traditions in the history of the Commonwealth. A substantial number of the students were persuaded that they might establish notable careers by adopting standards of value and behavior similar to those of the more eminent alumni of the College. The influence of the College saga also accounted

in large part for the dedication and loyalty of the faculty noted by the Education Commission of 1908 to 1912.

A variety of modern methods and practices introduced into the College after the turn of the century gradually helped to alter the role of traditions in the curriculum. The triumph of science over classicism helped to create a more critical spirit that was not compatible with exaggerated statements of the College saga. The pragmatic philosophy furnished a new viewpoint not consonant with the idealistic values that underpinned the institutional tradition. The reestablishment of high academic standards removed some of the inferior conditions that originally fostered the expansion of the defensive College tradition under the Tyler administration. As a result of curricular modernization and a general strengthening of the institution, the College tradition assumed a less commanding position during the twentieth century than it had previously held. By the time that Tyler retired, a tradition that had seemed to be contrived and exaggerated twenty years earlier had assumed a more subdued and a more natural position in institutional affairs.

Some current faculty members at the College of William and Mary regard the Tyler era as a period when the institution lived on its traditions alone. That view reflects both the importance of the tradition to the College community at that time and the fact that, even by 1919, the school was not a strong institution when compared to all of the other state-financed senior colleges. Most of the other colleges in the Commonwealth possessed organizational traditions that contributed to the creation of the institutional identity. Examples of such influences

included the heritage of Jefferson at the University of Virginia, the contributions to the Civil War effort at Virginia Military Institute, and the ideal of Christian leadership at some of the church-related colleges. At none of the other Virginia schools, however, did the concept of a unique institutional heritage enter the life of the organization so completely as it did at William and Mary. The role of the institutional tradition at the College of William and Mary was unmatched in Virginia in its effect of encouraging a sense of elevated purpose and high moral resolve in many of its students. In its political effect, however, the organizational tradition may have encouraged counterproductive results. Legislators, bureaucrats, and foundation officers frequently felt that the glorious heritage of the College was pretentious and immaterial as a justification for funding.

Although the College saga did not succeed in securing the loyalty of the Virginia political community, it did elicit an extraordinary amount of dedication and affection from the members of the College community. As a romantic idea sharing some of the characteristics of a religion and an ideology, the saga infused a sense of ambition and high resolve into many of those associated with the institution. By establishing a strong center of collective identity, it turned the College into a true community. By creating an inspirational environment based on ideas cherished in the Old Dominion, the William and Mary saga endowed the College with distinctive educational capabilities shared by few other schools.

The growth and development of the College saga during the progressive era seems to have been a natural result of the interaction

between the Virginia environment and the College situation. Most Virginians shared a high degree of respect for notable colonial and ante bellum traditions such as those possessed by the College. Both the low status of the school and the aspiring nature of the College community combined to help create the need for a theme to elevate the image of the school. The growth of the College saga during the Tyler administration thus reflected an attempt to endow a weak college with a distinctive identity similar to that possessed by some of the leading liberal arts schools in the nation.

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF DISTINCTIVE TRADITIONS IN THE MODERNIZATION OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY: A HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE FROM 1865 TO 1919

Russell T. Smith, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary in Virginia, October 1980

Chairman: Professor Paul Unger

The purpose of this study was to trace the development of the relationship between the William and Mary College identity and its environment during the period 1865 to 1919. The pivotal point in the work was 1888, at which time the College experienced a revolutionary change in mission from liberal arts education to teacher training. The particular focus was on the effect of the change in mission on the set of historical traditions that constituted a major proportion of the institutional image and endowed the College with a distinctive identity.

The early achievements of the College in educating Thomas Jefferson and other Virginia statesmen furnished the school with a set of distinctive traditions that were based on outstanding institutional performance and a high level of public recognition. Between 1776 and 1861, however, William and Mary experienced modest budgets and was in many respects similar to the hundreds of other small colleges in the nation. The burning of the College and the destruction of most of its endowment during the Civil War nearly destroyed the institution. Because of the inability of the school to recover from the Civil War as a liberal arts college, the Board adopted a revolutionary change in curriculum in 1888. The school was converted into a teacher-training institution in order to secure an appropriation from the Virginia legislature that would preserve the institution.

In the thesis of the study, it was proposed that the officers of the College placed great emphasis on the historical traditions of the school in an effort to compensate for the loss of status experienced in the adoption of the teacher-training mission. At that time, the aristocratic leaders of the Commonwealth opposed the development and expansion of the public schools and normal schooling. But many of the most notable Virginia leaders expressed great admiration for heroic pre-Civil War traditions such as those possessed by William and Mary.

By establishing a public identity based largely on its ante bellum traditions, the leaders of the College attempted to endow the school with an image that would (1) attract generous public benevolence and (2)

inspire the students to develop high-minded and productive lives.

It was found that the unique ethos established by the College tradition was partly successful in achieving the desired goals. Legislators, wealthy individuals, and foundation officials for the most part were not inspired by the institutional tradition. They did not make large awards of funds to the College in response to College appeals based on its traditions. On the other hand, the College tradition apparently was an affective source of instruction in values for the students. They were encouraged to emulate the great statesmen who were alumni of the College in an effort to secure equal distinction in their own lives. Extensive literary evidence provided by the students and alumni suggests that they found such reasoning persuasive.

During the period under study, the role of the institutional tradition in College affairs changed. A tradition that had previously played more of an occasional function was greatly expanded and magnified during the decade after 1888. The College leadership made the tradition into a heavily emphasized part of the institutional life in an effort to improve the reputation of the institution in a state where there was, at that time, great approbation for ante bellum traditions but not for teacher training. 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 of these developments, the status of the College improved, and the institutional tradition once again assumed a more natural and less exaggerated role in College affairs.