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President J. A. C. Chandler and the first women faculty at the College of William and Mary

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PRESIDENT J. A. C. CHANDLER AND THE FIRST WOMEN FACULTY
AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

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

by

Carolyn Lamb Sparks Whittenburg

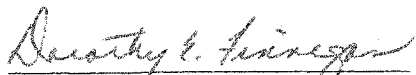
May 2004

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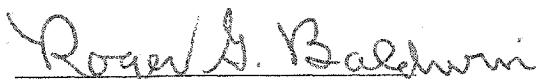
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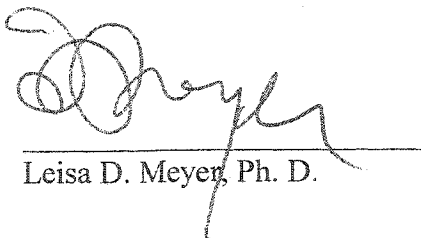
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family:

Penn, Catherine, and Elizabeth

and to the memory of

Clarence and Ruby

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PRESIDENT J. A. C. CHANDLER AND THE FIRST WOMEN FACULTY
AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

ABSTRACT

This study examines the progressive leadership of President J. A. C. Chandler in hiring the first women faculty at the College of William and Mary and explains the relationship between his presidency and his twenty-year career in education prior to 1919. During the early heyday of hiring women faculty in higher education, Chandler employed women educators at levels equal to national rates and surpassing regional standards. He did so in conjunction with his efforts to establish full coeducation at William and Mary. Chandler led a crusade to transform the College from a tiny, mostly male college into a vibrant coeducational state college. He expanded the student body by more than tenfold, made the student body gender equal, built a new campus, and created a utilitarian curriculum for vocational training.

Chandler also took dynamic steps to hire women faculty at a time when most southern women educators taught in women's colleges. He hired women to teach in a wide range of disciplines, sought them nationally, and treated them equitably. His willingness to hire women came from twenty years of experience working with women teachers in Richmond. Chandler made the College a model in the employment of women faculty. Through his dream to transform the College, Chandler opened the College's doors to women faculty as well as to women students.

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PRESIDENT J. A. C. CHANDLER AND THE FIRST WOMEN FACULTY
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 1919 Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler became president of his alma mater, the College of William and Mary. The College had become a public institution only in 1906 and had accepted its first 24 women students during Lyon G. Tyler's last year as president in 1918. As a direct result of admitting the first women students, Tyler hired three women faculty: a dean of women, the head of the new home economics department, and a director of women's physical education. These were the first women to serve on the faculty in the 225-year history of the school. Only Dean of Women Caroline Tupper, who doubled as an English professor, had any direct contact with men students. When J. A. C. Chandler died in office in 1934, however, almost one-third of the faculty were women. They taught in 11 of the total of 25 disciplines present in the curriculum that year. During the Chandler administration, the student enrollment had climbed dramatically from 131 in 1918 to its high point of 1,682 in 1932. The following year, the enrollment of women (805) surpassed the enrollment of men (797) for the first time in the history of the College. Only hindsight makes this dramatic shift in the gender composition seem an inevitable development. In 1919, President Chandler may have been the only man in Virginia to see the continual increase in the number of women students as a natural progression. He was certainly the only one among the presidents of the state's four-year public colleges and universities who saw the possibilities of growth and increased academic excellence through full coeducation.

Chandler's motivation for the promotion of coeducation is obvious. Coeducation

was to be the means for achieving his overall goal of developing William and Mary into a great institution of higher education. An equivalent expansion of women on the faculty, however, did not necessarily follow as a matter of course. Even at women's colleges, such as the Woman's College in Richmond, men faculty often predominated. Chandler made the expansion of women on the William and Mary faculty into a logical extension of coeducation. This dissertation concentrates on why he was willing to follow this course of employing women faculty and on how he implemented his plans. Chandler's twenty year career in education prior to returning to William and Mary in 1919 is the key to understanding his willingness to incorporate women fully into the College faculty, to the patterns by which he recruited them, to his executive style in supervising them, and to his equitable treatment of them as educators.

There are both major and complementary themes in this study. It is necessary to understand Chandler's employment of the first faculty of women in the context of the many progressive reforms that he undertook during his dynamic fifteen year presidency. There was a certain degree of synergy at work during Chandler's years as president in that all of his reforms were tied very closely together to transform William and Mary. The major theme in this study is Chandler's inclusion of women on the faculty in a meaningful way, but, for Chandler himself, it was only one element of his vision for what the College might become. A complimentary theme is the growth of coeducation at the College which led Chandler to hire more women faculty. The dramatic increase in the number of women as well as men students also led in turn to the expansion of the entire College. There was no sequential process in the hiring of women faculty or the transformation of the College. Chandler undertook everything seemingly at once. To

comprehend his achievements in the employment of women faculty, one must keep in view his sometimes feverish activity on all other fronts. A crucial theme in this study is the nature of his long apprenticeship as an educator and administrator before returning to Williamsburg in 1919 and its impact on his hiring of women at the College. The twenty years before Chandler returned to his alma mater provided him the time and experience to acquire the skills, the judgements, and the networking connections that insured his success at William and Mary.

Chandler fueled his great expansion and reform campaign at William and Mary by embracing coeducation. In his bid to attract talented women students in large numbers, he set about creating a campus that would be friendly to women. The employment of much more than a token number of women on his faculty was an essential part of this plan, and his willingness to employ women was directly related to his twenty years in private and public education before he became president of the College. During that time, Chandler worked with women as their instructor, their colleague, and their boss. While other college presidents in the South delayed coeducation and resisted hiring women faculty, Chandler knew from long experience that women as students and as instructors would measure up to his rigorous standards. Women educators were no novelty to Chandler. They were an essential component of his vision of William and Mary as a great public institution of higher learning.

American Women in Higher Education: The Scholarly Opinion

Colleges for women in the United States did not exist until the early nineteenth century. Arguably, the first American woman's college began in the South with the opening of Georgia Female College in 1839, according to Christy Farnham. The Midwest, however, took the lead in the establishment of coeducational colleges when Oberlin College admitted its first women in 1837. Gradually through the century, colleges opened their doors to women, as Barbara Solomon, Amy McCandless, Mabel Newcomer, and Lynn Gordon demonstrated. In 1855 the University of Iowa became the first public coeducational institution in the nation. Six more midwestern state universities followed suit by 1870. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, coeducation spread across much of the country. By 1900 more than half of the colleges and universities in the United States were coeducational.¹ Over 70 percent of all women students enrolled in higher education attended coeducational institutions by that time according to Lynn Gordon.² As the number of women students increased, the number of women faculty followed suit. Lucille Pollard confirmed that women educators gradually were hired to teach in institutions where women students were numerous. Most taught in private women's colleges, although some women did secure teaching posts in coeducational institutions by the end of the century.³

Throughout the nineteenth and well into the early twentieth centuries, higher education in the South followed a different path. As McCandless demonstrated, men and women remained segregated by gender on southern campuses, and almost two-thirds of the American colleges for women were located in the South at the beginning of the

twentieth century. Even those southern public colleges and universities that declared themselves coeducational were, for the most part, only nominally so. Some, such as the University of North Carolina, admitted women only as upperclassmen or as graduate students. Overwhelmingly, female undergraduates in the South attended single sex colleges.⁴ As Pollard and Geraldine Clifford both confirmed, even in the 1920s, women faculty throughout that region taught predominantly at separate women's institutions.⁵ Only a few women found employment as faculty members on campuses reserved for men students.⁶

Although many southern women's colleges were private, state legislatures in the region did establish public colleges for women, beginning with Mississippi State College for Women in 1884. Other southern states followed, establishing a number of separate schools that included North Carolina College for Women, Georgia State College for Women, Florida State College for Women, and Winthrop College in South Carolina. Women faculty in the South taught almost exclusively in these public women's schools or private women's colleges. Most southern public institutions of higher learning remained overwhelmingly male in terms of both students and faculty. In 1921-1922, for example, women constituted 94 percent of the faculty at Mississippi State College for Women, but only 2 percent of the faculty at the University of Mississippi. Women made up 74 percent of the faculty at Florida State College for Women and 73 percent of the faculty at the North Carolina College for Women but held none of the faculty positions at either the University of Florida or the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The many public colleges and universities in the South that resisted coeducation were also unwilling to hire women as faculty at the beginning of the 1920s.⁷

While women faculty in the South faced an uphill battle for employment, nationwide their prospects were gradually improving during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Barbara Solomon and Patricia Graham both confirmed that women accounted for 20 percent of all faculty in the United States in 1900. That level increased to 26 percent by 1920, rose slightly to 27 percent by 1930, then peaked at 28 percent in 1940. In terms of percentages of total faculty positions, these were the highest levels for the employment of women at all American colleges and universities until the 1980s. These numbers included employment in all women's colleges as well as in all coeducational institutions. The 1920s and 1930s, therefore, were without doubt the heyday for the employment of women faculty in the United States until very recently. Although the number of women faculty women at American colleges and universities continued to increase after 1940, the number of men faculty expanded much more dramatically, especially after World War II.⁸

Although women professionals, including college professors, seemed to make significant gains in the 1920s, Patricia Hummer has characterized those ten years as the "decade of elusive promise." While the number of women attending college grew by 142 percent during the decade, the number of women obtaining doctorates accounted for only 15.2 percent of the total Ph.D.s awarded over the same span of time. In 1928, for example, women made up almost 40 percent of all students enrolled in American graduate schools, but they received only 14.6 percent of the fellowships awarded that year. For the most part, women were limited to receiving fellowships in home economics, public health, psychology, and sociology. Universities awarded them few grants in male-dominated disciplines such as engineering.⁹

In 1921 the American Association of University Professors gravely reported their findings from a study of women faculty at 145 member institutions. Among 29 all-male colleges and universities, only two women held faculty appointments among 2,000 professors. Even among 14 women's colleges, women held only 55 percent of the full professorships, compared to 86 percent of all the instructorships. The same study found that at 104 coeducational institutions, women held only 4 percent of the full professorships but almost 24 percent of the instructorships.¹⁰ Women faculty were indeed facing the "elusive promise" of gainful employment, especially at the higher ranks. Due to the small numbers of women faculty at various coeducational institutions, Geraldine Clifford characterized them as "lone voyagers," because administrators continued to favor the hiring of men faculty even while their numbers of women students continued to grow.¹¹

Southern public coeducational institutions would have to open their doors to far more women students before they would be willing to expand their hiring of women faculty beyond women's colleges. In 1921, for example, the University of North Carolina permitted women to enroll in their professional schools, and consented to allow women residents of Chapel Hill to attend as undergraduates. One woman noted that the university conveyed the attitude that women were not really welcome. To underscore this message, the university opposed building dormitories for women in the 1920s. The University of Georgia provided only slightly more support for female students. The university in Athens built only one small dormitory to house 70 of its 260 female students. The University of South Carolina took another tact. It completely removed all freshmen and sophomore women to a separate coordinate campus, permitting them to take classes on

the main campus only in their junior and senior years.¹² Many of the southern public flagship universities, including the three mentioned above, supported the separate female colleges in their states and only very reluctantly opened their main campuses to women students or women faculty.

Virginia public colleges and universities were little different from other public universities elsewhere in the South. At the turn of the century, there was no public collegiate education for white women in Virginia. Therefore, there were no opportunities for women faculty at public white institutions of higher learning. Women students were not permitted to attend public white colleges or universities in Virginia. At that time the only public white institutions were the University of Virginia (UVA), Virginia Military Institute (VMI), and Virginia Polytechnic Institute (VPI). Since these schools admitted only men, they maintained a one gender faculty. In 1906, the College of William and Mary became the fourth public institution of higher learning but chose to continue the tradition of excluding female students and remained all male until 1918. The state of Virginia, however, remained even farther behind other southern states in its collegiate opportunities for women. The state offered no other public liberal arts education for white women until 1940, except at the public normal schools. This meant there was no public liberal arts college to employ white women faculty in Virginia. The state relied on private colleges to educate its women students until the Virginia legislature created four public normal schools for women by 1912. These normals offered the equivalent of the first two years of college. A few women faculty did teach in these normal schools, but public higher education in Virginia was essentially closed as a workplace to women academics until J. A. C. Chandler changed that situation at William and Mary in the 1920s.¹³

According to Michael Dennis, Edwin Alderman, president of the University of Virginia, was the most notable progressive leader of higher education in the state of Virginia in the first part of the twentieth century. Certainly, Alderman participated in the early progressive movement that brought Northerners and Southerners together to work for the betterment of education throughout the South between 1900 and 1910. He increased the level of academic professionalism at the University of Virginia, stressed the importance of a utilitarian curriculum, and supported professional schools. Yet Alderman opposed coeducation at the university. At best, he favored a co-ordinate college for women as a means of keeping women out of the university.¹⁴

Women of influence in the state banded together between 1910 and 1920 in a movement to establish a state co-ordinate college for women at the University of Virginia, as Anne Freeman has demonstrated. This reform movement, however, did not produce a co-ordinate college in Charlottesville. Although the collective voices of women could not sway the state legislature, they did succeed in bringing the issue to the attention of the state and created a demand throughout the Commonwealth for public higher education for women.¹⁵ In 1918 President Lyon G. Tyler of the College of William and Mary seized upon the demand for education for women to increase the College's declining male student enrollments and to make use of the new gender of students as a means of tapping a new source of state funding. William and Mary thus became the first coeducational public college in the state. As Laura Parrish as well as Susan Godson and her colleagues have noted, when the College admitted its first women students, it also hired its first women faculty.¹⁶

When Michael Dennis examined progressive leadership among four southern

college presidents, he stopped his study in 1920, the textbook ending point for the Progressive Movement in America. Yet as Lawrence Cremin has demonstrated, the progressive era in education was just picking up its momentum after World War I. Progressive changes in education would advance from the 1920s through the 1950s. It would be in this time period that J. A. C. Chandler would make his great contributions to progressive education at the College of William and Mary.¹⁷ When Chandler took office at William and Mary, the situation for women faculty at Virginia public colleges and universities continued to be bleak. In 1921-1922 VMI had no women on its faculty; UVA did not have enough women to total even 1 percent of its faculty, and VPI employed just enough women to compose 3 percent of its faculty. As soon as the College of William and Mary became coeducational in 1918, however, it began to hire women as faculty members. In that year, there were three women on the faculty of 16.¹⁸ Thereafter, William and Mary slowly began to pull away from regional and national hiring norms, and, under Chandler's leadership, to escalate its employment of women in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Although other aspects of Chandler's administration have been documented to some extent by Godson, and by Samuel Butler and C. D. Walters, Chandler's role in the creation of the first faculty of women at a major public institution of higher learning in Virginia has gone unnoticed. This dissertation will correct that oversight.

Dissertation Organization

When J. A. C. Chandler took office in 1919, three women served on the William and Mary faculty. Two years earlier there had been none. In response to Chandler's rapid

expansion of coeducation, almost one-third of his faculty were women by the end of his administration in 1934. This dissertation argues that Chandler's twenty year career as an educator and administrator prior to coming to William and Mary prepared him to assemble the first true cohort of women educators. Because he had for so many years taught alongside women or supervised them, he was quite willing to employ them as faculty at the College and to treat them equitably in the assignments of duties and rewards. Chandler's background and experiences before 1919 influenced not only his decision to hire women in the first place, but also the distinct patterns by which he recruited them and his readiness to assign them to mainstream arts and sciences departments. One can see Chandler's early career in his executive style and even in his pragmatic use of prominent women as visiting faculty.

Section 1: The Significance of Chandler's Early Career

This dissertation divides naturally into three sections of two chapters each. The first section covers Chandler's career prior to 1919. While this is not a biography, it does cover a wide range of factors in those early years that prepared him for success as a college president. It is important to see his ever increasing professional experience with women as teachers in the context of honing his administrative and networking skills. He furthered that administrative expertise through his work with politicians, leading educators, and officers of funding agencies.

There are two distinct phases of Chandler's career before he became president at William and Mary. Both begin and end in Richmond. The first chapter in this section will

examine Chandler's years in higher education as a faculty member and administrator at two colleges in the state capital. One of those colleges was exclusively female and the other was poised to make the transition to coeducation. After completing his own education, Chandler accepted a teaching position at Woman's College in Richmond. There he worked with women colleagues, taught women students, served as acting president, and found a wife. He also taught at Richmond College just as it began its experiment with coeducation. During these years Chandler began to acquire personal and professional networking and administrative skills that would serve him well for the rest of his career. While he was at Woman's College, he even applied for the presidencies of two other women's colleges, indicating early on his compatibility with higher education for women.

Chapter 3 analyzes Chandler's career in public education after he left Richmond College in 1904 for a two-year post as a textbook editor in New York. There he further developed his networks with public school teachers, principals, college faculty, college presidents, state superintendents of education, and a wide variety of other professional educators. During this time he also instructed teachers at summer normal institutes. He returned to Richmond and in 1909 became superintendent of the public school system. There the great majority of his teachers were women. As student enrollments expanded rapidly during Chandler's years as superintendent, so did the number of women teachers that he employed. From his sometimes domineering style to the major expansion of the school system's physical plant, Chandler's decade as head of the Richmond schools seems almost a dress rehearsal for his presidency of William and Mary.

Section 2: Chandler Transforms his Alma Mater

Chandler returned to William and Mary as president in 1919 determined to transform his alma mater from an institution struggling to keep its doors open into a great institution of higher learning. The second section of the dissertation, chapters 4 and 5, assesses the degree to which he accomplished that goal, and especially his success in making William and Mary a regional, and even a national leader in the employment of women faculty.

Chapter 4 summarizes many of Chandler's achievements as president. It is essential to see Chandler's creation of the first cadre of women educators at William and Mary as a part of this overall campaign of growth and progressive change. Of these reforms, his rapid expansion of coeducation was the one most directly related to increasing the number of women faculty, but just as he had in Richmond, Chandler undertook a massive building program, overhauled the curriculum to stress vocational education, and employed well-developed personal and professional networks to raise needed funds.

Because Chandler relied so much on coeducation to turn William and Mary into a major state school, this chapter also offers considerable detail on the struggle to open public higher education to women in Virginia. Chandler's predecessor, Lyon G. Tyler, has received most of the accolades for enrolling the first women students at William and Mary, but it was Chandler who made the College fully coeducational, thus setting the stage for his expansion of the cadre of women faculty.

Chapter 5 demonstrates that Chandler made William and Mary the leader in

employing women faculty among all southern public coeducational colleges and universities. The statistics set forth in this chapter compare the employment of women at the College to both regional and national hiring trends. On a national level, William and Mary matched or superceded the rate at which similar schools hired women as faculty, but when compared to other southern schools, Chandler's accomplishments stand out clearly. During most of Chandler's administration, William and Mary ranked first in its proportion of women faculty. Chapter 5 also compares the men and women faculty at the College: the disciplines in which they taught, their ranks, their educational backgrounds, their rate of turnover, and their length of employment.

Section 3: How Chandler Assembled the First Faculty of Women

The third section of this dissertation details the process by which Chandler recruited and supervised the first women on the faculty at William and Mary. Many of the patterns revealed in this section relate directly back to his early years in Richmond and New York. Chandler sought women faculty whom he trusted to accept his forceful executive style and, at the same time, to provide a quality education not only for the rapidly increasing number of women students, but also for men students in key arts and sciences disciplines such as history and mathematics. The last two chapters blend together to create a comprehensive study of Chandler's recruitment, hiring patterns, and employment practices. In the end, they demonstrate that, while Chandler did not treat women and men as interchangeable parts, he did show a marked tendency toward evenhandedness.

Chapter 6 is a close examination of Chandler's recruitment patterns. Initially, Chandler hired women from Richmond. Many had been teachers in the public schools when he was superintendent. He also hired many William and Mary alumnae, all of whom graduated while he was president. By the middle 1920s, however, Chandler was also hiring from the national academic labor market, recruiting women at such schools as Radcliffe College and the University of Chicago. In addition to his employment of the William and Mary alumnae and the Richmond women, the most striking of Chandler's recruitment patterns was his preference for graduates of Teachers College and Columbia University. Case studies of recruitment in positions in the departments of home economics and English show that he relied heavily on referrals from placement officers at these New York schools. Indeed, the placement bureaus at Teachers College and Columbia University acted as a conduit that brought women faculty from throughout the United States to Williamsburg.

Chapter 7 depicts a balancing act. On the one hand, it analyzes Chandler's sometime stormy relationship with his women deans and department heads and his assignments of heavy workloads. On the other hand, it shows that, within ranks, Chandler paid similarly qualified men and women on roughly the same scale, and that he worked hard to embellish William and Mary's reputation as a campus friendly to women. In his drive to make William and Mary known as a place where women were treated well, Chandler brought highly respected progressive women, most of whom were residents of Richmond, to campus as visiting faculty.

These last two chapters form a unified study of Chandler's recruitment, hiring, and employment patterns for women faculty. They demonstrate that Chandler sought

women educators as part of his comprehensive plan to change the gender make-up of the college. The six chapters together provide a sweeping study of Chandler's vision, abilities, and background preparation to make the College into a great public coeducational institution.

Methods

This dissertation is firmly grounded in historical research. It is therefore overwhelmingly dependent upon archival sources, some now a century old, that were not generated with an eye toward later scholarly analysis. While there is a rather large volume of materials in the William and Mary archives from the Chandler administration, these documents rarely speak directly to the questions asked in this dissertation. It is this quality that often makes the evidence about Chandler's creation of the first cohort of women faculty at the College so subtle. All of the people with whom this dissertation is concerned are long deceased. They cannot be interviewed. Even when they left a bit of writing, no follow-up questions can address the puzzles in their ancient pieces of private correspondence. Uncovering patterns in this material, then, requires constant attention to background and context. The process often boils down to the accumulation and interpretation of small bits of information which are then combined into a unified whole.

The presidential and personal papers of Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler in the College of William and Mary archives were the richest sources for this dissertation. Chandler was not given to making either public or private statements about his motives. It has been therefore necessary both to carefully sift through those statements he did leave

and to infer from his actions what his thoughts might have been. Papers used in this study include his correspondence with William and Mary faculty, other college presidents, faculty at other colleges, public school teachers, and William and Mary board members. Chandler's papers also include correspondence with college placement offices, foundations, and others involved in public and higher education in Virginia and beyond. Detailed correspondence chronicles his recruitment of faculty members. The minutes of the William and Mary Board of Visitors in the College archives, along with Chandler's presidential papers, provide teaching schedules, salaries, and enrollment figures.

Regrettably, the sort of introspective letters and diaries that might illuminate the private and professional lives of the first women faculty at the College are in extremely short supply. In most cases, we can know these women only through their correspondence with the president and through those items in the Chandler papers and the minutes of the Boards of Visitors that speak to recruitment, salaries, and teaching loads. College catalogues and yearbooks do provide the essentials concerning their educational credentials: alma maters, degrees, prior teaching experience. College newspapers provide some information on faculty, their duties beyond the classroom, and important changes taking place on campus. A few oral histories offer reminiscences of Chandler's personal style of administration. College alumnae records give additional information on the family and education of some women faculty. Archival records from other colleges and universities where the women faculty earned their degrees or taught contributed some additional information, but these are a far cry from comprehensive coverage.

Statistical analysis can supplement the textual material in the archives. A few useful published sources from the era put Chandler's years at William and Mary into

context. For example, data published in the United States Office of Education's Biennial Survey of Education in the United States from 1918 until 1934 facilitates a comparison of William and Mary with both the South and the nation as a whole in terms of the employment of women. Detailed information for statistical analysis of faculty members, both male and female, in terms of salaries, rank, and teaching assignments could come only from College catalogues, Board of Visitors minutes, College yearbooks, and various files on individuals in the Swem Library Archives Special Collections. Using a collective-biography approach, this information about the faculty was assembled into two databases using Microsoft Excel spreadsheet software. One database drew exclusively on the yearly catalogues for data on both men and women who taught at the College during the Chandler years. Another database limited to women faculty added supplementary detailed information from the catalogues and other sources from Swem Library Archives and other university archives. The resulting statistics are presented as simple distributions, cross-tabulations, and averages (means) calculated by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) or by Excel software.

Summary

This case study suggests that a retrospective analysis can demonstrate how prior preparation may significantly influence the behavior of college presidents. Their actions may be greatly influenced by their previous experiences and careers. Certainly, it reveals patterns in J. A. C. Chandler's career in Richmond and New York prior to 1919 that relate to his actions as president of the College of William and Mary in the 1920s and

1930s. After twenty years of deep professional involvement with women in education, Chandler was both eager to accelerate coeducation at William and Mary and quite comfortable with the prospect of adding women to the faculty as a consequence. To Chandler, these were not experiments. They were logical steps towards his goal of making William and Mary into a great public institution of higher learning. They were also an extension of the patterns so evident in his earlier career.

Chandler was a dynamic and effective executive who quite literally built a modern college on the grounds of the ancient one. He is remembered for his expansion of the campus, yet scholars have scarcely noted his most important legacy to his alma mater. It was Chandler who truly opened the College to women on two levels. William and Mary's female students can trace their presence on campus back to his rapid expansion of coeducation after 1918. Just as important, the presence of women faculty at the College derives from Chandler's acceptance of them as full members of the college community.

CHAPTER 2

Training for the Presidency: Chandler's Early Work in Higher Education

Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler established an impressive twenty-year career in education before he assumed the presidency of the College of William and Mary. He built the first decade of that career in higher education in Richmond as a professor and administrator at Woman's College and at Richmond College. His driving and uncompromising devotion to this work led him to prominence in Virginia educational circles. His early employment in higher education brought him into immediate contact with women educators, and he emerged as a key figure in the education of women in Virginia. During this period he also expanded his educational networking and broadened his administrative skills. Chandler's Richmond years of working with women faculty, networking, and administration were the first steps in his training for his future presidency at the College of William and Mary. To understand Chandler's willingness to bring women to the College of William and Mary, it is necessary to first examine his earlier career as a teacher of women students, a colleague of women faculty, an administrator of a woman's college, and a friend of women activists and professionals. This first phase of Chandler's career in higher education became part of his preparation for his second career as a school superintendent and a foundation for his third career at the College of William and Mary from 1919 to 1934 where he readily hired women faculty when other institutions refused to do so.

Chandler's work at the Woman's College of Richmond and his additional connections within the world of women's education provided his first contacts with

women faculty. From that point, most of his career in both public and higher education involved women teachers. His skillful networking in Virginia higher education circles led women as well as men to seek his advice, assistance, and administrative ability. A study of his professional life reveals a clear pattern in which the education of women and the resulting close working relationship with women teachers and administrators were key elements. Chandler was not a person to do things haphazardly. It is certainly possible that his move into women's education was a target of opportunity, perhaps a series of them, rather than a reflection of an original ideological commitment, but by the time he returned to Williamsburg, he was both experienced and skilled in that field. He chose to combine an ambitious plan for growth at the College with an even more rapid expansion of co-education begun by his predecessor, Lyon G. Tyler. That expansion of co-education would require him to hire women as instructors and administrators, and to welcome the first women to the Board of Visitors.

Chandler's first professional positions in higher education brought him into immediate contact with women educators and women students. His first full time employment on the collegiate level was in the education of women students. Here his colleagues included women faculty, one of which would become his future wife. He later worked with several of the early women colleagues and students as faculty at the College of William and Mary. He also developed basic administrative skills at Woman's College and Richmond College. He helped women who sought his advice and assistance. As early as 1896, he seemed to have settled on a career that included women educators and the education of women in higher education for twice while he was at Woman's College, Chandler applied for the presidency of women's colleges, Converse College and the

Virginia Normal School for Women at Farmville.

Chandler also developed strong networking skills during his Richmond years. He networked in public education, state education, and higher education as both a professor and an editor, and through these experiences, he increased his managerial skills.

Administrators at several institutions sought his advice on hiring, and he counseled both men and women teachers about jobs. He boldly pursued contacts with administrators and educational fund leaders; honed lobbying, networking, and manipulative skills; and participated in college administrative and hiring long before coming to the College of William and Mary.

While still a very young man Julian Chandler taught alongside women faculty, educated women students, sought positions at women's institutions, developed college administrative talents, and expanded important networking skills. During his early professional years, Chandler was developing the skills, the contacts, and the willingness necessary to become a leader in the employment of women and in the administration of a coeducational campus.

Educational Preparation for a Career in Higher Education

Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler chose education as his career during his undergraduate years at the College of William and Mary. Born October 29, 1872 near Guinea in Caroline County, Virginia, Julian was the son of Dr. Joseph Alsop Chandler, a medical physician, and his wife, Emuella Josephine White Chandler. The elder Dr. Chandler, educated at Bethany College in Maryland and at the Charleston Medical

College, had established his home in Caroline County where Chandler family members had lived since the early 1700s. He received his early education in the local schools at Bowling Green. Members of the Chandler family had previously participated in education for women. During reconstruction, Alice Scott Chandler had founded The Home School at Bowling Green in Chandler's home county of Caroline. This school later changed its name to Bowling Green Female Seminary and eventually moved to Buena Vista, Virginia in 1901.¹

In 1889 Julian entered the College of William and Mary, his first step toward a career that would ultimately lead him back to the Williamsburg campus. Although he had originally considered following his father into medicine, when he graduated with his bachelor of arts degree at the age of eighteen in 1891, he had already changed his career plans to education. He stayed an additional year at the College to obtain his master of arts degree. During this time he served as an instructor in history and English, his two major subjects at both the undergraduate and graduate level, working under the guidance of Dr. John Lesslie Hall, head of the English department. After graduation, Julian accepted his first position as an educational administrator, serving as the principal of a public school at Houston, Virginia (now Halifax) from 1892 to 1893.²

In 1894, Chandler returned to graduate school at Johns Hopkins University (JHU). His application and letters of recommendation detailed his work at the College of William and Mary. They also revealed his ambition and provided a first glimpse into his professional character. On the application he stated that he held "diplomas in English, History, Latin, French, German, Greek, Mathematics, Moral Science & Natural Science." He declared his desire to "pursue courses in History, English and Latin" and to obtain a

“Ph.D. degree after several years’ residence.”³ Chandler included several letters from his professors at the College of William and Mary. Each testified to his outstanding work at the College, his diligence in his studies, his aptitude in teaching, his upright moral character, and his ambition to succeed, as well as his teaching experience at the College. Letters of recommendation later in Chandler’s life would reiterate these same character traits.

John Lesslie Hall, who was still on the faculty when Chandler later became president, wrote in support of Chandler’s application for a Virginia scholarship at Johns Hopkins. Having taken “all our diplomas” in the liberal arts course at the College, Hall remarked that Chandler was “very thorough in English, History, Mathematics, Languages” and “ranks very high here among citizens, students, and Faculty.”⁴

Other letters of recommendation gave glowing reports of Chandler’s academic career at the College. L. B. Wharton, professor of languages at the College of William and Mary, acknowledged that Chandler had “ranked among the first” in Greek, Latin, French, and German. In his many years as a teacher, Wharton had “found few equal to him in habits of persistent, systematic study.” Wharton noted that in his “clearness and thoroughness of acquisitions,” Julian seemed “unwilling to pass over anything without a complete mastery of the subject.” Wharton declared that Julian’s “moral character is beyond dispute,” and he would “meet with success” in whatever he endeavored in the future.⁵

T. J. Stubbs, professor of mathematics at the College, characterized Chandler as a “first rate mathematician,” who was qualified to teach mathematics. Stubbs noted that Julian had completed examinations in “Algebra, Elementary and Advanced; Geometry,

both Plane and Solid; Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical; Analytical Geometry, both Plain and Solid; and Calculus, Differential and Integral; also a course upon Determinants and Theory of Equations.” Stubbs added that Julian was “a Christian gentleman.”⁶

Van F. Garrett, professor of natural sciences and another who would be still on the faculty when Chandler later returned to Williamsburg, agreed with the other College faculty. He added that Chandler had been awarded a scholarship at the College for “correct deportment and success in study.” Garrett added further distinction to Chandler’s College career by adding that he had been chosen to teach history and English as “Assistant Professor to the chair of English and History in the College.”⁷ Lyon G. Tyler, president of the College of William and Mary when Chandler was a student, and the president whom Chandler succeeded in 1919, offered the highest praise of all the College faculty when he wrote: “No College in Virginia turned out last year a more competent person for the business of life and of teaching than J. A. C. Chandler of Caroline County, Va.”⁸ These letters provide some insight into Chandler’s studies at William and Mary, and verify that Chandler had taught at the College. Although subtly, these men recognized Chandler’s remarkable drive. Similarly, Caroline County resident, E. C. Moncure, who had known Julian since “boyhood, ”also attested to Chandler’s “social and moral standing” in the county, and “recommend[ed] him as a teacher or for any other business which requires fidelity, aptitude, and capacity.”⁹

Julian Chandler’s choice of graduate schools greatly influenced his academic career. In the latter part of that century, JHU had become the leading choice for graduate training among Southern scholars. With a large group of Southerners on its faculty, Hopkins awarded a number of scholarships to students from Maryland, Virginia, and

North Carolina, and trained young Southern men to become professors. JHU's renowned history professor, Herbert Baxter Adams, was nationally known for his establishment of the research seminar in history with its scientific method of research and writing. His seminar fame expanded as former students produced a large number of publications in the late nineteenth century. His many prominent students included the two Virginians, Woodrow Wilson and J. A.C. Chandler.¹⁰ With glowing letters of recommendation, Chandler became a recipient of one of Hopkins' Virginia scholarships.¹¹ Hopkins' strong support for research and writing prepared Chandler for a solid academic career that included a sizable number of publications.

While at Johns Hopkins, Herbert Baxter Adams was Chandler's primary advisor. Although he majored in history, Chandler also took extensive work in English and jurisprudence. According to JHU registration lists, Chandler signed up for a remarkable number of courses: historical seminars and European history courses with Adams, European history courses with John Vincent, English history and law courses with George Henry Emmott, and American political and constitutional history with Bernard C. Steiner. He also registered for courses in English literature, language, and grammar studies with James Wilson Bright, jurisprudence classes with George Emmott, and additional classes in economics. Chandler powered his way through his studies and received his doctorate in history in 1896. While working on the degree, he supplemented his scholarship money with college teaching at Morgan College in Baltimore.¹²

After graduation in 1896, Chandler commenced a stunning twenty-year career in teaching and administration in Richmond. He advanced at a feverish rate. Starting with his work at the Richmond Woman's College, Chandler made political, educational, and

social connections in the capital that would enhance his administration at William and Mary. These early associations were a major factor in Chandler's later decision to bring women educators from Richmond to the College in the 1920s. His energetic Richmond career illustrates the dynamism of his drive to succeed, his advancement in teaching and administration, and his early connections to women educators in Richmond and throughout the state.

Woman's College: Chandler's First Work with Women Faculty and Women Students

Beginning with a swirl of activity, Chandler embarked upon almost a decade of teaching and administration in Richmond after earning his doctorate. Between 1896 and 1901, he served as professor of pedagogy and English at Woman's College, held the position of dean of the faculty, and served as acting president for the 1900-1901 term. Overlapping with these duties, he also taught at the mostly male Richmond College in 1898, holding the position of acting professor of history and literature, before becoming professor of English at the college in 1901. He also taught summers at Virginia summer normal schools to train teachers in 1898 and 1899, and served as instructor in the summers at the School of Methods at the University of Virginia from 1900 until 1906. From 1902 until 1904 he taught solely at Richmond College while serving as dean of its lower school, Richmond Academy. Living in Richmond until 1904, Chandler developed strong educational connections through Woman's College and Richmond College and furthered his associations in Virginia education. Although he moved to New York City in 1904 to become an editor at Silver, Burdett Publishing Company for two years, his Richmond

connections would remain extremely strong.¹³

When Chandler began his position at Woman's College, he set out on a career that would bring him into continual contact with women. Woman's College played a particularly important aspect in his life for two special reasons. His future wife, Lenore Duke, was a teacher at the college, and he developed a father-son relationship to the president, Dr. James Nelson. Chandler also developed a close relationship with the president of Richmond College and with faculty at both institutions. More importantly, Chandler taught at Woman's College at the same time that future women faculty at the College of William and Mary were there as either faculty or students. Several of these women were the daughters of Baptist ministers who served on the boards of trustees of these two institutions. As a firm Baptist himself, Chandler continued his contacts with these Baptist women educators as well as with faculty and administrators of the Baptist-controlled Richmond College after he returned to William and Mary.

Woman's College offered Chandler his first full-time teaching and administrative experience on the collegiate level. Chartered by Virginia Baptists in 1853, Woman's College had opened in downtown Richmond in 1854 as the Richmond Female Institute, one of the earliest and largest schools for the higher education of women in the state. With its substantial four-story building, the school enrolled between 200 and 300 students and offered both collegiate and preparatory curricula, including courses in Greek and Latin. Rev. James Nelson, Chandler's colleague and friend, had become the head of the institute in 1890 and served in that position until the school closed in 1916. Under a new charter issued in 1894, the school transformed into Woman's College, although it still offered preparatory work in addition to its collegiate classes.¹⁴ A Woman's College

advertisement in 1907 stated that the institution offered the B.A., B.S., M.A., and Bachelor of Music degrees.¹⁵ Chandler described its collegiate curriculum as providing all subjects “five times a week, forty minutes each,” with a semester’s work “equivalent to three hours” of college credit applicable to the senior credit courses.¹⁶

In 1896 Chandler joined the Woman’s College faculty. In his second year, the Woman’s College faculty included both men and women, although the majority of the faculty were men. Dr. Nelson taught philosophy and economics, and Chandler taught Latin, English and pedagogy. Other male faculty members taught modern languages, natural sciences, physiology, and mathematics, including his friends, Robert Loving, who taught Latin and mathematics, and Charles F. Wood, who taught modern languages. While at Woman’s College, Chandler first began to develop his collegiate administrative skills. He held the position of dean of the faculty from 1896 until 1899, and then served as acting president of the college for the 1900-1901 term due to an undisclosed health problem of Dr. Nelson.¹⁷

At Woman’s College, Julian Chandler most likely experienced his first working relationships with collegiate female faculty members. Several women served on the faculty while he was there. Orie Latham Hatcher, who held a bachelor’s degree from Vassar and would later assist with Chandler’s William and Mary’s curriculum, taught history and literature. Margaret Starr, with a bachelor’s degree from Wellesley, taught English and history. Elizabeth Mae Bentley and Rose Sweeney, both trained at the New England Conservatory, taught piano and voice respectively. Lulu Crump taught stenography and typewriting. Most importantly, Lenore Duke, with a bachelor of oratory from Neff College, taught elocution and physical culture.¹⁸

Chandler's closest association at Woman's College was with Lenore Burton Duke of Churchland, Virginia. According to his friend, newspaper editor, historian, and Pulitzer Prize winner Douglas Southall Freeman, Chandler became immediately attracted to the young faculty member, Lenore, a woman both "physically magnificent, and intellectually stimulating," possessing "just the right temperament" to be Chandler's "ideal wife." She provided an "elevated grace and beauty" to his life. Freeman reported that their marriage in July, 1897 was second only to his post-graduate study in shaping his career.¹⁹

According to Freeman, Lenore Chandler exerted a "profound influence" over her husband. Lenore had begun her career as a educator in higher education before marrying Chandler. She gave up teaching on the college level in order to marry him and raise their four sons. Yet she was a well-educated woman who represented female college faculty of the day. Lenore's job, according to Freeman, was to support Chandler and his career as his "ambition drove him to the very limit of physical endurance." He described Chandler as "never content with one position; two were the least he would fill." At one point, Chandler held the positions of dean and then acting president of Woman's College while also teaching at Richmond College. Freeman described Chandler's work day as one that often "would have prostrated most men." After such days, Chandler would go home to "labor doggedly till midnight was past." His wife, along with his young relative, Miss Madge Bowie who stayed with them, "tactfully adjusted their hours to his" so that he "might work to the greatest advantage with the least strain."²⁰ Lenore Chandler apparently provided the quiet and caring environment that he needed.

Douglas Southall Freeman possessed knowledge of Chandler's personal life. Freeman attended Richmond College while Chandler taught there and later earned a

doctorate from Johns Hopkins University. Freeman was also a historian who, among his numerous accomplishments, twice won the Pulitzer Prize, was editor of the Richmond News Leader, was a visiting lecturer in journalism at Columbia University, and served as chairman of the Board of Trustees at Richmond College. Freeman remained a friend until Chandler's death in 1934. His eulogy included an intimate portrait of Chandler and his family.²¹

The second great influence in Chandler's life at Woman's College was President James Nelson. As a young man, Chandler enjoyed sitting in Nelson's study "listening to the kindly words of wisdom" which Nelson "so often gave me." He told Nelson, "My association with you was always pleasant and my ideas on general educational subjects and on theological doctrines coincided to such a great extent with your own that I felt that in you I had a real companion though there may have been a few years between us in age." Chandler respected Nelson for the accomplishments he had made "for the good of education."²²

Nelson had grand visions of transforming Woman's College into a Woman's University. It was Nelson who had led the school from an institute to a college in 1894. According to a Richmond newspaper article, Nelson had brought a "grande era" to the school. He had worked carefully, and "every move he made had been well thought out" to enlarge the school, its facilities, its faculty, and curriculum. The newspaper praised the faculty for their "conscientious work" and commended Nelson as a "born manager." Nelson "rules firmly but kindly; has a scrupulous regard for his obligations to the patrons of the college," and provided the school with equipment of "the highest order," and "every possible comfort and convenience" for the students. Nelson led the school to

provide outstanding “mental and moral training.” His “dream” was to take the college to the next step—that of a university.²³

It appears that Nelson served as a role model for the young professor, especially since Chandler eventually accomplished many similar goals at William and Mary. Just as Nelson had views of creating a university, Chandler also had visions of transforming the college in Williamsburg. Chandler, however, would succeed.

Women Educators in Chandler’s Baptist Network

Women educators, Baptist ministers, and Baptist colleges intersected, overlapped, and united time and again in Chandler’s life. His early career included a network of Baptist institutions that he would call upon later at William and Mary. Several young women who either taught with Chandler or attended Woman’s College while he was on the faculty would later work with Chandler at William and Mary. These women who later joined Chandler in Williamsburg as deans and faculty members had close ties to the prominent Baptist ministers in Richmond who served on the boards of trustees of Woman’s College and Richmond College. A staunch Baptist himself, Chandler taught at these two small Baptist institutions. He attended the Baptist church where one of these ministers preached. Within this Baptist network Chandler would have possessed knowledge of these ministers and their families.

This Baptist network of Baptist colleges, ministers, and their families which was apparent in his early career would resurface when he worked with several of these women educators at the College of William and Mary. Caroline Tupper, Grace Warren Landrum,

and Orië Latham Hatcher would all come to the College of William and Mary. Tupper and Landrum would both serve as Chandler's deans of women. Although Hatcher never joined the faculty, she arranged a progressive class for women students at William and Mary. All three women were closely related to Baptist members of the board of trustees at Woman's College and Richmond College while Chandler taught at these institutions.

Caroline Frances Tupper from Charleston, South Carolina was the first dean of women at the College of William and Mary.²⁴ Hired by President Lyon G. Tyler, Tupper preceded Chandler to William and Mary. She was his first dean of women and became one of Chandler's first difficulties at the College. She was the niece of Dr. Henry Allen Tupper, president of the Woman's College Board of Trustees. Henry Tupper was a prominent leader in the Southern Baptist Association, having served as Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention in the 1870s and 1880s.²⁵

Henry Tupper served on the Woman's College board with Grace Landrum's father, Dr. W. W. Landrum, who was vice president of the board and minister of the Second Baptist Church in Richmond. Continuing the association with the Richmond Baptist institutions, Grace Landrum later taught at Westhampton College, the successor to Woman's College and Richmond College's co-ordinate institution, before becoming the third dean of women at the College of William and Mary.²⁶ Chandler hired her for the position that she would hold at the College for twenty years.

Dr. William Eldridge Hatcher was the minister of Grace Baptist Church which Chandler attended. In addition to support for Woman's College where his daughter, Orië Latham Hatcher was on the faculty, Dr. William Hatcher served as president of the Board of Trustees of Richmond College in the late 1890s along with Dr. Henry Tupper who also

taught Bible there while Chandler was on its faculty.²⁷ Orie Latham Hatcher would later help establish a vocational guidance course for women students at the College of William and Mary during the Chandler presidency. In 1905, Woman's College demonstrated its close association to both Grace Warren Landrum and Orie Latham Hatcher and their families when it awarded both women honorary degrees of doctor of literature.²⁸

Chandler's association with the Baptist women, Baptist ministers, and Baptist institutions of Woman's College and Richmond College, corresponded with religious convictions that were a very important aspect of his entire life. He was a devout Baptist who taught the men's Bible Class in the Sunday School of Grace Street Baptist Church in Richmond.²⁹ Dr. William Hatcher was pastor of Chandler's 900-member church for twenty-six years. In 1901 Hatcher left the church to devote his next five years at Richmond College during which time Chandler was employed on its faculty.³⁰

Orie Latham Hatcher, daughter of the Grace Street Baptist Church minister, graduated with a bachelor's degree from Vassar College in 1888 and served as a member of the faculty at Woman's College in the 1890s. She was on the staff in 1897 with both Chandler and his wife. Hatcher taught history and literature, Chandler's two favorite subjects, which would have led them into close contact.³¹ Hatcher was a progressive activist who advocated vocational education for women, but tempered her liberal views with her Southern Baptist traditions.

Hatcher and Chandler crossed paths several times. Not only did they teach together at Woman's College, but later their career paths crossed again after Hatcher assumed a role of leadership in Richmond in the 1920s through her establishment of an office of vocational education to guide women to new jobs and professional occupations

becoming available to them. She further advanced her support of women's professional careers to college campuses when she worked with Chandler in the mid 1920s to establish an orientation course on careers for women at the College of William and Mary.

Of the three women, Tupper, Landrum, and Hatcher, it was Hatcher who gave speeches supporting new opportunities for women before the turn of the century. Addressing a Woman's College alumnae luncheon in 1897, she spoke on the "new woman," who lately appeared in "various disguises—the bloomed bicyclist, the woman's suffragist; the dress-reform lecturer, the doctor of philosophy, the physician, the lawyer, the preacher, the journalist." Hatcher declared that the "new woman" had "broken down the barriers to every profession and made her way to the front in the struggle for existence" with great energy and courage. The concept of the new woman was someone with a "daring spirit" who would not shrink from any "hardship" to accomplish her goals.³²

Always the Southern Baptist minister's daughter, Hatcher encouraged women to become progressive but also urged them to temper their new freedoms and value the teachings, strengths, and accomplishments of older generations of women. She called upon them to maintain that "sweet attractive grace" which was the "crowning charm of womanhood" valued in Southern society. She also reminded them that the essentials of women were always the same down through the generations. Women's strengths and accomplishments through the centuries would become the foundation of her orientation course at the College.³³ Hatcher would continue to encourage and inspire women to vocations when she persuaded Chandler to offer a new course which taught the importance of women's roles down through history, and respect for themselves as women

and for what women could accomplish.

Richmond College: Experience in Administration, Publication, Coeducation

Chandler gained experience at Woman's College working with women faculty, teaching women students, and developing administrative skills. He furthered his skills and experience at Richmond College. His work at Richmond College impacted his future career in four very different ways. First, he furthered his development of administrative skills through his work as an academy dean. Second, he gained knowledge and experience in teaching younger students which would be a precursor to his later work in the Richmond public school system. Third, he published textbooks which would become a catalyst for his work as an editor in New York. Lastly and more importantly, he taught at an institution which gave him his first glimpse at a college experiencing the first stages of coeducation.

While at Woman's College, Chandler also began teaching at Richmond College. Richmond College was begun by the Virginia Baptist Association to help prepare young men for the ministry in 1832, and received its Baptist charter in 1840 as Richmond College.³⁴ Chandler served as acting professor of history and literature from 1898 until 1901. In that year he left Woman's College to become a full-time professor of English at Richmond College until 1904. He also served as dean of the all-male Richmond Academy from 1902 until 1904.³⁵

Chandler's career benefitted from the close connection that existed between the two Baptist institutions, Richmond College and Woman's College. These institutions

sometimes shared faculty as well as board leadership, so Chandler had the opportunity to teach at both institutions at the same time. In 1893, just before Chandler had come to Richmond, Frederic W. Boatwright, professor of modern languages at Richmond College, had received permission from the college's board of trustees to also teach at Woman's College. Two years later Boatwright became president of Richmond College (1893-1946) a position he would maintain for over fifty years, a remarkable tenure matched by few other presidents.³⁶ As president of Richmond College while Chandler was teaching for both institutions, he continued the pattern of sharing faculty between the two schools. It was Boatwright who hired Chandler for a full time position at Richmond College.

While teaching at Richmond College, Chandler developed more important skills in administration when he became dean of the college's Richmond Academy, a private school for boys. This experience provided a foundation for Chandler's later work with public schools and women teachers. While dean, he also taught lower grades at the Academy. He even boarded several young men at his home with his family in 1903.³⁷ Chandler accepted boys beginning in the fifth grade at the age of ten, and taught about 25 students in his classes. He soon increased both the number of grades and the number of students in the academy as enrollment expanded from 90 to almost 120.³⁸ In 1904 Richmond College awarded him an honorary doctorate for his services to the institution.³⁹ This work with younger students gave him knowledge of the lower grades which would be useful for his later position as school superintendent in Richmond.

Chandler's work at the Academy not only offered administrative experience, but also led to his publication of several elementary history and geography textbooks

(discussed later), including one he co-authored with Dr. W. L. Foushee, a professor of Latin at Richmond College. This publication would lead to his work as editor at Silver, Burdett Publishing Company in New York City in 1904 and more connections with male and female teachers in both higher and public education. Although Chandler moved to New York, he maintained close ties with Richmond College and the Academy. Boatwright asked him to send "a letter of greeting to the school suitable to be read at the opening exercises." Chandler wrote to his good friend, Dr. W. L. Foushee, the Latin professor, who worked with the Academy. Chandler asked Foushee to deliver his "warmest love and congratulations" to the Academy boys and to give them his best wishes for "the highest success" at the Academy.⁴⁰

While in New York, Chandler recommended textbooks to Foushee and made suggestions for the academy's curriculum through the use of textbooks, especially in history. Chandler even offered to provide his personal "prize of ten dollars in gold" to the best theme by an Academy student.⁴¹ Chandler continued to offer the same prize to the Academy the following year for the best English composition to let the boys know that "I have not forgotten them."⁴² Even after Chandler went to New York, he maintained strong connections with both Richmond College and Woman's College.

Richmond College: Coeducation and Co-Ordination

As Richmond College at the turn of the century took its first steps towards coeducation, Chandler was there. While Chandler was teaching at Richmond College, the school had begun to permit a few women students to take classes at the campus in 1898-

1899. Continuing a close connection with Woman's College, Richmond College would gradually accept more women students, and eventually establish its own co-ordinate college as well as hire women faculty. Chandler would not only see the beginning of coeducation on the campus, he would later participate in the college's move towards coordination. President Boatwright led the college to establish its coordinate college for women, Westhampton College. Chandler established a permanent friendship with Boatwright and would later solicit Boatwright's opinions while president at William and Mary. Chandler expanded Boatwright's policies into even greater educational offerings for women when he tremendously enlarged coeducation on the William and Mary campus.

Chandler's association with Richmond College influenced his career in education as much as his association with Woman's College did. A former student remembered that when he attended Richmond College in 1903 in the law department he had taken one of Dr. Chandler's English classes. The student reminisced that there were 18 women students at the college that year. He described them as "quiet, studious young women preparing, generally, to go further in the educational world" who "did not participate to any great extent in college activities."⁴³ The college was well on its way to coeducation. Chandler was part of this early experiment.

While Chandler was in New York he continued his associations with Woman's College and Richmond College, staying in contact with both President Nelson and President Boatwright. He reported to Dr. Nelson, for example, that he had attended a dinner in which President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard (president from 1869-1909) and the Honorable James Byrne of New York (later the Regent of the University of the State

of New York from 1916 to 1937) led a discussion on the “question of the universities’ relations to the ethical problems of today.” At the dinner he met professors from Union Theological Seminary, and reported to Nelson that he enjoyed the theological discussions. He added, “I never fail to think of Richmond and of the educational future there.” Always keeping his career options open, he told Nelson that he would discuss with the president any “possibilities” that might arise for him back in the state capital.⁴⁴

After Chandler returned to Virginia as a museum director of education in 1906, he made his way back to Richmond. In 1908-1909 Chandler had already returned to teach at Richmond College as professor of history and political science.⁴⁵ The push towards coeducation had begun and he would become part of it. During Frederic Boatwright’s first five years as president, Richmond College had begun accepting a few women into its classes before 1900, just about the time Chandler began teaching there. Boatwright continued to encourage the attendance of more women students, just as Chandler would later at the College of William and Mary. By 1904-05 Richmond College had admitted 18 women and 220 men. The Virginia Baptist Association was concerned during this time that Woman’s College would not be able to maintain the increasing physical demands necessary to provide proper educational training for women at a Virginia Baptist college. They were trying to decide how to consolidate Baptist educational offerings to provide equal education for its women students. At the same time Richmond College was formulating plans to make its campus the home for a woman’s college.⁴⁶

By 1908 when Chandler returned to teach at Richmond College, the college reported its enrollment was 310 students and the enrollment at Woman’s College was 300 students. That year Richmond College was raising money to build its own college facility

for women.⁴⁷ In 1914 Richmond College opened Westhampton College as the coordinate college for women on the Richmond College campus and under the administration of Richmond College. Woman's College became an affiliate with the new woman's institution, and remained in that capacity for two years before it closed. The following year Chandler assisted in the transformation. The Baptist General Association of Virginia announced that Woman's College would function as a "Junior College affiliated with Westhampton College." The new woman's institution viewed the Woman's College as an ancestor.⁴⁸ As Westhampton College grew, Grace Warren Landrum later served as a faculty member there. She provided an additional link in the chain uniting Chandler to Richmond College, Baptists, and the education of women students in Richmond when she joined Chandler as his third dean of women at William and Mary.

Before Woman's College closed, it had come under the complete control of Richmond College. Although Chandler had stopped teaching at Woman's College more than a decade before and no longer taught at Richmond College, he served as chairman of the Woman's College Committee in 1915 to facilitate the absorption of Woman's College into Westhampton College. Once again Chandler was involved in women's education. Chandler led this committee to propose that at the end of the 1915-1916 session when Woman's College closed, all students of the Woman's College who had earned 15 or more units would be offered free tuition in freshman and sophomore courses at Westhampton College for the 1916-1917 academic year in recognition of their course work at the junior college and to facilitate their transfer to the Westhampton campus.⁴⁹

Woman's College and Richmond College had a profound influence on Chandler's career. Julian met Lenore, the love of his life, on the faculty at Woman's

College. He gained connections with several Baptist women educators, Caroline Tupper, Grace Landrum, and Orie Latham Hatcher, who would later devote much time and effort to William and Mary during the Chandler administration. Chandler built William and Mary just as Dr. Nelson had hoped to build Woman's College. He also increased the number of women students at the College just as President Boatwright did at Richmond College. His strong Baptist connections united him to Richmond College, Woman's College, and leading Baptist families. The connections, experience, and visions that Chandler encountered or acquired in Richmond early in his career paralleled much of his work in the 1920s at William and Mary.

Presidential Ambitions include Women's Colleges

Chandler demonstrated his interest in administration and his ambition to be a college president soon after leaving Johns Hopkins. As early as 1897 while still at Woman's College, the energetic Chandler began to look for advancement in administration. He sought administrative positions at several colleges including several women's colleges. He was more than willing to work with women students and women educators. He would apply for posts at other women's colleges including the presidency of several southern educational institutions for women.

In 1897 Chandler asked President Lyon G. Tyler at the College of William and Mary to lend his support to his application for the presidency of the State Female Normal School in Farmville, Virginia. Tyler, who had assumed the presidency of the College in 1888, had been president when Chandler had attended William and Mary. He remained in

that position until his retirement in 1919 when Chandler replaced him. He told Tyler that Dr. Nelson had urged him to apply for the position. Although Chandler was only 25 years of age at the time, he had already settled down to a career and marriage, and was ready for advancement. He was married to Lenore, and had taught English and History at William and Mary, English and Pedagogy at Woman's College, and Analytics and Calculus at Morgan College. Chandler understood the link between education and Virginia politics. He acknowledged that the hiring would be based on "political influence" and asked Tyler to "get some of your political friends on my side."⁵⁰

Although Chandler did not receive the appointment at the Female Normal School, he continued to seek similar administrative posts, and once again he looked to women's education. In 1902 Chandler asked friends to nominate him for the presidency of Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina. These letters of nomination or recommendation shed light on Chandler's early administrative and teaching abilities while exalting his work in higher education for women. Since Chandler's JHU advisor, Herbert Baxter Adams, had died in 1901, Chandler sought recommendations from other professors and colleagues.

Chandler's letters of nomination highlighted his success as an administrator working for women's education at a woman's college. A letter of support from his former history professor, James Curtis Ballagh at Johns Hopkins University, stated that Chandler had "success in the female college in Richmond" and was "well fitted to direct the functions of a woman's college." Ballagh believed that, as an administrator, Chandler "would add to the material prosperity of the college."⁵¹ J. M. Hooker, a member of the 1902 Constitutional Convention of Virginia, concurred that Chandler's experience "in

college work, especially in female education” made him a good candidate for the position at Converse because Chandler had already proven himself “very successful as manager of the Woman’s College of this City and left it with the greatest praise of the trustees and faculty attending him.”⁵² Ernest J. Becker, assistant professor of English and German at Baltimore City College and former professor of modern languages at the Woman’s College, noted that Chandler had garnered great respect from both educators of Richmond and those around the state while serving as president of that institution.⁵³

The letters also attested to his character strengths. James Ballagh characterized him as someone who made “friends not enemies” and was “always popular.”⁵⁴ J. M. McBryde, president of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, highlighted Chandler’s “remarkable energy, ambition, and ability,” his “exceptional executive ability,” and his behavior as “a gentleman of high character.”⁵⁵

Letters also addressed Chandler’s teaching abilities. James Ballagh noted that Chandler was “active and progressive with modern ideals in scholarship and teaching and would uphold the proper standards in the higher education of women.”⁵⁶ A former student of Chandler’s at William and Mary, J. M. Hooker, described him as a most “patient, faithful, and capable teacher” who also possessed the additional asset of being married to “an ideal woman for the wife of the head of a girl’s school.”⁵⁷ Ernest Becker, who had taught with Chandler at Woman’s College, described Chandler as a teacher who “commanded the love and respect of his pupils.”⁵⁸

One letter of support which summed up Chandler’s short career came from Robert Frazer, the candidate chosen over Chandler to become the president of the State Female Normal School. Frazer reported that Chandler had been “prominently successful” in his

educational work in the Charlottesville School of Methods, as president of Woman's College, and as professor at Richmond College.⁵⁹ Despite such recommendations, however, Chandler did not obtain the presidency of either of the women's colleges. It is clear that even at this early point, his desire for advancement and his career choices consistently led him to women's education. Although it is unclear if Chandler applied to any other colleges, there is no evidence of such in his early papers.

Chandler's Ambition and Drive to Succeed

Chandler was always aggressive in his quest for advancement. E. E. Worrell, a friend employed at The Southern Teachers Agency's secondary office in Roanoke, Virginia, informed him of the death of C. E. Vawter, the superintendent of the well-endowed, and coeducational Miller Manual Labor School in Albermarle County, Virginia. Chandler replied that if the school wanted a "man of executive ability" and was willing to "pay a great big salary," the school "might get me!" The Miller School was devoted to the training of indigent boys and girls, and accepted children ages ten to fourteen for admission. Miller Manual offered upper elementary and high school academic curricula plus vocational training. Begun with a large financial bequest amounting to almost one million dollars, the school was one of the earlier secondary schools in the United States designed to teach industrial education. Although this institution was not a college, its previous superintendent had prior college experience. Vawter had formerly served as a professor at Emory College before coming to the Miller School.⁶⁰ If the price were right, Chandler might have considered this coeducational

secondary school with its vocational education.

Chandler's ambition and drive were life-long personal traits. He demonstrated this powerful work ethic in his summer employment to supplement the salaries from his hectic academic schedules at Woman's College and Richmond College. For several summers, Chandler worked feverishly in summer normal schools to earn additional income. He took these positions for financial reasons. Once again, however, his career choices included women for these were the schools where women educators came to study or teach.

The Charlottesville School of Methods was the leading summer school in the state for teachers. While teaching at this summer school in 1902, for example, a letter from Chandler to his wife described his determined work ethic. This is one of only a few existing letters to his wife in his papers. In it he noted the long hours he put into preparations for several classes that he was teaching that summer. "Darling, I am so tired this evening that I can scarcely write. I need sleep as I was up late studying and got up at 4:30 this morning." Chandler said he missed his family, but Lenore had stayed at home in Richmond with their son, Herbert, the first of the four sons they would have together. Julian told Lenore that a number of teachers were in attendance there from Richmond, including several women that both he and Lenore knew.⁶¹

Chandler's ambition and networking was also quite evident in his membership in the highly prestigious Westmoreland Club of Richmond. Begun in the 1870s with a strong Confederate tradition, it was the most prominent gentlemen's and businessmen's social club in Richmond. The articles of the club stated that it began for the "promotion of social intercourse and for the purpose of maintaining a library and reading room."⁶²

Chandler used this club to expand his important political and social connections. One member of the club, for example, was Richmond millionaire James H. Dooley who provided financial assistance to Richmond education. Another club member was prominent Richmond lawyer Legh R. Page. Page was the father of Gabriella Page, the fourth woman to serve on the Board of Visitors at William and Mary during Chandler's administration. Club connections with the Page family would provide Chandler with additional knowledge of Gabriella Page before she joined the College board.⁶³

Chandler had great ambition, and women's education became a chosen path to his objective. His service as temporary president of Woman's College, as well as his applications at the State Female Normal School at Farmville, and Converse College show that even early in his life Chandler saw himself as president of a college where women were both students and faculty members. He taught at Richmond College during its transformation to offer education to women, considered the presidency of a coeducational secondary school, and taught in summer normals where he educated women teachers. He was a most ambitious man who sought advancement in institutions educating women. His Richmond connections would be a pivotal factor in his later career at William and Mary.

Chandler as Mentor

Chandler's career success was due not only to his ambition, stamina, and dedication, but also to his political networking. Others recognized these traits and sought his assistance in their careers. The 1904-1906 correspondence in Chandler's personal papers reads almost like a diary, and provides a rare and compelling glimpse into the

processes of teacher recruitment in the early twentieth century. Letters from individuals asking him for help are side by side with letters he wrote to try to assist them, usually in their quest for better employment. An intriguing aspect of these letters is that during most of this time Chandler was no longer living in Virginia. He was an editor in New York. The letters detail his political networks in the Old Dominion, and the intricate dealings in which he worked to help friends, which in turn expanded his own connections. These letters clearly confirm that women as well as men felt they could approach a sympathetic Chandler for guidance. These letters demonstrate how women sought his assistance for employment and his willingness to try to help them.

Ernest Becker, the former professor at Woman's College, had written in a 1902 letter of recommendation that although Chandler was only a few years older than he was, "I have always looked upon Dr. Chandler as an honored and valued guide and counselor."⁶⁴ Others felt the same way. Correspondence between Chandler and Katherine Jones is instructive of Chandler's guidance and networking. In 1905 Jones was teaching at Southern Female Seminary in Buena Vista, the school originally founded by Alice Scott Chandler. Jones wrote to Julian Chandler to tell him that she was under consideration to be the new "Lady Principal" of the soon to open women's institution, Sweet Briar Institute. She asked him if he would advise her to take the position. Chandler told her that she should accept the offer if it were made. He wrote that he "did not know of any enterprise now starting in Virginia which has brighter prospects, and but for the fact that I am Baptist, I might have made some effort to get the Presidency of that Institution!" He then asked Jones to let him know which men would be on the staff, and their salaries, because he had a couple of friends that he would like "to place with the

Sweet Briar Seminary if I could.”⁶⁵

Katherine Jones apparently knew Chandler well enough to understand that he desired more information on the hiring prospects at the Episcopal affiliated school. She replied back to him that being a Baptist would not work against him, and that he should apply for the position as president, even though Dr. J. M. McBryde at Virginia Polytechnic Institute had already been offered the position at Sweet Briar and would probably take it. Chandler wrote a letter to McBryde, who has once recommended Chandler, to support Jones. Acknowledging that he knew Katherine Jones from her work as an assistant at Woman’s College, Chandler explained that she had been a “good organizer and manager” at that woman’s institution, and had also proven herself in subsequent work at both Washington Seminary in Atlanta and Rawlins Institute in Charlottesville.⁶⁶

Other women also felt that Chandler was approachable. Julia Tyler Otey of Caroline County asked Chandler to use his “many influential positions” to help a struggling woman, Miss Viola Minor, obtain work at the Virginia State Library. Chandler responded that he knew Miss Minor and her father and would use his influence to try to find her a job. Although he had only recently resigned from the Library Board, having served from 1902 until 1904, he no doubt still possessed influence.⁶⁷ Chandler had previously worked diligently to bring about a major “transformation of the Virginia State Library” and had been praised for modernizing its “public affairs by the discarding of both tradition and politics.”⁶⁸ He had even noted his own pride in making the “State Library...now a historical institution, and I take to myself great credit for having put it in its present shape.”⁶⁹

A similar letter to Chandler came from Emily Cosby, also formerly of Caroline County. Cosby, after passing the Civil Service examination, wanted a government position. She asked Chandler to help her through his “influential friends.” Chandler wrote to Virginia Congressman William Atkinson Jones in Washington D.C. to solicit his help. Jones represented part of northeastern Virginia in Congress for fifteen years. Chandler both appealed to Jones’s sympathy and traded on a future promise, stating that this “young lady’s” parents were dead, and it would be a great favor to Chandler if Jones could help.⁷⁰

A friend and teacher, Sallie Dickinson, also appealed to Chandler for help. Stating that she hoped not to “spend another winter” in the “cold rough mountain section” of western Virginia, she asked Chandler to help her secure a position in Richmond. In response Chandler wrote to Dr. J. P. Thomas at the Richmond High School. Chandler stated that he felt “quite sorry” for Sallie Dickinson and would appreciate Thomas’s assistance in helping her secure a teaching position in the eastern part of the state.⁷¹

Other women also sought Chandler’s assistance, but not always for employment. A friend and widow with politically prominent family connections in Caroline County, Cassie Moncure Lyne implored Chandler to write a review of her book, “The Grito” for the New York Times Saturday Supplement. Moncure was educated at Richmond Female Institute, the antecedent of Woman’s College.⁷² Other prominent Moncures included lawyers and judges in Caroline County and Richmond as well as Chandler’s friend, E. C. Moncure who had written a letter of recommendation which Chandler used when he applied to Johns Hopkins. Chandler eventually sent his review to the Times.⁷³

Women felt they could turn to Chandler for advice and assistance. Katherine

Jones and Sallie Dickinson sought Chandler's advice or assistance in getting better positions in education. Caroline County women Julia Tyler Otey, Viola Minor, and Emily Crosby all drew upon family connections to seek Chandler's political connections to help them get employment. Cassie Moncure Lyne used both family and educational connections to ask Chandler for assistance with a review. These women felt that they could approach Chandler. They believed that he would help them. In essence, they trusted him. Chandler tried to help each one. These letters, all written between 1904 and 1906, demonstrate that women felt Chandler had the political and educational connections necessary to help them. Perhaps they felt that he was building a reputation as a man whose recommendations meant something. The final results to these women's solicitations are not available. Yet the importance of the correspondence is their belief that Chandler would help women and their belief that Chandler possessed the connections and ability to make their lives better.

Networking in Education: The Politics of Hiring Faculty

Throughout much of Chandler's early career and even when he was not employed at an institution of higher education, Chandler continued to build administrative skills for his later presidency. Part of that skills development came from his participation in the networking process of hiring faculty. This networking would not only lead him to actually place faculty in colleges, but would also increase the strength of an intricate web of connections he was creating in higher education.

In 1904 Chandler's strong work ethic and textbook publications led him to a

position as editor for the Silver Burdett Publishing Company in New York City. Although Chandler left Virginia, his connections back in the Old Dominion remained in tact. He continued a great volume of correspondence with friends, colleagues, political acquaintances, and educational leaders back in Virginia and especially in Richmond. Through his friendships and associations, he developed intricate, intertwining networks and relationships in both public and higher education. His complex networking led to specific hiring results. He helped friends and colleagues in charge of hiring college faculty find good teachers. He helped old colleagues in search of jobs find college teaching positions. He became the center of a small, intricate hiring network in higher education, and almost became an unofficial employment broker. Chandler arranged jobs among a small association of educators who personally contacted friends and colleagues and hired their recommended associates. It was an old boys' club except that Chandler included a few women. The result was that Chandler advanced the careers of both women and men in college faculty positions, and in the process cemented their loyalty to him. Through this participation as a broker, he strengthened his own networks with leaders in higher education, both in Virginia and beyond its boundaries. In accomplishing this networking, he increased his faculty recruiting skills which would later be of utmost importance to him when he employed faculty, both men and women, at the College of William and Mary.

Correspondence during the spring and summer of 1905 demonstrates Chandler's position at the center of this network. This communication between Chandler and numerous educators took place while Chandler was far removed from Virginia and working in New York. Chandler was certainly enhancing his reputation as an educator

and facilitator back in Virginia during this time. These letters detail the hiring process often used in higher education in the early twentieth century, and further demonstrate Chandler's influence in such matters long before he came to William and Mary.

Even while in New York, Chandler reveled in the participation of decision making with his old Richmond colleagues. He united connections he had made at Woman's College, Richmond College, and Johns Hopkins University to place faculty as he actively participated in the hiring processes of three colleges. The first was Woman's College where he recommended several women teachers for positions on that faculty. The second was Richmond College where he recommended several men for faculty positions as the college was becoming coeducational. The third was coeducational Blackburn College in Carlinville, Illinois, whose administrator in charge of hiring faculty was a former professor at Woman's College. Chandler would be the middle man in the hiring processes of all three institutions.

The correspondence began in early 1905 with an offer of employment at Woman's College for Chandler himself. In March President Nelson asked Chandler if he would be interested in returning to Richmond to manage the school. "I feel that I cannot best the burden alone any longer," wrote Nelson. Chandler replied that although he "would be slow to leave" New York, he was "deeply interested in the development of Woman's College," and if Nelson "could show me wherein it would be wise for me to take the step, I would be willing to resign here and return to Richmond." Acknowledging to Nelson that "your relations to me have been much those of a father to a son," he did not want to endanger that relationship.⁷⁴

Since Nelson had sent a copy of his letter to Chandler on to President F. W.

Boatwright of Richmond College and a trustee of Woman's College, Chandler asked Boatwright in a confidential letter if moving back to Woman's College would be advisable. Chandler was not sure that his return would bring sufficient financial benefits. He told Boatwright that his work in New York was most important because "certain things that I am learning about education ... I could not get elsewhere." He added, "You know that I love the old man [Dr. Nelson] very much, but I do not know what attitude the Trustees are taking." Chandler did not know if or when the board might want to hire another administrator.⁷⁵ He clearly wanted to maintain his own connections and friendships in Richmond, but not at the expense of his own career.

Chandler did not return to Woman's College. Ever cognizant of strengthening his networks, however, he suggested faculty for appointments there, including several women teachers. When C. B. Garnett at Woman's College asked Chandler for names of potential faculty in 1905, Chandler suggested his very good friend, Oliver P. Chitwood, who also completed his doctorate in history at Johns Hopkins University. He then wrote to another friend, W. H. Jones, founder and president of the Southern Teachers Agency in Barnwell, South Carolina. Foreshadowing his use of these agencies in his own presidency at William and Mary, Chandler told Jones that "Dr. Nelson will want teachers as cheap as he can get them, but yet quite good women." He asked Jones to send him the names of several teachers which he then sent on to Woman's College.⁷⁶

Chandler served as a middle man in placing teachers in Richmond. He recommended several names as applicants for Woman's College faculty positions. In trying to provide teachers, Jones, who had recommended Chandler for the Converse presidency in 1902, advised a prospective applicant, Paul de Launay, whose brother-in-

law C. L. Bishop taught at William and Mary, to write to Chandler to ask him for a letter of recommendation to Woman's College. Chandler also recommended several women teachers including Helen Chamberlain and Eleanor Frey Cochran.⁷⁷ When Dr. Nelson became ill, his son, Ruggles Nelson, wrote to Chandler to ask for potential faculty names in 1906. Although Chandler did not know anyone personally, he suggested Mrs. Eva E. Dundon of Peace Institute in Raleigh, North Carolina who had been "highly recommended" to him.⁷⁸

The most complex and yet perhaps the most visible example of Chandler's networking and participation in the hiring process at the college level is immediately apparent in the correspondence in which Chandler helped secure faculty for two institutions, Richmond College and Blackburn College in 1905. Although no women were participants in this barrage of letters, the connections between Chandler, those doing the hiring, and those who applied consistently connect back to Woman's College and Richmond College. Chandler created a strong union of his old friends and colleagues, advanced their careers, maintained their loyalty, and advanced his own leadership in the hiring process.

At that time Richmond College was searching for someone to head Richmond Academy while Blackburn College in Carlinville, Illinois was hiring three professors: one to teach math and astronomy, one for physics and chemistry, and one for modern languages. Dr. Thomas W. Lingle at Blackburn College, who was in charge of locating potential faculty, had formerly taught at Woman's College and thus continued the old Richmond ties. Letters between Chandler and Lingle, between Chandler and Jones at the Southern Teachers Agency, and between Chandler and President Boatwright at Richmond

College resulted in Chandler suggesting several men for positions at both institutions. Chandler served as the middle man, both the organizer and the facilitator, in the correspondence between the applicants and the institutions. One of the men whom Chandler suggested, Dr. Robert Loving, would secure the position for physics and chemistry.⁷⁹

Blackburn College needed professors. Thomas Lingle wrote to Chandler, March 17, 1905, to ask Chandler to help him fill the three faculty vacancies. Lingle wanted a man from Johns Hopkins for one of the positions and could offer a salary of up to \$1500. Chandler contacted his friend, Dr. W. L. Foushee at Richmond College on March 20 to see if Robert Stuart (also spelled Stewart) would be interested in the modern languages position at Blackburn. He jokingly identified his friend Lingle as, "one of those miserable North Carolinians, otherwise known as 'tar heels'" who had formerly taught at Woman's College. Chandler wrote back to Lingle, March 23 and March 27 to suggest Dr. Robert Loving and Dr. Robert A. Stuart. Robert Loving, who held a bachelor's degree from Richmond College, was completing his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University in physics. He was a Baptist, and a "high-toned Christian gentleman" who had formerly taught with Chandler at Woman's College. Stuart held both a bachelor's degree and master's degree from the University of Virginia, was an Episcopalian, and was currently teaching at Richmond College. Loving wrote to Chandler, March 25 to request that Chandler send a letter of recommendation for him to Blackburn College. Chandler wrote a formal recommendation for Loving to Thomas Lingle on March 27, 1905.⁸⁰ Thomas Lingle wrote to Chandler on May 8, 1905 to tell him that he had "closed a deal" and secured Loving for physics. Chandler continued to supply names for teaching positions at

Blackburn throughout the spring and summer of 1905.⁸¹

Chandler also contacted his friend and former colleague Dr. C. F. Woods at Colorado College, March 24, 1905, to ask if he would be interested in the modern languages position at Blackburn. In this letter Chandler identified Blackburn College as a private Presbyterian institution. Chandler's recommendation of Woods to Lingle in an April 11 letter noted that Woods had also formerly taught both at Woman's College and at Richmond College.⁸² Both Robert Loving and C. F. Woods had been doctoral students at Johns Hopkins and had both taught on the Woman's College faculty with Chandler and his wife, Lenore, in 1897.⁸³

In a letter from W. H. Jones at the Southern Teachers Agency to Chandler, April 29, 1905, Jones suggested that a Mr. Lake [no first name] and a Mr. G. H. Triplett apply for positions at Blackburn College. He asked Chandler to recommend them to Blackburn. G. Hampton Triplett, whom Jones had recommended to Chandler, later wrote to Chandler, May 6, 1905 to ask for his recommendation to Blackburn College for a mathematics position⁸⁴

In addition to the hiring of the above positions, Thomas Lingle also asked Chandler for help in hiring two women for Blackburn College. Lingle wanted "a lady with full university training for the chair of English" who could also teach French. He also needed a woman to teach domestic science and domestic art. He hoped to obtain a graduate from Pratt Institute, Drexel Institute, or Teachers College which offered respected training in those fields. The requirements for the positions illuminate the educational requirements for women faculty at that time, especially in domestic science. The second position Lingle sought to fill would "require a lady well equipped in

chemistry, physics, and physiology to teach Domestic Science for its educational value, and a considerable knowledge of history, art, and anthropology to teach Domestic Art successfully." Lingle noted that Blackburn's "Preparatory department [is] pretty well manned (or 'womaned') for next year." Chandler, however, could not suggest a woman for either of these positions.⁸⁵

While coordinating applications for the Blackburn College vacancies for his friend Lingle, Chandler simultaneously immersed himself in the hiring of faculty at Richmond College. In a letter from W. H. Jones at the Teachers Agency to Chandler, April 29, 1905, Jones suggested that W. L. Brooker, superintendent of the Aiken Institute, Aiken, South Carolina apply for the position of principal at Richmond Academy. Jones asked Chandler to recommend them to Richmond. When Chandler wrote Boatwright, May 2, he recommended Brooker for the Richmond Academy position. On May 6, President Boatwright replied that he would offer the position to Harris Hart, who later served on Chandler's board of visitors at William and Mary, provided another of Chandler's friends, H. L. MacBain, did not accept the post. Chandler acknowledged to Boatwright, May 9, that Hart was a good man whom Chandler had known as a boy.⁸⁶

Chandler wrote to F. W. Boatwright, July 27, 1905 that Dr. W. A. Shepherd, who had formerly taught and "did his work splendidly" at Woman's College, would also like a position at the Richmond Academy.⁸⁷ Dr. Shepherd obtained the position. His letter to Chandler, sent from Richmond on Sept. 20, 1905, not only acknowledged that he had been hired but also shed light on problems that faculty faced in Richmond. He stated that he was "in the midst of all the worries and confusions attending the difficult matters of securing desirable offices and getting settled." Obviously, teachers had to secure their

own office spaces. In addition , teachers were burdened by “the no less troublesome process of arranging the classes and schedule at the Academy.” Shepherd, finding office space on the corner of 3rd and Grace Streets, noted that they “come high but are the most desirable I can find.”⁸⁸

This detailed and complex hiring correspondence demonstrates that Chandler was a linchpin in a 1905 Richmond network, placing faculty associated with Woman’s College and Richmond College. In the letter in which Lingle announced to Chandler that Loving had been hired, Lingle stated the importance of Chandler’s part in the hiring process. “Our rule will be not to engage any one without some personal acquaintance with the person. However, I knew the tradition of Woman’s College concerning Mr. Loving and I relied largely on your estimate of him....”⁸⁹

This involvement in the hiring process of several institutions underscored Chandler’s growing influence among his colleagues. He guided the hiring of both men and women faculty, and hereby strengthened his influence in his realm of higher education, gaining more prestige with every letter of recommendation or advice. Such involvement was another step in his preparation as a college president.

Chandler’s Networks

Julian Chandler continued to expand his ambitious networking and exercise his administrative abilities. In addition to his participation in the hiring of faculty, he offered suggestions on administrative policy. In August 1905, Chandler wrote from New York City to President Boatwright at Richmond College stating that he had heard that a

professor of chemistry had resigned. Chandler said he hoped that Boatwright would “not think that I am presuming” when he proposed that the Richmond College president not hire a chemistry professor, but instead combine chemistry and biology into one position and hire one professor. His reasoning was that this would be no harder “than is now the case with Latin-and-English” which Chandler had taught at Woman’s College. He went even further to suggest that, rather than hire a man quickly who was not totally suited for the position, Boatwright should “elect a locum tenens” and continue the search for the best man next session to teach chemistry and biology. The president responded that he always appreciated Chandler’s suggestions and had already decided to hire a temporary faculty member. He then asked Chandler if he knew of anyone finishing at Columbia University or elsewhere who might teach chemistry for a year. Boatwright declined Chandler’s suggestion, however, to combine chemistry and biology into one position because he planned to “enlarge the science work” at Richmond College.⁹⁰

F. W. Boatwright solicited Chandler’s assistance at Richmond College in several ways beyond recruitment. He asked Chandler to return from New York to speak as part of Boatwright’s lecture series on pedagogy for Richmond College students who wished to become teachers. Although Chandler’s doctorate was in history, he had previously taught pedagogy at Woman’s College. Boatwright said he would offer the series free of charge to teachers in the city of Richmond. After Chandler agreed, his friend and historian Oliver P. Chitwood who was still seeking employment, implored Chandler to also use all his connections while in Richmond to try to secure a job for Chitwood at Woman’s College.⁹¹

Boatwright also asked Chandler to help him secure funding for Richmond College

while Chandler was in New York. Toward that end, Chandler met with Dr. Wallace Buttrick, secretary of the General Education Board in New York City, to help Boatwright gain funding from the Peabody Fund.⁹² One of Boatwright's considerations in his plans for the further development of Richmond College was the concept of a new college for women already under discussion by the Virginia Baptist Association.⁹³ Just as Chandler sought Buttrick's help for Richmond College, he would seek Buttrick's assistance again for William and Mary, first in 1905 and then later after he became president of William and Mary.

Buttrick was an important contact for Chandler to cultivate. In addition to his work with the General Education Board, he was also chair of the Southern Education Board, which worked with the Peabody Fund to provide funding to Southern schools. A former Baptist minister, Buttrick had important ties with several philanthropic organizations. He had participated in one of several preliminary meetings between 1898 and 1901 when Peabody Fund leaders, educational reformers, and philanthropists assembled at several conferences resulting in the creation of the Southern Education Board. Both the Peabody Fund and the Southern Education Fund supplied funding for educational reform in the South in the early twentieth century.⁹⁴ Buttrick would become the president of the General Education Board in 1917 and chairman in 1923. Begun in 1902, the General Education Board had originally received one million dollars from John D. Rockefeller. By 1921 the Rockefeller family had given \$128,000,000 to the Board.⁹⁵ For anyone associated with the administration of higher education, especially in the South, a connection with Wallace Buttrick was a vitally important link to funding and policy development. The lobbying by Chandler and Boatwright was successful. The

General Education Board agreed to offer financial assistance to Richmond College if it established a coordinate college for women under Richmond College administration.⁹⁶

Chandler also lobbied on behalf of his alma mater. William C. L. Taliaferro, a member of the Board of Visitors at the College of William and Mary from 1903 until 1918, asked Chandler in March 1905 to take advantage of his New York location to contact Dr. Buttrick. Specifically, Taliaferro asked Chandler to visit Buttrick to help the College obtain \$50,000 from the fund to improve the buildings at the College. Chandler replied, "I shall be glad, old man, to help."⁹⁷ It appears, however, that the lobbying by both President Lyon G. Tyler and Chandler to obtain funds for the all-male College were not successful.⁹⁸

Although the outcome of some of these solicitations are not totally clear, these actions demonstrated that Chandler's connections and participation in education continued to expand in scope and influence. Such contacts in New York, especially with foundations, provided additional preparation for service as a college president in Williamsburg after 1919.

Networks in Publishing

Chandler continued to strengthen his networking with college faculty and administrators through his publications. In 1907 he co-authored Colonial Virginia with Baptist minister and educator Travis Thames. Chandler also edited Life in Old Virginia. In 1910 he co-authored Our Republic: A History of the United States for the Grammar Grades, with University of Mississippi History Professor Franklin L. Riley, and

University of North Carolina History Professor J. G. Hamilton. All three men were part of Chandler's educational networking connections. Thames held a doctorate from Richmond College; Riley held a doctorate from Johns Hopkins University; and Hamilton received a doctorate from Columbia University. Most of his publications were textbooks for the public schools, maintaining Chandler's ties to elementary and secondary education. These textbooks and publications in Virginia history kept Chandler focused on his home state. They provided links with historians and also with Virginia public education which would lead him to the superintendency of schools.⁹⁹

Between 1909 and 1913 Chandler participated in a scholarly series on Southern history, and once again continued to build upon his networks in his own colleges and universities. He was one of five editors-in-chief of a 13-volume study, The South in the Building of the Nation. Chandler edited the first three volumes on the history of the southern states. Other editors included his colleagues Franklin L. Riley at the University of Mississippi, and Samuel Chiles Mitchell, the history professor at Richmond College who had become president of the University of South Carolina. A third editor, James Curtis Ballagh, had been Chandler's professor at Johns Hopkins. In addition to his own writings, Chandler added chapters by several historians, including President Lyon G. Tyler, Samuel Mitchell, Franklin L. Riley, and J.G. deRoulhac Hamilton. A prominent Richmond historian, Philip Alexander Bruce, the first editor of the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, also contributed a chapter.¹⁰⁰ Bruce was a relative of Kathleen Bruce whom Chandler would hire as the first woman member of the history department at William and Mary. In the tenth volume on Southern social life, Mary Munford, Chandler's first woman member of the Board of Visitors at the College of William and

Mary, contributed the chapter, "Woman's Part in the Educational Progress of the South."¹⁰¹

Conclusions

In the last years of the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century J. A.C. Chandler began his training for the presidency of the College of William and Mary. He took his undergraduate and masters degree training at the College of William and Mary, and then earned his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University. He taught and served as dean and acting president at Woman's College. He taught at Richmond College as it began coeducation, and taught in Summer Normals at the University of Virginia. He worked with women faculty, taught women teachers, and educated women students. He applied for several presidencies at other women's colleges. He married a faculty member. He assisted women who asked for his help. His training in education and his work at institutions with women provided the first steps toward his progressive presidency that included women as faculty. His intricate networking and countless contacts in education were the foundation of a web of personalized professional relationships that he would use effectively as president of his alm mater at a critical juncture. Lyon G. Tyler opened the door to women students at William and Mary, but Chandler, with his splendid background in higher education, especially for women, would make coeducation a tool to expand William and Mary in ways Tyler never envisioned.

CHAPTER 3

Preparation for the Presidency: Chandler's Work with Public Education and Teachers

Although Julian A. C. Chandler focused his attention on higher education immediately after the completion of his doctorate, he spent fifteen years, from 1904-1919, working predominantly in the K-12 arena. During this second phase of his career in education, he served as a school superintendent, primarily supervising women teachers. In this position, he gained additional valuable administrative skills as well as continued to be a champion for women in education. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate first, how he entered public education, and secondly and more importantly, how this second phase of his career in public education provided him with the knowledge, tools, and passion to become an effective president of his alma mater, the College of William and Mary.

The various phases of Chandler's fifteen year career in public education do not lay out neatly. Several very different aspects of this career overlapped. Yet taken as a whole, these facets prepared Chandler for his work at William and Mary both as a college administrator, and as an educator eager to work with women. Several threads of public education were discernable even before Chandler left Richmond College. Some continued through his tenure as president of the College of William and Mary. In order to impose some order on these varied activities over a long period of time, it is necessary to follow a thematic as well as a chronological analysis. I will concentrate on six areas of Chandler's activity between 1904 and 1919: his two years as a textbook author and editor in New York City; his involvement with Summer Normal Institutes in Charlottesville and

Norfolk; his political activities involving educational appointments in Virginia; his brief stint in public history as educational chief for the Jamestown Exposition of 1907; his superintendency of the Richmond public schools and its women teachers from 1909 to 1919; and his leadership in state and national educational organizations as a spokesman for teachers.

I will not devote the same amount of attention to each of these topics. It is not my purpose to prove that the six themes were of equal importance to Chandler's later career at the College, or that they were independent of each other. They often reinforced and influenced each other. For example, his work at Richmond Academy led to his position as an editor of textbooks which was intertwined with his involvement in Summer Normals. His political activities, which bordered on cronyism, had a bearing on his appointment as an official for the Jamestown Exposition. His work with textbooks, summer normals, teachers, and politics all prepared him for his school superintendency. His school superintendency led to his participation in state and national educational associations representing women. Taken together, however, Chandler spent fifteen years in public education developing his administrative skills, as he instructed, supervised, and represented teachers, mostly women, prior to his return to Williamsburg. This part of his career shaped his administration at William and Mary every bit as much as his own education and early years as a teacher and administrator in higher education in Richmond prior to 1904.

Chandler and the Boom in Education

It is impossible to imagine Chandler's career outside the context of the dramatic expansion of public education in the United States during the Progressive Era. For Chandler public education became a growth industry, and he was part of the boom for the rest of his life. The great expansion in public education after the turn of the century required more and more teachers. Overwhelmingly the new recruits were women. Thus to be successful, public education administrators had to be able to work within a world of educators that was becoming increasingly female. Chandler would immerse himself in the improvement of public education and teacher training in Richmond. He would continue this devotion to teacher training for public education at William and Mary.

The increase in the number of students in Virginia public schools mirrored the boom throughout the nation in the first decades of the twentieth century. In the United States the total number of students in 1870-71 was 7,561,582. By the year Chandler became president of the College in 1919-1920, the number had tripled to 21,578,316. The expansion of public education was even more spectacular in Virginia. In the Old Dominion in 1870-71, the number of students in elementary and secondary schools had totaled only 131,088. When Chandler became superintendent of Richmond schools in 1909, the number of students in Virginia public schools had surpassed the national rate of growth, and tripled to 402,109. By 1919, the year he left the superintendency to become college president, the student population of Virginia had climbed to 505,190.¹ This was indeed a time of great expansion in public education.

As the number of students mushroomed, the demand for women teachers kept

pace. Women began to dominate the teaching profession in the public schools by the turn of the century. In Virginia in 1870-1871, the majority of teachers were men, composing 64.5% of the teaching profession. By the 1899-1900 school year, men teachers in Virginia had declined to 31.5% of the work force. By 1909-1910 when Chandler became superintendent of schools, men made up only 19.9% of the teaching force, and ten years later when Chandler became president of the College of William and Mary the percentage of men teachers had dwindled to 10.9%. Thus gradually women took over the K-12 profession. To look at this from the women's perspective, women composed almost 90% of all K-12 teachers in the Old Dominion in 1920.²

One reason for the decline in the number of men teachers and the increase in the ranks of women teachers was that salaries had remained almost constant for thirty years. Between 1871 and 1903 men's salaries rose by only \$2.00 a month, from \$32.36 to \$34.56. Women's salaries rose from \$26.33 per month in 1871 to \$27.20 per month in 1903. A second related reason for the decline of male teachers was that men had better prospects outside teaching.³ As men left the teaching profession to find better paying jobs elsewhere, more women entered teaching to fill the void.

Both the growth in Virginia public education and the recruitment of women into the teaching profession were partially the results of a concerted effort by Southern educators, ministers, and Northern philanthropists to improve public education throughout the South. Robert Curtis Ogden, a wealthy New York businessman, spearheaded a program to encourage compulsory education, and to improve rural schools, and to advance industrial and agricultural education throughout the region. Through the establishment of the Southern Education Board (SEB), and with additional funding from

John D. Rockefeller and the General Education Fund (GEF), a campaign began for the improvement of education in the South. Inspired by the SEB, Virginia's great May Campaign of 1905 awakened local residents throughout the state to the need for better schools and better education for all the children of their communities. Several Virginia governors, especially Governor Andrew Jackson Montague (1902-1906), worked with leading educators, including President Edwin Alderman of the University of Virginia and Richmond College professor Dr. Samuel C. Mitchell, in the major May Campaign to urge all Virginians to take a greater interest in their local schools.⁴ Between 1871 and 1920 there was a dramatic change in the teaching profession. Women teachers took over the K-12 profession. As national, state, and local organizations and campaigns mounted a demand for better education, a snowball effect began to power through the state urging the growth of public education and a great increase in the number of teachers, overwhelmingly women. This intensive demand for greater public education and women teachers became an excellent avenue for the advancement of Chandler's career.

Chandler's First Steps: Textbooks and Networking in Public Education

Chandler began his career move towards public education in several ways. In a few short years, he would briefly become a school principal, publish textbooks for public schools, and make connections with educators and state boards of education. These first steps towards public education were the beginning of a long fifteen year march into the many facets of education in the public sector.

Chandler's career actually began in public education. During his first year at the

College of William and Mary, he enrolled in the normal course. Although he changed direction and entered the academic course, earning his bachelor's and master's degrees, his first job after graduation in 1892 was as a principal of a small public school in Houston, a village in the south central part of Virginia. In a three-room elementary school with 90 students, Chandler served as both the chief administrator as well as a teacher. He taught the fifth through seventh grades while supervising two other teachers in the primary grades for a year before he attended Johns Hopkins University.⁵

After receiving his doctorate and while teaching at Richmond College, he also served as dean of the college's Richmond Academy. While there Chandler entered a new sphere--writing and editing textbooks for elementary and secondary education. This shift coincided with his work as dean of the academy where he also taught in the lower grades. His first textbook, a 60-page geography textbook, Virginia, co-authored with his close friend William Foushee, professor of Latin at Richmond College, was published by Macmillan Company in 1902.

The publication of his elementary textbook was the first of several textbooks that he would publish with Silver Burdett Publishing Company, where he became an editor in 1904. Chandler, however, had also previously written several academic works on Virginia history. He had published the historical monographs, Representation in Virginia in 1896, and The History of Suffrage in Virginia in 1901. The latter, a study of men's suffrage, was part of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science series. Chandler's scholarly study on representation in 1896 was, according to one biographical sketch, a good example of progressivism, for Chandler opposed the lack of direct representation of the people in the Virginia legislature. His work on suffrage

examined men's voting rights and voting difficulties in the state. Chandler's progressivism had limits however. He had nothing at all to say about voting rights for women.⁶

In 1904, the year that he joined Silver Burdett and Company, the company printed two of his elementary school textbooks, Makers of Virginia History, and Makers of American History, the latter co-authored with old friend Oliver Perry Chitwood, a fellow William and Mary graduate who also served as headmaster at the Richmond Academy before receiving his doctorate in history at Johns Hopkins in 1905.⁷

Chandler must have recognized a need for such texts while teaching at the Houston, Virginia public school and at the academy. In the preface of his American history text, Chandler stated that this book should serve fourth, fifth, and sixth graders as a textbook to teach United States history to children through the biographies of American leaders or could supplement other history books without biographies. His Virginia history textbook was also a series of biographies. In addition to the sketches of Virginia's founding fathers, governors, and other well known leaders, Chandler devoted one chapter to Virginia education through the biography of William Henry Ruffner, Virginia's first superintendent of public instruction, and first president of Virginia's first normal school for women at Farmville.⁸ Obviously, he felt that Virginia leadership was not merely limited to politics, but also included education.

After teaching at the two Richmond colleges for almost a decade, Chandler seemingly abandoned higher education in 1904 and accepted a position as "Editor of Elementary School text books" at the Silver Burdett Publishing Company in New York City.⁹ In fact the new position brought him back to public education. His job required

that he work with teachers, principals, school systems, libraries, and state boards of education. Yet he also continued his associations with friends, corresponded with college faculty, and sought access to political acquaintances and educational leaders back in Virginia. He used all these affiliations to help sell his textbooks, and reinforced his intertwining networks in both public and higher education.

While working at Silver Burdett, one of Chandler's main duties apparently was to sell his own textbooks for use in public schools and college classrooms. To do this, he had to maintain close contacts with teachers, schools, and colleges. He sent free examination copies of his textbooks to teachers. Among these were friends such as Sallie Dickinson, the teacher for whom he had tried to obtain a job in Richmond. He wrote Dickinson that his books were "the best yet adopted for grade work of this kind." Other friends receiving texts included Professor Frank W. Duke who taught at the women's institution, Hollins College. He suggested to Duke that his own Silver Burdett texts might be useful "as supplemental reading in your lower history classes."¹⁰

Chandler also sent his textbooks to Williamsburg to continue his connections with his alma mater. In 1904 he sent a textbook to Bruce Payne, a professor of philosophy and education at the College of William and Mary. Payne also was the supervising principal of the Model and Practice School, the College's elementary school for teacher training. Payne wrote to Silver Burdett to tell the company how much his six-year old son liked Makers of Virginia History, extolling the book as one that children would truly enjoy.¹¹

Contacting William and Mary also led Chandler to one of his first editing assignments. Trading favors, Payne wrote to Chandler a month later to acknowledge that although they had known each other only briefly, he hoped he could impose upon

Chandler to read and comment on the dissertation he was completing for Teachers College. Chandler agreed.¹² Chandler then edited his first book, Payne's Elementary Curriculum, in 1905 based on that dissertation.¹³ After its publication, Payne soon left William and Mary to accept the chair of secondary education in the University of Virginia's School of Education.¹⁴

Chandler also called in favors and used political connections to sell Silver Burdett books to libraries. As a former member of the Virginia Library Board, he wrote to J. P. Kennedy, State Librarian in Virginia in 1904. Silver, Burdett hoped to provide books for a new traveling library in Virginia, and Chandler wanted to send Kennedy a substantial number of books for that purpose. If the traveling library featured Silver Burdett books, it would foster the likelihood of additional adoptions and sales throughout the state. Chandler cryptically added: "Remember, old man, that I have done everything in my power in your behalf, and in any way that you can help me, I want you to do it." Chandler added, "This is a very straight forward statement, but I am sure you understand me." Regrettably the context is lost, but clearly Kennedy and Chandler were trading favors. At the end of his letter, Chandler sought to keep up his networking, and reminded Kennedy to, "write me all about the inside fight for a member of the Library Board" in which Chandler had unsuccessfully tried to help his politically unknown friend, F. L. Foushee, obtain a board position.¹⁵

Another important aspect of Chandler's job was to secure textbook adoption for Silver Burdett books by state boards of education. As always, Chandler's correspondence highlights his lobbying tactics to sell his own textbooks. This task brought him into direct contact with important leaders in state public education. He lobbied in several Southern

states including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi. In Mississippi, Chandler contacted his friend, Franklin L. Riley, a history professor at the University of Mississippi, in February 1905. Chandler acknowledged that Riley was “a man who has influence with your State Board,” and asked him to use that influence to help get Makers of American History adopted in Mississippi.¹⁶ Chandler then went to Mississippi to work for the statewide adoption of his books in mid May of 1905. He asked Riley to provide any help that he could to sell Mississippi on the adoption of Chandler’s textbook, and obtained from Riley “letters of introduction to the members of the Text-book Commissions in Mississippi.”¹⁷

When the Mississippi Board of Education met in early June its preliminary vote was six to three on a Friday evening in favor of Chandler’s books. Chandler had already returned to New York, apparently anticipating success. By Sunday evening, however, other publishing companies were lobbying strongly for their own textbook adoptions. A Silver Burdett representative, J. C. Martin, had to report back to Chandler that by Sunday evening the vote had gone five to four in favor of another set of textbooks. The anxious representative wrote to Chandler: “Old man, as God is my witness, I put the best there is in me in the Mississippi fight; and so did you....If Mr. Silver should ever question my work, directly or indirectly, I ask you to take my word for it, as above stated and set him right.” Martin then vowed to do better elsewhere with “God helping me.”¹⁸ Writing, editing, and selling textbooks to local and state leaders made Chandler a lobbyist for his elementary texts, required him to work with public educational administrators, and took him a step closer back to public education.

Networking and The Summer School of Methods for Teachers

Chandler took another step towards public education through teaching and working with public school administrators and teachers in summer normals. Both during his career in higher education in Richmond and during his career as an editor in New York, Chandler supplemented his income by serving as a teacher and administrator in Summer Normal schools in Virginia. Here Chandler both taught with women educators and instructed women teachers from the Commonwealth's public school systems. The Summer Normals became an established part of the state of Virginia teacher education program in 1894. These summer institutes enjoyed major funding from the Peabody Fund that financier and philanthropist George Peabody had established to aid Southern education and to create "a class of professionally trained teachers for the public schools." The purpose of the summer schools was to provide better training for teachers, most of them women already employed in schools. While Summer Normals were held in several locations in Virginia, the most prestigious was The School of Methods in Charlottesville which had been founded in 1888.¹⁹ Chandler taught in the Charlottesville school for six summers, from 1900 through 1905, before conducting the Summer Normal in Norfolk in 1907 and 1908.²⁰ After Chandler became president of the College of William and Mary he dramatically enlarged the College's summer sessions to benefit teachers working towards certification and also created extension courses in educational methods and subject areas to help teachers. He eventually created an extension campus in Norfolk. His work in expanded educational training for teachers could certainly be credited in part to the summer normals in Charlottesville and Norfolk.

Chandler used his ever-expanding educational networks to secure both faculty and speakers for the Summer School of Methods at Charlottesville. Although not officially an administrator for that summer school, he sought funding for the institute and recruited prestigious faculty for the program. He also obtained teaching positions in the Summer Normals for several of his closest Richmond colleagues. The leader of the Charlottesville summer school for teachers was E. C. Glass, superintendent of schools in Lynchburg, Virginia, and brother of Virginia Congressman, Carter Glass. Superintendent Glass had moved his summer school to the University of Virginia in 1902 and worked with its School of Education.²¹ Glass was in the process of establishing the most prestigious summer educational program in the state, transforming the concept of small summer normals into a great summer event for Virginia teachers.

Correspondence between Glass and Chandler in 1904 and 1905 sheds light on the work of both men. In the fall of 1904 Glass wrote to Chandler in New York that he was planning the “greatest school of the series” for the next summer. Having already taught in the program for several summers, Chandler was familiar with its needs and objectives. Glass asked him to help secure teachers for the next summer. He particularly wanted Chandler to recruit Dr. Thomas M. Balliett, dean of the School of Education of New York University, and Helen Place, the supervisor of music at the Horace Mann School at Columbia University. Glass noted that Place, who had connections to the Silver Burdett firm, would demand a good salary but was a very good teacher. He needed such a teacher to draw people from the Richmond and Norfolk areas to the school. “I want to arrange for Miss Place and my other great teachers” to come to his school. He also expected Chandler, himself, to get six weeks off from Silver Burdett to come and teach in

Charlottesville.²²

Chandler secured Dr. Thomas Balliett,²³ but he could only offer hope that Albert Silver would help with “Miss Place.” Going beyond this task requested of him, Chandler promised Glass to “land some cash” for his school from the General Education Board. Chandler spoke to Wallace Buttrick, secretary of the General Education Board in an effort to lay the ground work for a solicitation from Glass. He then advised Glass to confer with him before speaking to Buttrick when he came to New York. Chandler invited Glass to stay with him when he came to the Big Apple, noting that he and Lenore lived only two blocks from Columbia University and four blocks from Teachers College, both places he advised Glass to visit during his trip.²⁴

Although Chandler and Glass would not be successful in this pursuit of funding, the importance lies in Chandler’s continuing connection to the General Education Board. He repeatedly approached Buttrick while he was in New York for funding for both public and higher education. He would escalate this funding work after becoming president of William and Mary. A second, even more important, aspect of this correspondence is Chandler’s identification of his close proximity to Columbia University and Teachers College. His knowledge of this institution would later lead him to hire many women faculty from those schools.

E. C. Glass continued to solicit Chandler’s assistance with difficult requests. He asked Chandler to secure the two distinguished scholars, Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie, associate editor of The Outlook and a noted scholar in literature and children’s literature, and Dr. Woodrow Wilson, the Virginian who had risen to prominence as a professor of political science and history and had become president of Princeton University in 1902.

Always skillfully maneuvering to strengthen his own position, Chandler insisted that Glass reciprocate. "Don't forget that I want you to have my two books put on the Supplementary List so that they can be used in every county and city in Virginia." Chandler then added, "I trust that you are going to find a place for them in the Lynchburg schools."²⁵ When Chandler asked Glass how long he wanted Mabie and Wilson to be in residence in Charlottesville, Glass replied that he would like to have them come for a week of lectures or even longer if possible.²⁶

Chandler wrote to Mabie in New York City, and sent a similar letter to Wilson at Princeton. In both, he praised the Summer School of Methods for being successful among Virginia educators. The school expected over 1,200 teachers to attend the 1905 summer session. To entice the scholars, Chandler explained that since Edwin Alderman had become president of the University of Virginia in 1904 there had been "a general awakening in the interests of popular education in Virginia." He then added a personal note to Wilson, reminding him that "I had the pleasure of studying under you when I was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University."²⁷

Chandler could not deliver several of Glass's requests. Mabie would be out of the country the following summer. No correspondence is available from Wilson back to Chandler, however, Wilson did not attend the Summer Methods Institute. In addition to these setbacks, the General Education Board refused Glass's requests for funds.²⁸ Chandler even had to report to Glass that he could have only two weeks of leave from Silver Burdett, but would be pleased to come and lecture in Charlottesville. Chandler did, however, send one small positive morsel of news. He reported that two former teachers at the summer school, a Miss Holbrook and a Miss Florence Liebenstein of Chicago, were

both anxious to return.²⁹ He also suggested that Glass hire his two close friends, Dr. W. L. Foushee, the Latin professor at Richmond College, and Howard Lee MacBain, of Richmond College for the summer school.³⁰

The 1905 Summer School ran from June 26 to August 4. Glass announced that more than 800 teachers had registered before the opening day. He had hoped that over 2,000 teachers would attend. During this time period, women composed more than 70 % of the teachers of Virginia. Teachers coming to the summer session could chose from a great selection of courses that could assist them with certification, renewal of licensing, and the upgrading of their teaching skills. The school operated three departments: the university course, the general course, and the academic course. The academic course included classes in arithmetic, English grammar, reading, history, government, biology, music, manual training, elocution, the works of William Shakespeare, and Bible study. Chandler was successful in placing several teachers in the school. Chandler and his good friend, Lee McBain, taught United States history. Helen Place taught the music course.³¹

In the university courses Chandler taught history alongside several professors from the University of Virginia, while his good friend, W. L. Foushee of Richmond College, taught Latin. Thomas Balliett taught pedagogy. Men taught the majority of the university and general methods courses, while women instructors more often taught the content courses for training in the elementary grades. Lila London from the Farmville Sate Normal taught arithmetic; Eliza Baker from the Lynchburg High School taught English Grammar; and Anna Le Grande from the Lynchburg public schools taught mathematical geography. Nannie Davis, principal of the training school for the College of William and Mary, taught "Reading in the Grammar Grades"; and Lucy Munson of the

Miller Training School taught manual training.³² Mrs. M. S. Moffett had registered 210 teachers for the training school. "Most of these young ladies were from the counties" and would take examinations at the end of the six-week session to renew their certificates.³³

Since Chandler could not secure Woodrow Wilson or Hamilton Mabie, E. C. Glass engaged Dr. G. Stanley Hall, president and professor of psychology at Clark University,³⁴ who gave a course on the "New Education." Hall's lecture defined one side of the controversial argument in the debate over whether young women should receive the same educational opportunities as young men. Hall, expressing the concern that marriage rates declined among college educated women, stated that women did not need the same education as men. He believed that women's education should be more tailored to prepare them for marriage and motherhood. Hall's views were part of the debate on education for women and an important topic for curriculum studies in both the public schools and in higher education.³⁵ Such misogynous views affected not only the education but also the hiring of women faculty in higher education.

The Summer Normals were an important part of Chandler's career. He taught in the summer normals to train teachers for much of the decade. Obviously he believed in a solid preparation for teachers; when he became superintendent of the Richmond schools he demanded more training for his faculty. When he became president of the College of William and Mary he devoted great effort to providing teacher education to the William and Mary students and to marketing the College's summer school to attract teachers from all over the state.

Teachers College

Another link to teachers came through Chandler's knowledge of Teachers College. Although he never mentioned attending Teachers College or Columbia University in his letters or lists of accomplishments, two of Chandler's closest colleagues at Richmond College reported that he had taken some graduate work at Columbia University. His close friend and colleague Dr. Samuel C. Mitchell, the history professor at Richmond College who became the president of the University of South Carolina, stated in a 1907 letter of recommendation for Chandler that Chandler had formerly been a graduate student at Columbia University.³⁶ Even more importantly President F. W. Boatwright, Chandler's employer, colleague, and confidant, wrote a letter of recommendation in 1909 which also stated that Chandler had done work at Columbia.³⁷ Certainly Chandler had some type of long relationship with the school.

While in New York, Chandler lived just a few blocks from Teachers College, the leading school for the professional education of teachers during the first two decades of the twentieth century, and one of the leading schools in the nation for graduate work in education. Although Columbia has no record that Chandler attended, its records do not include the names of students taking part-time work during this era.³⁸ Some of the greatest names in the field of education taught there while Chandler was in New York. Edward L. Thorndike became head of the Department of Educational Psychology in 1904 and John Dewey began offering lectures there in 1906.³⁹ After Chandler became president of the College of William and Mary, the majority of his women faculty with graduate degrees as well as several with undergraduate degrees came from Teachers

College.

Teachers College set a pattern for revitalization and advancement in education that Chandler would later follow in Williamsburg. James Earl Russell, dean of the college from 1898 until 1927, radically changed Teacher's College from the basic two years of normal school work that it offered in 1893 into the premier professional educational school in the nation. Russell raised standards, enlarged curriculum, reorganized the College, and increased enrollment in his first decade as dean from 468 to over 1,000.⁴⁰ He also fervently believed in the revitalization of education in the South and traveled to southern states to study their needs in the company of educational philanthropists including the New York millionaire Robert Ogden who had influenced the revival of public education in Virginia.⁴¹

Although Chandler's correspondence does not fully explain his connections with Teachers College, it does give some insight into his networking there. Chandler established contacts at the institution while he lived in New York City. He had previously taught pedagogy in Richmond and may have used that experience as entree at Teachers College. In 1905 E.C. Glass asked him to help a Virginia teacher obtain a scholarship at Teachers College. "Miss Craighill" was a Randolph Macon Woman's College graduate and a teacher in Glass's Lynchburg school system. Chandler told Glass to send him her credentials and promised, "I will talk to the people at the Teachers College and see what I can do towards getting her a scholarship." Chandler assured Glass that he would personally "go and see Dean Russell."⁴² Then Chandler wrote to his friend, Clyde Furst, a William and Mary alumnus who was Russell's secretary at Teachers College, to ask him to "use your influence to secure for her a Scholarship." Chandler praised the young

woman as someone who “would be a credit to the Institution that you represent.” When Chandler later reported back to Glass that he had been unable to reach Dean Russell, he explained that he had at least spoken to Russell’s secretary, Furst, who “has great influence at the Teachers College” and “who is an old college chum of mine.” Furst had promised to do what he could to help the teacher.⁴³ In 1907 Matilda Holliday Craighill, a Lynchburg, Virginia teacher, received her master’s degree from Teachers College.⁴⁴ The importance of this correspondence is in revealing that Chandler was in contact with Teachers College during his days in New York, and that his contacts at that institution were strong.

Teachers College and Columbia University were prime recruiting grounds for women faculty in the 1920s at the College of William and Mary. Chandler’s early connections to this institution laid the groundwork for even closer connections with Teachers’ College after he returned to William and Mary.

Networking Politics and Education

An important step in Chandler’s involvement in public education came in his political maneuverings in both state politics and state education. When Julian Chandler became president of the College of William and Mary, he transformed the institution in many ways. One primary transformation was the increase in the number of women on the Williamsburg campus. Chandler brought this about through his expansion of the enrollment of women students, his hiring of women deans and faculty, and his work with women on the Board of Visitors. Chandler had to carefully calculate these politically

charged decisions, for not everyone wanted the College to become a coeducational institution. He was no novice, however, in the politics of educational appointments. Chandler developed his political skills long before he came to the College. His political activities in education at the beginning of the century demonstrate his early work in crafting and manipulating political connections. These early political involvements confirm Chandler's long history of political acumen upon which he could base his work in administrative leadership in Williamsburg. Chandler's deep understanding of state politics would be crucial to his work as president of William and Mary.

As early as 1905 when he was only thirty-two years old, Chandler was already very much a political player. In his correspondence that year with College of William and Mary board member William Taliaferro, Chandler disclosed his involvement in Virginia politics. Chandler first agreed to seek funds to help William and Mary while he was in New York, and then told Taliaferro how pleased he was to see him on the Board of Visitors. Chandler explained, "You are probably not aware of the fact that I had a hand in your appointment." Chandler declared, "I called the Governor twice on your behalf, and as President of the William and Mary Alumni Association, I told the Governor that the younger Alumni demanded representation on the Board, and that you were, by all means, the best man."⁴⁵

While in New York, Chandler joined the Graduates Club of New York City, an organization for college graduates, in which he could continue to broaden his connections. In 1906 he asked two friends who were leading progressives in Virginia education to come speak to his club. First he invited Governor Andrew Jackson Montague to come to the club to speak at its Lincoln Dinner in February. When the

governor could not attend, Chandler contacted Edwin A. Alderman, president of the University of Virginia. Alderman explained that he faced a problem that Chandler would also eventually face. Alderman was “in the midst of a struggle with the [Virginia] Legislature” to obtain necessary funds for his university and had to devote his time to this major concern.⁴⁶

Chandler had already discovered that networking, education, and politics often went hand in hand in Virginia. He therefore joined in the political wheeling and dealing of Virginia education, and took steps towards more involvement in public education. During his two-year sojourn in New York, he continued his participation in Virginia politics and campaigned for candidates associated with public education. He took an active role in support of the progressive politics of Andrew Jackson Montague, governor of Virginia from 1902 to 1906 and a strong advocate of public education. Chandler also worked hard in support of his candidate for state superintendent of education, and lobbied for several school superintendents. He used his networking skills to help put men in leadership positions in public education in Virginia. He did not, however, work openly in support of women for leadership positions since the executive posts in public education were male-dominated at that time. The following correspondence details Chandler’s involvement in state politics during the early part of the century. It demonstrates his understanding of and participation in Virginia politics and education long before he became president of the College of William and Mary. His crafty manipulation of Virginia politics in the early part of the century set the stage for his later successes at the College of William and Mary in the 1920s when he courted governors and members of the General Assembly to obtain major financial support for his transformation of the

College.

Chandler developed an early association with Governor Montague. After receiving part of his early education in Williamsburg, Montague had attended Richmond College and received his law degree from the University of Virginia. Chandler actively supported Montague, who has been described both as “Virginia’s first progressive governor,” and as Virginia’s first “educational governor.” A Democrat, Montague advocated good schools, good roads, and an end to political corruption in state government. His most important contribution to reform in the state was his support for the rapid growth of good schools, better teaching, and improved education statewide.⁴⁷

While governor, Montague advocated the work of New York philanthropist Robert Ogden and other educational philanthropists who devoted time, money, and efforts to the Southern Education Board’s goal to improve education in the South. At a meeting of the SEB in New York in 1903, Montague reported the great transformation beginning in Virginia in education, proclaiming that education had surprisingly become a more important topic in Virginia than politics. When the influential Wallace Buttrick, secretary of the General Education Board, came to Richmond in 1903, he praised Montague, stating, “We in the North have already named Montague the ‘educational Governor.’” The Virginia state superintendent of public instruction, Joseph W. Southall, concurred. “No man in the Commonwealth is more earnestly and enthusiastically interested in the subject of education” than Montague.⁴⁸ To advance Virginia public schools, Montague served as chairman of the executive board of the new statewide Co-operative Education Commission which included leadership from Chandler’s friend, Samuel C. Mitchell. Mary Munford, the College’s first female board member, eventually

led this association for more than two decades. This organization led Virginia's first great statewide May Campaign in 1905 to further the cause of improving education throughout every city, county, and town in Virginia. In that campaign which was similar to a great religious camp meeting, political and educational leaders in every locality in the state gave addresses, fired up audiences, and rallied local citizens statewide to take a pro-active stand for the betterment of education in their own communities.⁴⁹

As Montague neared the completion of his term as governor, he decided to run for election to the U.S. Senate in 1905 against the powerful, incumbent senator, Thomas Staples Martin, the namesake and leader of the Virginia Democratic Party's "Martin machine."⁵⁰ Chandler actively supported Montague against Martin in the election of 1906, and also entered the politics of state education elections. He worked unsuccessfully to elect J. A. McGilvray for state superintendent of public instruction against Joseph D. Eggleston, Jr.⁵¹ Virginia's Constitutional Convention of 1902 had just established the direct election of the superintendent of public instruction.⁵²

While Chandler campaigned for Montague and McGilvray, he also solicited favors for friends and family members in return. He sent a list of names of potential supporters to Montague in March 1905. The list included Dick Moncure, son of a Judge Moncure of Caroline County, and the "Uncle Dick Moncure" whom Cassie Moncure Lyne had mentioned when she had asked Chandler for a favor. [See chapter 2.] Chandler credited the list to John Washington, who supported the governor "heart and soul" in his senatorial bid. Chandler added that Washington, Chandler's first cousin, wished to be re-appointed as superintendent of schools in Caroline County and needed the governor's support. Chandler asked that, "when the time comes" to appoint the superintendent, "I

hope that you will stand by John.”⁵³

To help Washington maintain his post, Chandler contacted members of the State Board of Education. According to the Virginia Constitution of 1902, the state board held authority to appoint and remove division superintendents. Members of the board included one representative each from the University of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, State Female Normal School at Farmville, School for the Deaf and the Blind, as well as the private College of William and Mary, the state’s normal school for white men.⁵⁴

Chandler wrote to J. W. Southall, the state superintendent of public instruction, to ask for support for Washington. After acknowledging Southall as “such a good friend,” Chandler asked for his “favor.” He also wrote to Virginia Attorney General William A. Anderson, and members of the Board of Education including President Lyon G. Tyler of William and Mary to speak for Washington. Each of the letters conveyed a sense of Chandler’s personal acquaintance with these prominent Virginia leaders. In Chandler’s letter to the attorney general, for example, he told Anderson that his family members, Campbell Chandler and John Washington, would stand by Anderson “faithfully” in his re-election campaign. Chandler asked Anderson to make sure that the new districts soon to be formed from Caroline County, would not “cut out Washington.”⁵⁵ Chandler was a strong advocate of quid pro quo.

Before writing to these state leaders, however, Chandler made sure that he and Washington were in political agreement on the upcoming election. He told Washington that he anticipated his support for Montague, Anderson, and McGilvray. He acknowledged that those men “are my preferences, and if you are for them I shall know

how best to serve your interest with them....” Chandler carefully explained, “Mr. Montague has been a great friend of mine, and I wish to help him in any way possible.”⁵⁶

In 1905 Chandler wrote a similar series of letters for his friend, Dr. Thomas Dew, who sought the position of superintendent of schools in Spotsylvania County. Chandler described him to one member of the board of education as a “young and progressive man” whom Chandler had known for years. While Chandler was personally helping Governor Montague to purchase a cap and gown in New York, he appealed to the governor to help Dew.⁵⁷ Chandler also solicited Lyon G. Tyler’s support for Dew. He approached Tyler through James Hoge Tyler, the former governor of Virginia (1898 - 1902), who was originally from Caroline County. Chandler believed that if Governor Tyler would write to Lyon G. Tyler in favor of Dew, the latter Tyler would support Dew at the Board of Education. Chandler believed, “President Tyler of William and Mary will do almost anything that Ex-Governor Tyler asks.”⁵⁸

Chandler’s politicking in 1905 turned out well for both would-be superintendents of schools. Chandler’s cousin, John Washington, kept his position in Caroline County, while Thomas Dew received the position of superintendent in Spotsylvania County. Washington was reappointed without any difficulty. Dew’s appointment in Spotsylvania, however, created consternation among some local citizens who had favored the incumbent superintendent, L. M. Smith. A delegation of more than 40 citizens of that county including county court officials, the commonwealth’s attorney for the county, and other leading citizens petitioned for the reappointment of Smith. Dr. Dew, however, kept the position.⁵⁹

Chandler’s success in helping the two superintendents did not translate to equal

success on the state level. Chandler's state candidates lost. A scandal erupted involving McGilvray's position as clerk of the Department of Public Instruction. McGilvray became part of a fraudulent scheme to overcharge schools for a state-wide publication, the School Register. He split the profits with Richmond High School principal, J. P. Thomas, the principal whom Chandler had written that same spring to ask for his help in hiring Sallie Dickinson as a teacher. This scandal, by association, contributed to Montague's defeat for senator.⁶⁰ Although Chandler's candidates for senator and state superintendent lost their election bids, his work for the two county superintendents was successful, and his candidate, William A. Anderson was re-elected attorney general.⁶¹

Chandler had political ties to education through a former governor and the sitting governor. He knew the members of the state Board of Education. He put school superintendents into office. He campaigned for the state attorney general. He knew men working in Richmond for statewide advances in education. His connections in state education were dramatically increasing and would soon help him further towards public education in Richmond. The point of explaining this list of compatible and behind-the-scenes activities, however, is not that they were important in their own right. They are important because they illustrate Chandler's long history of political involvement in the realm of education before he returned to William and Mary in 1919. This early political apprenticeship was a key foundation of his aggressive and successful campaign to use co-education as a means to revitalize his alma mater.

Chandler Returns to Virginia

Chandler's political connections also led to a job change for himself, and to his return to Virginia. He left New York, textbook sales, and textbook editing for direct involvement in Virginia public education. Back in the Commonwealth, he quickly resumed his career interests in history, education, and teaching, and even worked for the State Board of Education. Chandler's return to Virginia was a turning point. After a series of jobs related to public education, Chandler would finally be ready for a dynamic career change—the superintendency of public schools in Richmond.

In 1906 Chandler left Silver Burdett to return to his beloved Virginia to assume a one-year administrative position as Chief of the Department of History and Education of the Jamestown Exposition of 1907. He already had ties to historic Jamestown through his membership in the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, the organization that championed the preservation of Jamestown Island.⁶² The new job offer came from the Honorable J. Taylor Ellyson,⁶³ a former state chairman of the Democratic party and a leader of the Jamestown Exposition's celebration of the 300th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, who would become the newly elected lieutenant governor of Virginia in 1906.⁶⁴

As head of the education department for the exposition, Chandler demanded and apparently received a salary of \$4500 plus expenses. This salary was just \$500 less than Chandler would take almost fifteen years later in 1919 to become president of William and Mary.⁶⁵ As director of Jamestown's Department of History and Education, he planned exhibits and educational programs.⁶⁶ One building under his control was the display of

the Model School, an ideal example of a one-room school building under the supervision of a woman educator, Mrs. Eugene B. Heard of Middleton, Georgia, who had established a traveling library system with the Seaboard Air Line Railway in six Southern states including Virginia.⁶⁷

Although the Jamestown Exposition brought him back to the edges of Virginia education, he greatly extended his work with teachers and state public education the following year. First, Chandler resumed his work with school teachers by conducting the summer normal schools in Norfolk during the summers of 1907 and 1908.⁶⁸ Secondly, in 1907, Chandler changed posts again, and in late August accepted the position of editor of the Virginia Journal of Education, the official publication of the State Board of Education. The journal at that time did not represent the views of teachers, but instead published the official state views of education. Chandler held this position until 1909.⁶⁹

The Jamestown Exposition would not provide long-term employment for Chandler. He went in search of jobs in education. In 1907 in addition to applying for the position of editor, he also considered another position more directly involved in public education. For the first time, he considered a post as superintendent of public schools. In 1907 Chandler received an offer to become superintendent of schools in Raleigh, North Carolina. He declined, however, due to the low salary.⁷⁰ A letter of recommendation for the Raleigh superintendency from R. E. Gaines, professor of mathematics at Richmond College, described Chandler's qualifications as those of "preeminently an educator." Gaines thoroughly agreed with earlier recommendations that Chandler was a man of "lofty character, of high ideals, of sound scholarship" who knew "what constitutes a good teacher" and was such "a good judge of human nature" that he was most able to handle

the selection of teachers. Gaines concluded that Chandler was a “man of quite unusual executive and administrative ability” who could “lay out large plans” and bring them to fruition.⁷¹

In 1908-09 Chandler briefly returned to Richmond College as professor of history and political science. The following year, another offer came his way. The president of the State University at Lexington, Kentucky offered Chandler the position as head of the university’s department of education. He wanted Chandler to transform that small department into a vibrant department of teacher preparation. He sought a “good man” with “energy,” “inspiration and oversight,” who could make the department a strong and “permanent factor in the education of teachers” among public and private schools and colleges in the state of Kentucky. Chandler did not take the position, perhaps because the salary was only \$1500 annually. The interesting aspect of this offer was its source. Chandler had been recommended to the Kentucky president by the president of Washington and Lee University. Chandler obviously was developing a sound reputation in education throughout the state of Virginia.⁷²

In 1909, Chandler left Richmond College to accept the position of superintendent of Richmond schools.⁷³ This was a dramatic change from the academic positions that he had held in higher education, and was no doubt prompted by finances. Chandler had spent years instructing teachers in the summer normals, and had conducted two summer normals himself. He had helped hire teachers for the summer schools. He had sought educational funding in New York for summer normals and colleges. He had ties to Teachers College. He had worked in politics for educational candidates. He had helped school superintendents obtain their jobs. He had made political contacts with members of

the state Board of Education. He had administered the state education journal. He had taught pedagogy on the college level. He had directed the history and education department of an exposition greatly in the public eye. Chandler had amassed a remarkable resume in education, combining work in numerous aspects of higher education, public education, and state education. He was ready for the Richmond public schools.

For two reasons, the position as Richmond superintendent is crucial to understanding Chandler's presidency at William and Mary. First, while holding this position he would make radical changes in the Richmond public schools that would foreshadow his own administration at the College of William and Mary. His work in the Richmond public schools was almost a dress rehearsal for his presidency. Secondly, he would actually hire a number of his Richmond teachers to be among the first female educators at the College.

The Public School Superintendent and His Teachers

In 1909 Julian Chandler finally took his most direct step into public education when he became superintendent of the largest public school system in the state of Virginia. The overwhelming majority of his teaching faculty were women. This section will examine in detail Chandler's relationship to and work with Virginia teachers as a prelude to his presidential administration at the College of William and Mary where he led the College in the education of teachers. Several of his first women faculty and board members at the College had strong connections to Virginia public education. Chandler worked with some of these women while he was superintendent of the Richmond

schools. He hired several Richmond teachers, including Bessie Taylor, Hazel Gallagher, and Thelma Brown as some of his earliest women faculty and administrators at the College. Therefore his position as superintendent laid a strong foundation for his leadership at William and Mary. In his position as superintendent, his administration techniques and changes in the public school system would closely parallel the transformations he would later make at the College.

By 1917-1918 at the height of Chandler's administration, the Richmond school system was indeed massive. Elementary schools still dominated the extensive school system of the city. In that academic year there were 39 elementary schools. The total enrollment was 21,710 elementary students, with 11,446 female students and 10,264 male students. The school system required a huge elementary teaching force. In the 39 schools there were a total of 748 elementary teachers, of which 645 were women.⁷⁴ In 1917-1918 there were also five Richmond secondary schools with a total of 2,523 high school students, of which 1,645 were girls. To teach all these students the school system employed 93 secondary teachers, of which 66 were women.⁷⁵

In 1917-1918 in the entire Richmond school system, there were a total of 44 schools with 24,233 students. The Richmond school system employed a total of 841 teachers. Of that total 711 were women. Thus at the height of Chandler's career as superintendent in 1917-1918, he supervised more than 800 teachers, of which and more than 700 were women; 7/8 of his teachers were female. This was only two years before he came to the College of William and Mary. Chandler worked with a great number of women teachers and students just before he accepted the College presidency.

One of Chandler's first actions as superintendent in Richmond was to begin a

huge school building program, just as he would later embark upon massive expansion of the physical plant at the College. During the first two years in his new position, Chandler found that half of the facilities being used by the Richmond school system were rental quarters which he found to be unsuitable. He also found that many of the school buildings were 30 to 40 years old, had poor lighting and ventilation facilities, and were quite overcrowded. He called for the construction of five new white schools, additions to five other schools, and the building of four new black schools at a stunning cost of \$600,000. The dynamic and forceful personality of the new superintendent won the approval of the Richmond School Board and the City Council for this building campaign. During his first three years in office, construction began on five new schools.⁷⁶

Chandler next initiated curriculum reform. He hired W.C. Locker to install his Locker method of writing in the Richmond schools. The Locker system had already attained some popularity before Chandler hired Locker. While working in the Richmond schools, Locker guided his writing method to spread throughout the state of Virginia.⁷⁷ Chandler instituted physical education in the Richmond public schools under the direction of Leigh Tucker Jones, and with Mrs. Mae Jones as supervisor of physical education in the elementary schools.⁷⁸ L. T. Jones would follow Chandler to William and Mary to become head the Department of Physical Education for Women in the 1920s. Chandler also made numerous changes in the elementary curriculum, adding both depth and breath to the curriculum with the addition of manual training to aid dexterity and hand movements for young children, more demanding spelling work, an advanced history curriculum, and more music as well as physical education. In addition to improvements in the elementary curriculum, Chandler also began a new junior high

organization and curriculum in his school system.⁷⁹

Chandler upgraded teacher benefits and instruction in the public schools of Richmond. During his first two years in office, he urged raises in teacher salaries to equal the higher salary levels of \$635-\$720 annually which college graduates with professional certificates were earning in some areas of the state. He recommended 180-day contracts for teachers, and in-service teacher training for elementary teachers in reading, writing, language, teaching methods and arts.⁸⁰ He insisted upon renewals and improvements in the certification of his teachers to promote higher certification standards to his faculty. He sought better curriculum revision, additional classroom supervision, and free textbooks for students.⁸¹ He also strongly favored his teachers attending summer schools to improve their knowledge and teaching skills. In 1912 he had 228 elementary teachers in the Richmond schools and only 84 had attended summer schools. He urged his teachers to take more training to improve the quality of their teaching.⁸² Chandler made immediate upgrades in the school curriculum, and would work throughout his entire superintendency to improve teachers' qualifications and salaries. He would upgrade both during his decade of leadership.

Chandler insisted on immediate changes, especially in the curriculum. As he strictly imposed these alterations on his faculty, discontentment quickly grew among teachers in Richmond. Women teachers so strongly opposed Chandler's revisions to their daily teaching schedules, that they spoke out against him. Discord spread so much among Richmond female elementary teachers that the city of Richmond established a special committee to investigate the management of the Richmond schools. Chandler and his school board demanded an open, thorough investigation during the four months of inquiry

in the spring of 1912. Teachers complained that Chandler had made curriculum changes detrimental to the students. Even more importantly they charged the superintendent with creating an atmosphere with a “serious lack of harmony and cooperation between the teachers on the one hand, and the principals and superintendent on the other hand, which has a tendency to demoralize and greatly decrease the efficiency of the public school system” of Richmond.⁸³ Officers of the school system included Chandler and his assistant superintendent, Kramer J. Hoke, who later joined Chandler at the College as a professor of education and dean of the College.⁸⁴

At these meetings women teachers, especially from the Elementary Teachers’ Association, testified against Chandler’s curriculum changes. The most vociferous detractor was Miss Elva J. Mallonee, a second and third grade teacher, who held a high school diploma but no college training. Mallonee complained that Chandler’s curriculum was too difficult for the primary grades. She believed that his new policies were too advanced for young children and pushed them to try to learn beyond their “power[s] to comprehend.” She felt this made children “disgusted, careless, and discouraged.” She complained that Chandler’s policies sacrificed time needed for fundamentals, replacing them with more frivolous studies.⁸⁵ During her testimony and her cross-examination by Chandler himself, she reported that his new curriculum revision of arithmetic, for example, was too difficult for the primary grades. She also maintained that the new curriculum was too heavy with “nonessentials” such as music, drawing, physical education, and manual training. She explained that with a class of 43 students, there was not enough room for the children to move about and do the newly required physical exercises.⁸⁶

Chandler defended his administrative decisions against her attacks. When he cross-examined her, he demonstrated that Miss Mallonee had forgotten that he had increased the time allotted for reading. He also made her admit that her teaching schedule did not increase time for nonessentials. Chandler defended his updated requirements in arithmetic, and secured her testimony that he had established "office hours to receive teachers and suggestions."⁸⁷

As these special committee meetings continued, some teachers and parents displayed a "hostile spirit" toward Chandler's new revisions. Those who were friends of elementary teachers expressed grievances against the new curriculum. The Richmond Times Dispatch reported that the investigation sharpened the disagreements between the White Elementary Teachers Association and the school board which supported Chandler. Teachers leveled charges that some supervising teachers were being paid excessively, that the new curriculum was not practical for elementary grades, and that friction existed between teachers and school authorities. Parents, including members of the Federation of Mothers' Clubs, complained that the new classroom studies did not meet their children's needs. One mother even complained that her ten-year old boy was bringing home articles of sewing and other handiwork usually assigned to girls as part of the manual training program.⁸⁸

The Richmond Times Dispatch reported that over a hundred teachers attended one meeting at which Miss Mallonee was called to testify. At this meeting, Miss Mallonee leveled charges that the assistant primary superintendent, a Miss Harris, was not competent to supervise classes because she had never once taken charge of a primary grade for an entire day. Yet Miss Harris was paid \$2,000 a year—far more than any

Richmond teachers received.⁸⁹ Other teachers testified as well, including Mabel Dobbins and Emily Royall. Both objected to the amount of time Chandler required for manual training for young children. Royall said that she spoke for all the first grade teachers in the city who were members of the First Grade Club to request less complicated manual training requirements. She said they had taken their concerns to Chandler who had, for example, changed the model of “plating a rug out of rags to a whip cord of raffia,” but they felt the requirements were still too difficult. This problem of complicated manual training exercises was a major concern for teachers who wanted more time for reading.⁹⁰ Yet Chandler was insisting upon manual training which was a new, progressive strategy being incorporated in other schools in the United States at that time.⁹¹

One of the teachers, Cornelia Adair, taught third grade. Her credentials characterize the average teacher education at the time. She held a high school diploma and had completed some college work at Columbia University and the Summer Normals. She voiced criticism of Chandler’s revisions. She said the new spelling, arithmetic, geography, music, and manual training courses were all too difficult for the children. She was especially critical of the new history curriculum that required third graders to learn subjects too far removed from their knowledge including such topics as Attila the Hun and Beowulf.⁹² Cornelia Adair was a teacher who would command respect for her leadership in the National Education Association, and would eventually become president of the NEA.⁹³

Bessie Sutton, a sixth grade teacher, testified that she had attended Richmond College where “Dr. Chandler was one of my teachers.” Chandler acknowledged, “Yes, I used to teach Miss Sutton,” at Richmond College. Sutton also lodged complaints again

her former professor. She opposed the new group system policies which required that one group of students in a class work alone while another group did recitations. Sutton felt that the unsupervised study time became “wasted” time unless teachers assigned written work.⁹⁴

The Elementary Teachers Association disclosed that all teachers had turned in reports on the curriculum, and these reports were in Chandler’s possession. The investigating committee required that the superintendent turn over the reports to them. Chandler demonstrated another side of his character when he reacted in anger. He uttered a strong, “I protest at this peremptory demand for papers” that he had not yet read. He angrily remonstrated that he did not know these reports would be required at the investigation. After Chandler brought the reports from his office, his demand that all the reports be read led the committee to return the “foot high” stack of papers to him.⁹⁵ Chandler displayed a volatile aspect of his character that would be evident in all his administrations.

To defend his new curriculum changes, Chandler turned to his networking contacts. He invited Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, to testify in his defense. When Claxton came to Richmond, he spoke in support of Chandler’s policies. He defended the new progressive concepts that half of the curriculum be devoted to “regular studies” of reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, history, and literature. He supported the idea that the other half of children’s studies be devoted to “special” studies including manual training, physical education, music, and drawing.⁹⁶

Claxton then addressed the needs of female students. He praised the utility of “studies in homemaking” as “very important for preparing girls to marry.” This

Commissioner of Education feared that the public schools were negligent in instructing young women in “home sanitation” and child-caring skills. He expressed concern that “women spend most of the money that men make,” and therefore needed instruction in sewing so they would stop living “out of stores” and be able to make clothing for their families. He praised homemaking instruction, including sewing, as just as valuable an educational experience to girls as reading “The Lady of the Lake” or studying Greek.⁹⁷

Despite opposition from his teachers, Chandler emerged triumphant with support from his school board, the principals, and Dr. Claxton. He weathered the storm, and the controversy subsided. Later, however, he initiated a strong policy of control over his teachers to curb further faculty disloyalty. He mandated that any teacher or principal who wished to speak to the school board must communicate first through the superintendent. This made him, rather than the school board, the central authority over administrative matters regarding teachers.⁹⁸

Chandler, with help from his school board, then added more stringent regulations to control his teachers. He ruled that teachers could not participate in any campaigns of any kind related to the school system without permission from the school board via the superintendent. Chandler ordered that all instructions from the superintendent would be carried out by his principals and teachers. Furthermore, if teachers needed any modifications of the superintendent’s rulings, they were to communicate to him via their principals. Chandler’s most direct step to quell discord, however, came at the end of these new directives to his Richmond teachers. Chandler required that his teachers and principals sign a statement agreeing to not only abide by these new rules and regulations, but to acknowledge that “I agree to abide by all such rules and regulations and I am

willing that any violation thereof shall be sufficient for discipline.”⁹⁹ These were strict controls to curb teachers’ actions against Chandler’s regulations and authority. Later at William and Mary, President Chandler would feel very much the same way about faculty opposition to enforcement of his rules.

Local newspapers defended the Chandler policies. One 1912 editorial in the Richmond Times Dispatch voiced strong support for the improvements made to the Richmond schools during Chandler’s superintendency, the need for additional teacher training and teacher supervision, and the importance of increased teacher service in return for higher pay. The editorial defended the new clauses in teacher contracts as being designed not to “crush all future initiative among teachers by means of high-handed tyranny” as some teachers feared, but instead to safeguard against future insubordination and to bring teacher criticisms first to the superintendent and school board rather than to the public as a “pointless muddle.” The editorial defended Chandler and the school board for exercising the same requirements over its teachers as would any business over its employees.¹⁰⁰

By any objective standard, Chandler was successful in improving the Richmond school system. He instituted major reforms to build the school system of Richmond. He constructed new schools, raised the number of collegiate teaching certificates among his teachers, established a vocational school, expanded the Richmond night school, and built the city’s first junior high. He removed incompetent teachers, and suspended or fired teachers who violated school regulations. He weathered controversies and investigations, and won the respect of most of his teachers. A few teachers later admitted, however, that they were fearful of Chandler’s policies of control even though they greatly respected his

ability as an administrator.¹⁰¹

Chandler eventually made peace with his elementary teachers. Cornelia Adair served several terms as president of the Elementary Teachers Association of Richmond while Chandler was superintendent, and led the association into its membership in the National Elementary Teachers Association in 1915. The local association that year invited Chandler to be one of their guest lecturers.¹⁰² Some of his elementary teachers, including Adair, would continue their correspondence and associations with Chandler for years to come.

Chandler gradually created better relations with his women teachers. Thelma Brown, who later came to teach at William and Mary for Chandler, remembered him with great affection. "I liked him very much.... He was so nice." She applied for her first teaching position on the English faculty at John Marshall High School. Instead Chandler gave her a position in the top seventh grade at Ginter Park [Elementary] School. In January of her first year, an opening became available at John Marshall. When Chandler offered her the position, she chose not to take it because she was "so in love with Ginter Park." She remembered that although he needed an English teacher at the high school, he did not require her to move. He offered her the position at the high school because she had asked for it, but he was also willing to let her stay at the position that pleased her. She remembered him as a man who did "so many nice things for people...."¹⁰³

Throughout his administration, Chandler successfully maintained the support of the Richmond School Board, who endorsed his re-elections, raised his salary, and fought to keep him in Richmond when other school systems tried to hire him away.¹⁰⁴ After Chandler declined yet another job offer and decided to remain in Richmond in 1918, his

elementary teachers expressed their gratitude to the school board for keeping their superintendent.¹⁰⁵

Despite the 1912 controversy, Chandler gradually restored cooperation with his teachers. When the word spread in 1919 that he would probably leave to take the presidency at William and Mary, the teachers united to try to keep him as superintendent. The teaching force of almost 1,000 teachers, principals, and supervisors urged him to stay in Richmond. The League of Richmond Teachers met at John Marshall High School in March 1919 and almost the entire public school faculty attended. Bessie P. Taylor, the president of the association who would later join Chandler as the social director of women at the College, presided. A committee which included Cornelia Adair, drew up resolutions to express the views of the teachers. The resolutions stated that the "League of Richmond Teachers maintains that the teachers and pupils of the public schools of this growing city will need as never before the rare vision and fearless thought of their superintendent, Dr. J. A. C. Chandler...." Noting that the school system took its "tone" from its superintendent, it further stated that "the public schools system of this city can ill afford to lose the services of a man of such fullness of vision, national training, and wide experience." The League then "earnestly trusts that Dr. Chandler will find it possible to remain as superintendent of the Richmond public schools." This resolution was sent to the State Board of Education, the City School Board, numerous civic organizations for men, and women's organizations including the Woman's Club, the Council of Jewish Women, the Equal Suffrage League, the Federation of Mothers' Clubs, and the Parent Teachers Association.¹⁰⁶

Chandler had seized the reins of power in the office of superintendency. He

brought great improvements to the school system, especially with his building campaign. He demonstrated his progressive leadership through improvements in buildings, curriculum, quality of instruction, and the incorporation of the latest trends in education. Yet his methods were sometimes autocratic. He eventually applied the same administrative techniques and continued all of the progressive trends at the College of William and Mary. Equally important, while superintendent, Chandler met and worked with women whom he would recruit for professional positions at the College.

A Representative of Teachers and Education

When Julian Chandler became president of the College of William and Mary, he strengthened teacher education programs there. His leadership in education, teacher training, and the recruitment of women faculty was partially built upon his involvement in state and national education in the decade of World War I.

State Level

While school superintendent, Chandler participated in several major state educational organizations and developed closer ties with Virginia administrators and teachers. One avenue for this activity was his yearly attendance at the massive annual Virginia Educational Conferences. During one week of the year, usually in November, Virginia college presidents, college faculty, school superintendents, principals, teachers, and representatives of both the State Teachers Association and the Co-operative

Education Association all converged at one great educational conference for several days of meetings. Representatives of the entire education community of Virginia divided into numerous divisional meetings. State leaders in education spoke. The presidents of the State Teachers Association and Co-operative Education Association always participated. Networking was continuous. At the 1917 conference Dr. J. L. Jarman, president of the State Teachers' Association and president of the State Normal School for Women in Farmville, presided over the General Meeting of the Educational Conference. Numerous educators delivered speeches including the presidents of VPI, and the University of Virginia; normal school faculty; city and county school superintendents; and a guest educator from Teachers College, Columbia University. Richmond speakers included Mrs. Mary Munford, president of the Co-operative Education Association. Here Chandler could network with leaders throughout the state as well as deliver his reports at the Superintendents' Meetings.¹⁰⁷

In 1917 and 1918 Chandler served as a member of the Virginia State Board of Education. As such he participated in major statewide educational decisions. Chandler served on the Board with Harris Hart, the state superintendent of public instruction, who joined the Board of Visitors at William and Mary in 1918, and with W. T. Hodges, a state supervisor of schools for the state board, who would later join Chandler's College faculty and marry the dean of women.¹⁰⁸ Chandler continued his work in statewide educational policies by serving a second term on the State Board of Education from 1924-1929, working with colleagues Harris Hart, E.C. Glass, and Governor Harry Flood Byrd.¹⁰⁹

After leaving the state board, Chandler accepted the position of president of the Virginia State Teachers Association from 1918 to 1920, which briefly overlapped his

presidency at the College. In this position, he spoke directly for the teachers of Virginia. Vice presidents of the association during that time included Lulu Metz, who became the third woman on Chandler's Board of Visitors at the College, and Bessie Taylor, whom Chandler hired to be the College's social director of women. As president of the association, he continued his support for better school buildings and equipment, curriculum improvements, and especially better teacher training and improved teacher qualifications. He advocated the need of the State Teachers' Association to bolster the concept that "teaching is a profession," and supported a "tenure" program for teachers. Teaching was still not recognized as a profession at this time and the educational requirements were not high. Chandler advocated the recognition of teaching as a "vocation" requiring "much study and one's entire time" including summer study. He called for all Virginia teachers to join the National Education Association to improve their professional standing. He urged that teacher salaries be paid twelve months a year, and proposed that teachers work for nine months, study for two months, and take one month of rest. He supported the establishment of a National Department of Education, and urged Virginia teachers to become "missionaries of education in our State."¹¹⁰

While president of the association, Chandler also resumed his former duties as editor of The Virginia Journal of Education from 1919 until 1921. When Chandler had served as its editor in 1907, the journal had been the official publication of the State Board of Education. It changed direction totally, however, in 1918. To answer the needs and desires of Virginia teachers, the State Board offered the Journal to the State Teachers Association while Chandler was its president. The association took over the ownership and the editorship, and made the Journal the official publication of the State Teachers'

Association, offering far more information on teaching, public schools, colleges, and methods. Teachers, both women and men, published essays on teaching methods. Harris Hart acknowledged that with the transfer of the publication, the journal would be a forum where educators could express their views, and would offer more information on the “special methods and practical suggestions for the improvement of teaching.”¹¹¹ Miss Adele Clark of the Art Club of Richmond, who would later serve briefly as social director at the College for Chandler, became one of the associate editors for the journal’s Art Department section.¹¹² Chandler thus became the editor of a journal that aspired to be the voice of teachers.

Chandler continued his work in state education even after returning to William and Mary. He served on the executive committee of the Virginia Educational Conference for public and higher education in 1921, and on the board of directors for the State Teachers Association after his term as president expired.¹¹³ Chandler worked with numerous state educators, both men and women. He attended Virginia Educational Conferences, served on the Virginia State Board of Education, represented teachers as president and board member of the Virginia State Teachers Association, and edited The Virginia Journal of Education. When he came to William and Mary, he strengthened the College’s normal program. Many of the women whom he hired taught in some capacity in the College’s teacher education program.

National Level

Chandler’s work in education also extended to the national level. He joined the

Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association (NEA), and even made the arrangements for their national meeting in Richmond in 1914. Those who assisted him in making the preparations included Samuel C. Mitchell and F. W. Boatwright of Richmond College, and also Richmond progressive, Mary Munford.¹¹⁴ Reporting on the association proceedings, Chandler reiterated several key conference points that coincided with his interests: the need for normal schools to offer four-year programs meeting college standards in academic and pedagogical studies; the need for normal school graduates to be trained as high school as well as elementary teachers; additional study of vocational education; additional development of standards and tests to measure teaching efficiency; and the importance of additional development of rural education.¹¹⁵ He continued to push these concerns at the College. In 1921, after coming to Williamsburg, Chandler became a vice president of the association. One of his former teachers in Richmond, Cornelia Adair, was re-elected treasurer of the NEA that same summer.¹¹⁶ In 1923 after serving two terms as a vice president, Chandler joined the legislative committee of the NEA.¹¹⁷

Obviously a man of influence, Chandler received an appointment as a member of the NEA's Joint Committee on the National Emergency in Education, a national commission on war emergency and educational readjustment in 1918. Composed of fourteen of the "foremost educators in the country," the NEA commission worked with federal governmental departments and bureaus to bring better co-operation among governmental educational organizations including the Vocational Board, the Bureau of Education, the Department of Agriculture, and the War Educational Board. Chairman of the commission was Dr. George B. Strayer of Teachers College, Columbia University. A

major commission priority was compulsory education nationwide for children under the age of fourteen for which the commission sought Congressional legislation.¹¹⁸

Beyond the NEA, Chandler extended his influence nationally when the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education appointed him to its General Survey Committee in 1914. Chandler was one of only two city school superintendents on the national committee, largely made up of state and federal government representatives. Vocational education, always an important aspect of Chandler's model for public schools, later became a major focus at William and Mary through his expanded vocational and professional educational offerings. Chandler served as part of the 1914 committee's study of vocational and industrial education needs in Richmond. The findings were presented at the national society's general meeting, held in Richmond that year. In the study of Richmond's growth as a manufacturing center, one of the major findings was that the number of female workers in the state capital greatly outnumbered the male workers.¹¹⁹ A leader in women's vocational education, Lucy Mason of Richmond devoted her life to assisting working women and working men in their vocational work in Richmond and the South through the Y.W.C.A. and the C.I.O. Mason spoke at William and Mary during Chandler's administration.

By this time Julian Chandler had long since established his credentials on the national level as an educator through activities in the NEA, and several other national organizations and committees. Through his work both on the state and national level, he immersed himself in the progressive leadership of education. At each level, he made significant contributions to secure the recognition of education as a profession and to see that the field earned its status. Schools, teachers, and progressive developments in

education throughout the state and the nation dominated his life.

Fredericksburg Normal School and the other Chandler

One other area where Chandler worked for the education of women was at a state normal school for women, as did his cousin. Chandler accepted new responsibilities to lead women's education when he agreed to serve on the board of a new normal school for women being established just beyond the boundary lines of his Caroline County. Chandler became the chairman of the board of the new Fredericksburg Normal School for Women in 1909.¹²⁰ The Virginia General Assembly passed legislation in 1908 to authorize the establishment of the Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School for Women. Governor Claude Swanson, the next progressive governor after Montague, appointed the first board of trustees for the school, and that original board included J. A.C. Chandler. The board met in the spring of 1908 and selected the first president of the new institution, Edward H. Russell. The following year, Chandler became the chairman of the board and presided over the groundbreaking ceremonies for the new school. He served as president of the board for the remainder of his first four-year term as a board member, during which time the school opened in 1911. He then agreed to serve a second term during which he continued as chairman of the board.¹²¹

Being a champion for women's education seemed to run in the Chandler family. The career of his cousin, Algernon B. Chandler, Jr., who became president of the Fredericksburg Normal School in 1919, was also closely associated with women's education and with J. A. C. Chandler's career. After serving as a teacher at Miss Ellett's

School for Girls in Richmond, a college preparatory school and the forerunner of the elite St. Catherine's Country Day School for Girls,¹²² A. B. Chandler served as principal at both private and public schools in Richmond, taught at the Virginia Mechanics Institute in Richmond, and held a post as a member of the State Board of School Inspectors, before he joined the first faculty to teach at the Fredericksburg Normal School for Women in 1911. While Julian Chandler served on the governing board, Algernon Chandler taught Latin at the normal school, where he became dean in 1915. Continuing his association with teachers, he served as a vice president of the State Teachers Association from 1915 to 1919, and also as the first co-editor of The Virginia Journal of Education after it came under the control of the State Teachers' Association while Julian Chandler was president of the association. Algernon Chandler relinquished the editorship, however, when he became president of the Fredericksburg Normal School for Women in 1919, the same year that his cousin became president of William and Mary. Algernon Chandler remained president of the Fredericksburg school until his death in 1928.¹²³

While it is unclear how much assistance Julian Chandler provided his cousin, there are some remarkable parallels in their two careers. One piece of correspondence does exist in which A. B. Chandler asked Julian Chandler if there might be any summer work at Silver Burdett while J. A. C. Chandler was an editor with the company. J. A. C. Chandler told him that he thought there might be some summer field work traveling in one of the Southern states, and then congratulated his cousin on his work in Richmond where Algernon Chandler was a school principal.¹²⁴

The Chandler cousins from Caroline County both chose education as their professions. Both worked in the public school system in Richmond, held offices in the

State Teachers Association, and became editors of the Virginia Journal of Education.

Both worked for the growth and development of the Fredericksburg Normal School for Women. Both became presidents of higher education institutions in 1919, and both died in service in the office of president. Both followed career paths in the education of women.

Conclusion

As he tended and cultivated all these connections and networks in public and higher education, Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler gained knowledge, skills, contacts, and work experience with women that enabled him to become a successful Richmond administrator, a leader in state education, and a spokesman for Virginia teachers. This part of his career in public education provided him with the background necessary for a highly successful presidency at the College of William and Mary. His career before coming to the College was interlaced with Richmond education, women's colleges, public schools, and teachers--both male and female. Chandler's drive to succeed continued to involve him with women and teachers. Regardless of whether he made a conscious effort to associate with women or whether his most advantageous career opportunities simply included education for and by women, Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler chose paths that consistently brought him into contact with women educators.

Twenty years of career steps laid the foundation for Chandler's administrative work with the women at William and Mary. These steps also demonstrated the determined, if calculated, efforts of Chandler in building his career. Chandler's career

shows a pattern of exploiting opportunities, but he rarely did anything by chance. Selling textbooks for public education, participating in educational politics, directing an exposition's educational studies, and serving as editor of the state education journal provided him with the contacts, administrative skills, and knowledge to qualify him for his position as a superintendent of public schools. As superintendent, president of the state teachers' association, leader in the national education association, and editor of the teacher's journal, Chandler learned to work with other educators and administrators at local, state, and national levels. He extended his sphere of influence, and honed his administrative skills and educational philosophy. By 1919, he was ready for William and Mary.

Women students and women educators important in his career for twenty years before coming to the College became a valuable part of his success at William and Mary. To build the College he would greatly enlarge the number of female students. He also deliberately chose to include women educators. It is highly unlikely that he would have pinned so many of his hopes for a new William and Mary on coeducation, teacher education, and women faculty and administrators without his long and varied apprenticeship in education in Richmond and New York during the first two decades of the century.

CHAPTER 4

Chandler and Progressive Leadership at the College of William and Mary

In 1919 Julian Chandler became president of the College of William and Mary. He proved to be a progressive and dynamic leader of the College as he transformed the College from a small, struggling, elite, male-centered institution into a progressive, coeducational school designed to educate students for modern careers in the twentieth century. The most significant factor in this change was coeducation. This chapter will demonstrate that Chandler's progressive leadership brought a great transformation to the College; the basis for this growth and metamorphosis of the College was coeducation.

Chandler expanded the student body by a factor of more than ten and, in the process, supervised the shift to a thoroughly coeducational campus. By the end of his presidential tenure, half of the student body was female. He also enlarged the faculty, brought women educators and women deans to the College, and worked with the first women on the Board of Visitors. Beyond the admission of many more students and the employment of more faculty, Chandler supervised the expansion of the College's physical plant. His progressive ideas, however, went far beyond enlargement. He modernized the curriculum and instituted programs leading to professional careers. He enhanced teacher training and established teacher extension courses. He also went in search of funding for this transformation. In order to understand the nature of the institution when women educators first came to Williamsburg, it is necessary to first examine the transformation of the College under President Chandler.

Chandler's previous twenty years of work in progressive education made him the

right man for the president of the College during the Jazz Age. His first years of teaching at women's colleges, summer normals, and coeducational institutions, coupled with his decade as a superintendent of a large school system with a faculty predominantly of women teachers, prepared him to manage the great changes he would initiate. His leadership of a dynamic Richmond public school system united with his networking skills to create numerous useful contacts in higher education, public education, and state politics. All these elements from his two decades in Richmond and New York served him well when he became president of his alma mater. Building upon these components, Chandler developed his own vision of change at the College. When he assumed the presidency, the College still offered its traditional liberal arts education to the majority of its young men. William and Mary established both coeducation and a teacher training track as necessary fund-raising measures. Within a year Chandler had fully embraced coeducation, made teacher training a William and Mary trademark, introduced extension courses, greatly expanded vocational training, and brought women faculty to the campus. Chandler's previous twenty years of work with higher education, public education and women prepared him well to establish coeducation at the College of William and Mary and build a new campus for it. The school would never be the same.

In 1926, the College yearbook, the Colonial Echo, in 1926 recognized Chandler as the "Father of the New William and Mary."¹ That same year the nationally-known Baltimore Sun dedicated an entire page to the College's growth in the 1920s. The newspaper reported that, "Many things have happened to William and Mary College in the 233 years of its history..., but nothing resembling what is going on now "under the leadership of "one dominating figure," J. A. C. Chandler.²

J. A. C. Chandler: Educational Progressive

Historian Lawrence Cremin argued that progressive education started as part of a great humanitarian effort in the decades following the Civil War. Progressive education began as “a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of the individuals.” This meant broadening the offerings of the school to address the concerns of “health, vocation, and the quality of family and community life,” and reconstructing education to meet the needs of a more diverse student body. More importantly, progressivism implied “that culture could be democratized” and that all students could share the benefits of the new sciences and the arts. Progressive education supported the view that education could be provided to all levels of society rather than to just one elite class.³

As progressive views expanded and education became available for more children, more middle class students gradually came to college seeking vocational and professional training. Colleges struggled with questions of practical utilitarian courses versus classical liberal arts, and democracy versus elitism. Students began to look to higher education, according to historian David O. Levine, “to fulfill the democratic promise of modern America.” Colleges faced the difficult problems of providing a balance between the traditional liberal arts and the new technical training which students sought especially after World War I when more students began to look to colleges to train them for careers in the 1920s.⁴

Throughout the United States the total number of students enrolling in colleges increased dramatically in totals and percentages between 1900 and 1930. In 1899-1900 the total enrollment in United States colleges and universities was 237,592. A decade

later the total had grown to 355,430, an increase of 50 percent. In 1919-1920 the total enrollment in colleges and universities was 597,880, an increase of 68 percent in a decade. Finally in 1929-1930 student enrollment increased to 1,100,737, or up 84 percent from 1919-1920. Yet this was still a rather small percentage of the entire national population of college-age 18 to 24 year olds. In 1899-1900 the number of students in colleges totaled only 2.3 percent of that college-age population. In 1909-1910 the enrollment in colleges totaled only 2.8 percent of that population group, a very small increase for a ten year period. In 1919-1920 however, the number of students in institutions of higher education accounted for 4.7 percent of the 18-24 year old group nationally, and by 1929-1930, 7.2 percent of the 18-24 year olds were going to college. The percentage of the college age population who actually did enroll in college was 2 1/2 times what it had been 20 years earlier. It is unlikely that either the elite or the lower classes contributed substantially to this increase. The children of the elite already attended college almost as a matter of course, and the lower class still could not afford it. These figures seem to bear out David Levine's assertion that the children of the middle class were attending college in greater numbers in the 1920s when J. A. C. Chandler was president of the College of William and Mary.⁵ Certainly by the 1920s the hope of a college education was growing among students beneath the elite class.

As progressive views spread in education, so did progressive leadership in higher education in the South. Historian Michael Dennis noted that progressive university presidents prior to 1920 promoted the development of education by providing professional training in the practical sciences, extension work, more efficient and organized administration, the professionalization of college teaching, the training of

students for professional careers, career training to expand the middle class, and the promotion of the ideals of democracy. Higher education became a pathway to social and economic advancement for the middle class. University presidents encouraged connections between their institutions and southern reform organizations. To obtain financial support from state governments, southern university presidents proclaimed that more modernized educational institutions would stimulate social change. Presidents claimed to be changing their institutions from obscure elite colleges to modern twentieth century educational facilities. Progressive educators turned to institutions of higher education for new views of progressive democracy.⁶ These were exactly the steps that Julian Chandler followed; indeed they became almost a blueprint for his administration. Yet Chandler was not just a follower of others' views. Chandler became a great progressive leader in his own right during his presidency at William and Mary.

J. A. C. Chandler was a disciple of progressivism and an advocate of change. In his 1921 installation address, Chandler stated that the "College should appeal to all types" of students, but there was "one type that I am especially anxious to continue to enroll in our student body. It is that sturdy Anglo Saxon stock found in our State." Chandler wanted more middle class students. "We want the sons and daughters of our farmers, merchants, and artisans who heretofore have not gone to college to any extent to have the benefits of a college education." He stated there "will not be here an aristocracy of wealth, but all will meet alike on the same footing in the classroom," and acknowledged that in "the democracy of William and Mary all students (men and women) are honored for what they are." Chandler was deliberate in his inclusion of women with men students. He further stated that the College should become "a genuine vocational guidance college"

for the students of Virginia.⁷ Chandler's ambition seemed the very model of a progressive college presidency. His progressive plans for the white students of Virginia would also be for the betterment of the Commonwealth.

Producing change on the scale Chandler contemplated would require dynamic leadership. In a testimonial, Douglas Southall Freeman, Pulitzer Prize winner, author, newspaper editor, and Chandler friend, described the president of William and Mary:

“When he [Chandler] first entered the room, the first impression was that of alert energy. His small, stout figure moved quickly. He smoked his inevitable cigar with nervous vigor. All his words were crisp, punctuated with his characteristic laugh. Quickly, candidly, he would state the case, whatever it was. Then with a gracious word, he would hurry out to fulfill the next engagement on his crowded calendar....He seemed always ready for the next test, seemed in fact to be straining like a football player for another plunge at the line.”⁸

Freeman characterized Chandler as “a driving, energizing executive, the modern college administrator incarnate.” He was a “remarkable man,” a “man of action,” whose “actions were inspired by his dreams.” He worked constantly with “restless, unsparing effort,” and “hourly absorption in exhausting labor” as he daily reached out for “some new field of service.”⁹

Chandler's return to William and Mary, according to Freeman, was “his secret ambition.” Many had not realized “how fully he had equipped himself to be president of William and Mary.” Freeman clearly understood how Chandler's twenty years prior to his presidency had indeed provided him with the knowledge and skills necessary to become a progressive president. Freeman believed that Chandler always wanted the presidency and therefore trained for it. He also remarked that Chandler had the “background of culture and scholarship,” and a wife who was the “perfect mistress of the beautiful home of the

president.” He was “wholly familiar with the needs of the public schools” of Virginia, and having “taught girls as well as boys,” he was “at ease with coeducation.” He “had mastered the technique of procuring appropriations from legislative bodies,” and had a “very wide acquaintance among public men.”¹⁰ Freeman joined Chandler at William and Mary to speak to College students one evening during the first year of Chandler’s presidency, and wrote a memorial to Chandler after he died.¹¹

Freeman was a Chandler partisan, but he did not exaggerate Chandler’s qualities. J. A. C. Chandler immersed himself in the new job of transforming the College, through his additions of more students, faculty, buildings, and by expanding the curriculum. Within his first two years he succeeded in obtaining accreditation for the College of William and Mary in 1921, making it the eighth institution of higher learning in the state to receive this recognition from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.¹² Chandler proved to be a dynamic leader and educational visionary who relentlessly drove his alma mater through a period of massive transformation. His ability to do so was gained through his experiences in Richmond and New York from 1896 to 1919.

Early Changes at the College

President Lyon G. Tyler had already brought three critical changes to the College as a consequence of his endless search for desperately needed revenues to keep the institution financially stable. Tyler initiated a normal course, mediated state ownership, and adopted coeducation in his attempts to obtain more state money.

The College had been closed from 1881 to 1888 for lack of students. The Virginia

General Assembly voted to support a new normal course for men at the College of William and Mary, the only state supported normal course for men in Virginia, just before Tyler became president and reopened the College. After having previously taught at the College in 1877-78, Tyler had actually campaigned to establish the normal course for the College while he served in the General Assembly. Tyler became president in 1888 and instituted a new normal course supported by state revenues just one year before Chandler entered William and Mary as an undergraduate. The normal course brought students back to the College and enabled the school to reopen in 1888 and continue.¹³ J. A. C. Chandler, in fact, had originally considered enrolling in the normal program after he came to Williamsburg.

The state aid, however, for the normal program proved insufficient to sustain the college. In 1906 Tyler enabled William and Mary to relinquish its private status to become a full-fledged public college. The move obtained sorely needed financial support from the Commonwealth and staved off the lurking possibility that the legislature would eventually cut funding from all non-state agencies. During the drafting of the new state constitution in 1902 that replaced the Underwood Constitution of 1869, the state Committee on Education and Public Instruction had recommended excluding the College and other private institutions from receiving state funds. This possibility was entertained for a short time. Furthermore the College came under additional criticism for serving as a member of the State Board of Education representing the state normal course as a private institution.¹⁴

President Tyler led the College to its third, and what would become its greatest, change in 1918 when he requested that the legislature permit William and Mary to

become coeducational. Once again the move was motivated by the need for revenue. A new pool of students and their tuition payments might make up for the College loss of both students and revenue during World War I. In the Fall of 1917-1918 the male enrollment had declined to 149 students. Some students joined the armed services, while others took jobs in the nearby Du Pont plant that produced wartime munitions just a few miles from Williamsburg. At the same time that the College's enrollment dropped, however, men and women were leading a crusade in the Virginia General Assembly for the education of women.¹⁵ The controversy played directly into Tyler's never-ending search for funding. As it turned out, if William and Mary was willing to become the first state-supported coeducational college in Virginia, the legislature was willing to help fund the experiment.

The Crusade for Public Education for Women

The Virginia crusade for higher education for women had begun in 1910. The leading proponent for state-supported liberal arts higher education for women was one of the foremost progressives in Virginia, Mary-Cooke Branch Munford, who would become the first woman on the College's Board of Visitors in 1920. Although Munford's effort to establish public education for women was initially directed toward Charlottesville, the finish line for her crusade would be Williamsburg. To fully understand how coeducation came to William and Mary, it is necessary to first explore Munford's failed crusade for coeducation at the University of Virginia. It was this crusade that led Lyon G. Tyler to bring coeducation to the College, brought Munford to the College Board of Visitors, and

gave Chandler the foundation for his great transformation of the College. It was this movement for public higher education for women which Tyler would join and which J. A. C. Chandler would develop to its fullest potential at the College.

Mary Munford and other Virginia progressives waged their fight for higher education for women for almost a decade. Between 1910 and 1918 Munford fought to establish a state co-ordinate college for women at the University of Virginia. This ended mostly in failure on the undergraduate level at the university, however, and the Charlottesville school remained a bastion for undergraduate men until 1970. Munford, with the help of men and women around the state, led an uphill battle for higher education for women. The only public post-secondary education that Virginia offered to women during the first two decades of the twentieth century were four normal schools. The State Normal School for Women at Farmville had opened in 1884, followed by the state normal schools at Harrisonburg (1909), Fredericksburg (1911), and Radford (1912). These schools provided the equivalent of a junior college education. No public four-year liberal arts colleges were open to women in the state before William and Mary accepted its first women students in 1918.¹⁶ (The Fredericksburg school, however, would become the co-ordinate college of the University of Virginia in 1944.)

Mary Munford, a prominent member of Richmond society, had already established herself as a progressive in education. As one of the founders of the Woman's Club of Richmond (1894), she was an early promoter of intellectual and cultural endeavors among the leading women of the city. Munford expanded her leadership as one of the founders of the Richmond Education Association (1901) to promote the development of the Richmond public schools. She became active on the state level when

she worked for the great May Campaign of 1905, a statewide campaign rally to urge every locality in the state to support the improvement of local education. The Campaign came under the leadership of progressive governor and Chandler friend, Andrew Jackson Montague, to rally support for Virginia's public schools by local community citizens. Continuing this work, Munford worked with governors and state leaders in the state-supported Co-operative Education Association of Virginia for almost twenty years as she led progressives to promote local school improvement leagues, better teacher training, improved rural elementary and high schools, and agricultural and industrial education. Her husband, Beverley B. Munford, a prominent lawyer, William and Mary alumnus, and member of the College's Board of Visitors, served in the General Assembly before his death in 1910.¹⁷

The Munfords had become more involved in Southern progressive education through attending annual Conferences of Southern Education in the first decade of the twentieth century. Sponsored by New York philanthropist Robert Curtis Ogden, these conferences became meeting places where wealthy northern benefactors and southern educational progressives discussed the educational needs of the South. This union of Northern money and Southern activists led to the creation of the Southern Education Board during the first decade of the new century with funding support from John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board to aid the betterment of Southern education.¹⁸

Building upon this background in educational reform, Mary Munford led the quest for a superior liberal arts college for women. She believed that the best place for this was the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. She and other supporters proposed a separate college for women students who would have their own dormitories and

classrooms, but who would enjoy access to the University of Virginia library, laboratories, and faculty in a manner similar to the relationships of other co-ordinate colleges, such as that of Radcliffe College and Harvard, and Sophie Newcomb College and Tulane. Munford argued her case at legislative hearings before members of the General Assembly. From 1910 until 1920 Munford waged her relentless campaign for higher education for women.¹⁹

Advocates for better education for women in Virginia had voiced their views before the turn of the century. As early as 1882 a former William and Mary faculty member, Edward S. Jones, had recommended that the College establish a coeducational normal school in order to reopen the then closed campus with state dollars.²⁰ In 1893, when State Superintendent of Instruction John E. Massey had advocated admitting women to the University of Virginia, teachers throughout the state had signed petitions that year in support of the admittance of women. In 1894, Virginia legislator R. A. Rick, from Chandler's home county of Caroline, introduced a bill for the admission of women to the Charlottesville campus. The university faculty had opposed it, however, and it did not pass in the House of Delegates.²¹

In 1910 Senator Aubrey E. Strode of Amherst introduced the bill for the admission of women into the university as a separate co-ordinate college while Munford organized and chaired the "Women's Committee for the Co-Ordinate College at Charlottesville Affiliated with the University of Virginia."²² In 1911 President Edwin A. Alderman and the faculty of the University of Virginia passed a resolution by an overwhelming vote of 42 to 5 to favor the establishment of a co-ordinate college for women at the university.²³ President Alderman, a great Southern progressive,²⁴ however,

turned out to be far less progressive than Munford, Tyler, or J. A. C. Chandler in his views on coeducation and equal education for women. Alderman opposed a separate state college for women because he did not feel that segregated education would provide women with “the training they will need for their fullest life in the century to come.” Yet he took the conservative stance against coeducation of state colleges because he did “not believe in the coeducation of the sexes between the close of the High School [sic] and the attainment of the Bachelor’s Degree [sic].” He especially opposed integrated coeducation at the University of Virginia where a century of “tradition” existed against it.²⁵ His support for a co-ordinate college would be his way to protect his university from coeducation.

Alderman supported a woman’s co-ordinate college near the University as the best middle ground, recognizing that there would be “women leaders in the unending struggle for a juster [sic] social order,” and believing it would be prudent “to give wise training to such women....” He doubted that a state institution could continue a policy of total exclusion. Although not possessing Chandler’s background in women’s education, Alderman had previously helped draft a law to establish the Normal and Industrial School for Women in Greensboro while he worked for the North Carolina State Board of Education, and had taught at the school briefly before becoming professor and president at the University of North Carolina. From 1900 until 1904, he had served as president of Tulane University, where Sophie Newcomb College, operating as Tulane’s co-ordinate college,²⁶ had its own endowment, campus, faculty, and degrees, but also access to the Tulane library and gymnasium.²⁷ Although “heartily opposed” to coeducation, he felt the University of Virginia had a “duty” to cooperate in establishing a woman’s college which

would be “the one method by which co-education can be avoided.”²⁸

While Alderman looked for a compromise that would sustain the university’s tradition of an all-male student body, Mary Munford marshaled support from prominent state and national leaders in support of better education for women. Rosewell Page, the Second Auditor of the State of Virginia, a UVA alumnus, and a relative of Gabriella Page, the fourth woman to join the William and Mary Board of Visitors during the Chandler presidency, saw the co-ordinate college as a “blessing” to his alma mater and stated that “the time for argument and dispute as to woman’s right to the best education is past....” He argued that “the women of Virginia are entitled to the best the State can do,” and believed Virginia should provide education for women just as Oxford, Harvard, and Tulane had each established a “great college for women near a great school for men.”²⁹

On the national level Munford obtained support from United States President Woodrow Wilson, a Virginian by birth, who advocated the project which “promises more than any other plan could for the advancement of the education of women in Virginia,” while “building upon the institutions we already have” rather than “wasting our resources by scattering them.”³⁰ Munford also found an advocate in P. P. Claxton, the U. S. Commissioner of Education (1911-1921). Claxton argued that no state could claim to be democratic without offering equal educational opportunities for all its students which must “include girls as well as boys.” Since “Virginia makes no provision for its women in schools above the high school grade, except in the State Normal Schools,” he believed the only way to provide equal opportunity was by the establishment of an equal state women’s college, a co-ordinate college, or by coeducation at the University of Virginia.³¹ Even Charles Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, grudgingly admitted that

Radcliffe, Harvard's co-ordinate college whose faculty were all Harvard professors, "has had absolutely no ill effects on Harvard College," while "Harvard University through Radcliffe College has made a large contribution to the higher education of women."³²

While University of Virginia alumni protested to state legislators against women on the university campus, the movement for public higher education for women won support from organizations around the state including the Virginia Federation of Labor, the State Teachers Association, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Federation of Mother's Clubs, and the Parent-Teacher Associations.³³ The climax came in 1916 when the bill for the co-ordinate college passed in the Senate but failed in the House 48 to 46 against. By the 1918 session Alderman, fearing that coeducation might soon be imposed on his university, urged the General Assembly to confine their legislation to the admission of women to only postgraduate and professional courses.³⁴ Mary Munford had planned to mount another campaign in the General Assembly, stating, "We will go to work again," to bring a co-ordinate college to Charlottesville and "further democratize the University" in order to "make it more completely the head of our public school system."³⁵ From 1910 to 1918 Munford led the crusade for the education of women.

In 1918, however, another major development quickly took place. Under the guidance of Lyon G. Tyler and Senator Strode, the General Assembly voted instead in favor of making the all-male state College of William and Mary coeducational. President Tyler seized upon Mary Munford's crusade for women as a means to advance the College of William and Mary. The male student population at the College was suffering a decline during World War I with only 149 students enrolled during the 1917-1918 academic

year.³⁶ Tyler watched the growing demand throughout the state for public higher education for women and took advantage of the campaign for women. Tyler grabbed the opportunity to bring in new students and gain additional state financial support. The change to coeducation at the College did not proceed without opposition. Several William and Mary board members, including Rector Robert M. Hughes, vigorously opposed the change. Hughes believed that coeducation would “destroy the historic atmosphere of the College.” The vice-rector of the Board of Visitors, James N. Stubbs, even led opposition in the House of Delegates in defense of the tradition of the all-male institution. Tyler went to Richmond and campaigned with Strode for passage of the bill. The Board of Visitors and the General Assembly finally voted in favor of the historic alteration. The bill passed in the Senate by a vote of 19 to 13, and in the House of Delegates by a vote of 57 to 33. On March 15, 1918 the General Assembly passed into law “An Act to Provide for the Admission of Women to the College of William and Mary in Virginia.” Coeducation would begin that fall, offering women students both collegiate and normal courses and degrees with the same requirements as those for men students.³⁷ Some activists, including Virginia McKenney Claiborne, who had worked with Munford, believed that this move by the General Assembly was “the sop the legislature threw to us to keep us quiet,” and further stated that no one would be satisfied “until girls could go as undergraduates to the University of Virginia.”³⁸ This new law, however, became a turning point for the College. Tyler was successful in providing a new source of public funding, and began to recruit women students for his struggling college.

Historian Philip Alexander Bruce wrote in 1922 that Mary Munford could be “correctly called the Joan of Arc of the movement for the higher education of women in

Virginia." She was "a champion who was never daunted by an army of opponents, and never dismayed by a world of difficulties."³⁹ Munford officially joined the William and Mary College community in 1920 as an active participant on Chandler's Board.

After the Virginia legislature passed the act to bring coeducation to the College, Tyler accepted the first women for the Fall term, 1918. Suffering from the effects of World War I, College enrollment dwindled to only 131 students in 1918-1919 during the last year of Lyon G. Tyler's presidency. Twenty-four of those students were the first women students at the College. Among the 19 faculty members (including the president) were the first two female faculty members, and the first woman athletic director. The 13 buildings on the campus included Main Building (now called the Wren Building), a small library, a science hall, a gymnasium, three dormitories, a dining hall, an infirmary, the president's house, the Brafferton, a power plant, and a steward's house.⁴⁰ William and Mary was hardly an imposing institution.

Tyler had successfully led the school to three major changes. Each one--the normal course, state ownership, and coeducation--was calculated to bring in greatly needed funding and students. Tyler's goal, however, was to stabilize the College and to continue its traditional role as a small liberal arts institution. Building on Tyler's changes, J. A. C. Chandler would transform the College, altering the mission and the curriculum in basic ways, increasing the size of the campus, adding extension courses, fully embracing coeducation, and adding many more women to the faculty.

College Growth: Students and Faculty

Chandler assumed the presidency of the College of William and Mary on July 1, 1919.⁴¹ Leaving the state capital, he acknowledged to the Richmond school board that he had “been honored to be associated with you in the progressive movements that you have taken for the advancement of public education in this city,”⁴² but Chandler wanted the presidency of the College, and even took a pay cut to return to Williamsburg. During his last year as superintendent of the Richmond schools his salary had been \$6,675. He accepted the \$5,000 president’s salary with the provisions that he would live in the president’s house rent-free, that he and his family could take meals in the College’s dining hall free of charge, and that the president’s house would have “necessary repairs” including the conversion of a stable into a garage.⁴³

During Chandler’s first year as president, his progressive administrative ideas emerged quickly as he promptly began to enlarge the College. He immediately increased the student body. Before the College opened for the fall term 1919, Chandler wrote that he was “working like a Trojan here trying to get students.”⁴⁴ In September 1919 he accepted 271 students, with 281 students in attendance in October.⁴⁵ Student enrollment increased to 333 before the end of the academic year. While there was a dramatic growth in the number of men students (227), there was also a tremendous increase in the number of women students (106) during Chandler’s first year.⁴⁶ When a woman from Tulsa, Oklahoma asked Chandler in 1920 if women students were truly welcome at the College, the president replied that the relationship between men and women students was “the very best, and the girls are not looked upon as intruders” even though the College was only in

its second year of coeducation. He explained that the General Assembly was “making an appropriation for a large dormitory for girls,” and that he expected the enrollment for women would be “more than doubled” the following year.⁴⁷ This was indeed a major change in attitude from that displayed in the 1918 Colonial Echo, the College yearbook, which had lamented “we are the last class to graduate from this old college before it is defiled by coeducation.”⁴⁸ By 1921-1922, just two years later, the number of students had doubled to 680, of which 271 were women.⁴⁹

All enrollments continued to increase, but the growth in the number of women students was especially dramatic, and Chandler admitted more each year. In the 1922 regular academic session the College turned away 25 young men and over 300 young women due in part to lack of dormitory space.⁵⁰ H. L. Bridges, the College Registrar, believed the College could easily have registered 500 women for the fall term, 1922 if dormitory space had been available. The College newspaper, however, defended the College tradition of remaining still “primarily a College of men,” with a policy of having “at least 150 more men than women on the roll of the regular session.”⁵¹ Enrollment also mushroomed in the summer classes. In 1922 there were 731 students in the College Summer School; 456 were women.⁵²

By 1925-1926 Chandler had pushed the recruitment of students to such an extent that the enrollment at the College had soared to 1,097 with 629 men and 468 women during the regular academic year, while the Summer School enrollment was 826 students, of which 540 were women.⁵³ Student enrollment reached its high water mark during the Chandler administration in 1931-1932 when 1,682 students attended the College during the regular session. That year 814 students were women, making women a full half of the

total student body.⁵⁴ Chandler never expressly explained why he felt the need to increase the student body so dramatically and so quickly. In his vision for transforming the institution, however, the expansion of the student body and physical plant united together into an overarching plan of growth and prosperity for the College. Chandler began this transformation immediately after he took office. The growth in the enrollment of students at William and Mary did, however, follow the national trend.

The participation rate in higher education by young people ages 18 to 24 nationally was indeed expanding rapidly during the prosperity decade of the 1920s. While 4.7 percent of this age group enrolled in colleges and universities in 1919-1920, the rate increased to 6.7 percent in 1925-1926 and went up to 7.4 percent in 1931-32, the year of the highest enrollment for William and Mary during the Chandler years. Just as the College's enrollment then declined slightly during the depression year, 1933-34, so did it nationally. With the aggressive Chandler at the helm, William and Mary became an integral part of the growth of enrollment nationally in higher education.⁵⁵

In Chandler's last two years at the College, the enrollment of women finally became greater than that of men, much to the consternation of some alumni, especially those in the Washington D.C. area who passed resolutions urging that something be done to restore a male majority in enrollment. Chandler reported there were 805 women and 797 men in the 1932-1933 term, and 663 female students to only 568 male students in the 1933-1934 term (Chandler's last year in office). He defended the enrollment figures, arguing that in the 1932-1933 term 99 men were "excluded" from attending due to their "low scholastic standings" while only 17 women were "excluded" for scholastic reasons. For the 1933-1934 term, the College "refused" to accept 125 men, but only 25 women for

low grades. Chandler stated, "We are compelled to grant that the girls study more than the boys. They do better in the high school and they do better in the college as a whole." He also stated that at the College, "we always have more girls to graduate than boys."

Defending his enrollment practices, he stated that he could not "exclude good students and take in bad ones. We can get plenty of boys, but they are not the type we want."

Between 1920 and 1932 while 825 men had received their diplomas from William and Mary, 1,105 women had received their degrees during the same period.⁵⁶ Previously described as "very democratic in all public matters," Chandler set his goal to provide "a solid educational training" for the new generation to make "the young people of today and the citizens of tomorrow better and happier individuals."⁵⁷ For Chandler this meant women as well as men.

As the student body grew, so did the faculty, including the female component. The next chapter discusses in detail the pace of growth in the cadre of women faculty at William and Mary during the Chandler years, placing that expansion in both a national and regional context. Suffice it here to describe those developments in brief. In 1920-1921 Chandler hired 29 faculty of which six that year were women.⁵⁸ As more women students enrolled, the president hired more female instructors. In 1923-24 there were 53 faculty with 12 women composing 23% of the faculty.⁵⁹ By 1927-28 there were 69 faculty of which 48 were men and 21 were women, making the female membership about 30 percent of the entire faculty.⁶⁰ In 1932 according to the College catalogue there were 77 faculty on campus including 22 women.⁶¹ In 1933-1934, Chandler's last year as president, his faculty peaked in size. There were 81 faculty on the Williamsburg campus including 25 women according to the College catalogue, composing about 31% of the

faculty which put William and Mary at or above the national hiring percentages of women faculty.⁶² In addition to growth in the number of women faculty, the first three women deans and the first social director of women served during Chandler's tenure to guide the academic and social lives of the women students. To create additional female leadership, the first four women ever to serve on the Board of Visitors joined the College community during the Chandler administration, led by Mary Munford in 1920. Chandler therefore expanded the student body and the faculty greatly during his presidency, and gave women a chance to teach in greater numbers on the Williamsburg campus. Coeducation led the progressive Chandler to hire women faculty.

A Further Commitment to Assist Women

It is impossible to imagine Chandler's success at William and Mary outside the context of his full commitment to higher education for women. That commitment extended beyond Williamsburg. As Chandler began to envision bringing more female students to the College, he became further aware of major problems in their educational opportunities. In 1919 almost no opportunities existed for women to continue their studies at the graduate or professional levels in Virginia. A few months after he became president, he addressed this need. Since William and Mary offered limited graduate work toward's a master's degree, Chandler spoke in 1919 in favor of opening graduate and professional studies to women at the University of Virginia, a question then under consideration in the General Assembly. University President Edwin Alderman agreed with Chandler and reciprocated with his promise of support to Chandler "in strengthening

your under-graduate work for women” at William and Mary. Alderman even asked Chandler to speak to University of Virginia Board member John Stewart Bryan on behalf of opening the university’s professional and graduate courses to women. Bryan’s voice as publisher of the influential Richmond Times Dispatch was critically important in the work to advance education for women. Alderman believed that a word from Chandler “would be of immense value.” Honoring Alderman’s request, Chandler told Bryan, that both the University and the College needed his vocal support for the education of women at both institutions.⁶³

Alderman asked Chandler if he had information on the number of women forced to leave Virginia to do advanced college work. Chandler replied that “a great number” of young women who wanted college educations were being turned away in 1919 because there were so few accommodations available. He had read that Randolph-Macon Woman’s College had a waiting list of about four hundred. Sweet Briar College had completely filled all its accommodations by that July, and the College of William and Mary had turned away “twelve young ladies” that September. Chandler reported to Alderman that “at least five hundred Virginia girls seeking admission to Virginia colleges last summer [1919]” had experienced either difficulty with admissions or had not been admitted at all.⁶⁴

After the University of Virginia finally voted in 1920 to permit women to enter the graduate and professional courses, including medicine, law, and the School of Education, the university asked the College to distribute university advertisements to its teachers, both male and female, attending the Normal course at William and Mary. The University, referring to itself as “head of the public school system of Virginia” was

“anxious to attract here as many young men and women as possible” to attend its School of Education.⁶⁵ Yet the progressive Alderman did not consider providing equal educational opportunities for women at his university.⁶⁶ Even though the University of Virginia saw itself as the leader of the state public school system, it admitted only a few women in the School of Education or in medical studies. Women had to look to Chandler and William and Mary for the baccalaureate education they sought.

Chandler also sought to offer further assistance to the women students. In 1923 he wrote to a leader in the American Association of University Women stating that he “was anxious for the women graduates” of the College “to be eligible” for membership in the AAUW and asked for the requirements for full membership.⁶⁷ Within two years the state organization of the American Association of University Women held their annual convention at the College where “through the hospitality of Dr. Chandler, the visitors will be entertained at dinner in the college dining hall.”⁶⁸ Chandler also promoted women’s higher education by joining the Virginia Association of Women’s Colleges and Schools. Since William and Mary had just become a coeducational institution, Chandler attended conferences with the leadership of the women’s colleges of Virginia. He participated in conference roundtable discussions on education and presided at the annual meeting in Richmond in 1921 before the association disbanded a couple of years later.⁶⁹

New Campus

The great increase in the number of students at the College sparked a need for more accommodations. During the Chandler administration, a new campus arose in the

historic Williamsburg setting. Within the first six months of his presidency, Chandler proposed that the College raise one million dollars or more for its endowment and other purposes.⁷⁰ The president added more than 1,000 acres to the College's holdings and led William and Mary through an extensive building program. Overall Chandler built four women's dormitories: Jefferson Hall (1921) named for alumnus Thomas Jefferson; Barrett Hall (1927) in honor of Board member Kate Waller Barrett; Brown Hall (1930), funded in part by Mrs. Edward Brown of Lynchburg and the Women's Missionary Society of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Church; and Chandler Hall (1931), named for himself. New dormitories for men included Monroe Hall (1924), named for alumnus and U.S. President James Monroe; and Old Dominion (1927) to honor early Virginians. A new science building, Rogers Hall (1927, later renamed Tyler Hall), honored alumnus and former College professor William Barton Rogers, the founder of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A second classroom building, Washington Hall (1928), honored U. S. President George Washington, the first American chancellor of the College.⁷¹

Additional structures quickly appeared. They included Blow Memorial Gymnasium (1925), named for George Preston Blow, the son and grandson of College alumni; Phi Beta Kappa Hall (1926, later renamed Ewell Hall), which honored the founders of the organization; and Trinkle Dining Hall (1926), named for Governor E. Lee Trinkle. King infirmary (1930), honoring College physician Dr. David J. King, later became the dormitory Hunt Hall named for Althea Hunt, the first woman drama and fine arts professor. Chandler also added a substantial enlargement to the library (the current Tucker Hall) in 1929.⁷² At Chandler's death, May 31, 1934, the total value of buildings

and grounds at the College was \$4,772,311, an increase from \$450,000.⁷³ Of all the new structures and additions to the College, only one honored the name of J. A. C.

Chandler—the last dormitory he built for women.⁷⁴

Additional structures already in the planning process when Chandler died were soon completed. The Marshall-Wythe Building (now James Blair Hall) to house the Marshall-Wythe School of Government and Citizenship was completed in 1935, the year after Chandler's death. Other construction planned near the end of Chandler's presidency and soon completed included the dormitory, Taliaferro Hall (1935), and the Sunken Gardens (1935), based on the grounds of Chelsea Hospital in London.⁷⁵

One of the largest early gifts that Chandler received for building his new campus came from a woman. Mrs. George Preston Blow of Yorktown and LaSalle, Illinois, donated \$100,000 in 1923 to build a men's gymnasium as a memorial to her husband. A graduate of the United States Naval Academy, her husband had served in the Navy, had married Miss Adele Matthiessen, and become general manager of the estates of her father, F. W. Matthiessen. Blow became a director of Matthiessen and Hegler Zinc Company, a director of LaSalle Machine and Tool Company, president of the Western Clock Company, and a director of the Illinois Valley Manufacturers' Association. The Blows had purchased several properties in Yorktown including the eighteenth century Thomas Nelson house that they then restored. Blow had previously established a scholarship at the College in honor of his father and grandfather who were both College alumni.⁷⁶

The year that Blow Gymnasium opened Chandler invited two national figures to campus. The famous evangelist and ex-baseball player, Billy Sunday, was among the first

to use the building. Speaking in the gym, Sunday addressed a crowd of 2,500 students, faculty, and townspeople, and encouraged students to use “perseverance and initiative” to obtain a college education. During his talk, Sunday also addressed new behaviors of women. He criticized the “Flapper” of the 1920s who “could not cook a pancake without spattering batter over the kitchen,” but defended new trends in bobbed-hair for girls as not being part of any moral question.⁷⁷ A second national figure who also came to campus that year to make use of the Blow facilities was legendary Knute Rockne, the famous football coach at Notre Dame, who offered a coaching school at the College for several summers.⁷⁸

When Billy Sunday spoke at Blow Gymnasium, he offered guidance to the William and Mary students. Sunday’s endorsement of strong academic studies and circumspect behavior by college men and women reinforced Chandler’s own views. In his efforts to build a new college, Chandler had also set high moral standards as well as lofty educational expectations for his students and faculty. He demanded exemplary behavior from both. He expected his faculty to display a “good moral influence” to guide students to be “God-fearing men and women of high character.” He wanted College students to develop a stronger “faith in religious ideals,” and believed his students, “whether they be Christians or Jews,” should develop “stronger religious convictions,” and “ideals of right living and noble service.” He also expected each faculty member to “regard himself as an educational promoter, inspiring the students with ideals of scholarship and service.”⁷⁹ Using the new Blow facilities, Billy Sunday certainly encouraged students and faculty to reach the high standards that Chandler set for his College community.

Curriculum Reform and Extension

In addition to remodeling the campus, Chandler also overhauled the curriculum to make its offerings more responsive to modern needs. He wrote in 1919 that “the public very clearly demands now that a college education shall fit one for some definite vocation in life.” He therefore proposed an updated college curriculum to “meet modern conditions.” While supporting the continuation of the liberal arts, humanities, and pure mathematics and sciences, he believed the modern college should meet modern day needs, including teacher training and community education.⁸⁰

Chandler saw the College, in part, as a vocational guidance institution. He acknowledged the importance of a solid liberal arts foundation but insisted that William and Mary recognize a responsibility to contemporary societal needs. He supported pre-medical and pre-engineering courses, and pre-professional courses in “agriculture, forestry, public health, social work, consular and other governmental service.” He strongly believed that the College should educate Virginia students, and had a responsibility to train teachers. “No more splendid service can be rendered by this college, to the State, and to the nation, than to furnish each year many men and women well qualified to teach our youth.” He also supported training in social work and home economics for women students, citizenship training for all students, and new offerings in business administration and economics to meet “the demand of the business world, of the industrial world.”⁸¹ Chandler hired faculty who would carry out his progressive ideals.

Chandler brought all these modernizations to the College beginning in 1919 with the establishment of a requirement of a declared major plus new curriculum offerings

demonstrating Chandler's passion for vocational training. He offered new courses in home economics and typing and shorthand especially for women. New pre-professional programs offered courses in agriculture, forestry, engineering, medicine, social work, pharmacy, dentistry, nursing, library science, and business administration.⁸² The College catalogue for the 1919-1920 academic term offered three-year premedical and three-year public health courses, plus three-year courses in agriculture, forestry, electrical and mechanical engineering, civil engineering, mining engineering, and chemical engineering to prepare students for further professional and graduate work. The three-year course in social work permitted students to complete the fourth year at the School of Social Work and Public Health in Richmond.⁸³ The School eventually became part of the Richmond Division of the College came under the control of the College.⁸⁴

In 1921 Chandler acknowledged the need for additional vocational training facilities for women, explaining that "the demand for young women who can do social work and teach home economics and kindred subjects" was already "larger than the college has been able to supply."⁸⁵ In 1924 the College was the only facility in the state offering training in business administration to women, was one of only two schools offering training in the teaching of home economics, and the only Virginia public school to offer training in nursing and social work through the College's Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health.⁸⁶ Clearly Chandler believed the College of William and Mary should "stand midway between the secondary or high school and the professional, technical, or graduate school and the school of life." The College "should be a genuine vocational guidance college, where instruction is given by men [and later women] with a vision of the world broader than that received in the lecture room."⁸⁷ Chandler also felt

that the College should offer more music and art for women students, and should devote more resources to home economics including its own practice house where women students could hone the vocational skills of the field.⁸⁸

Chandler and Teacher Education

A major curriculum advancement during the Chandler administration was in education. Given Chandler's background as a superintendent in public education, his strong support for training teachers is hardly surprising. He knew that Virginia was one of five states in the South with the greatest shortages of teachers. In 1920, for example, the U. S. Commissioner of Education, P. P. Claxton, reported that teacher shortages in the Old Dominion totaled 2,000, while substandard teachers totaled 3,500.⁸⁹

Teacher training had been an important part of the curriculum since 1888. Chandler once explained that when the College had reopened in that year, the legislature made William and Mary by law the only public institution in the state with an education program for men, which he noted made the school a "Liberal Arts college with a Department of Education."⁹⁰ Chandler advertised the College for several years in his summer catalogues as the "Virginia State College for Teachers" to attract more teachers to the summer programs, and also advertised in the Virginia Journal of Education that the College was the "State Teachers College for Men and Women."⁹¹

In 1921 the percentage of William and Mary graduates who prepared to become teachers had been 44.7 percent. By 1924, under Chandler's guidance, the College peaked with 76.9 percent of William and Mary graduates planning to enter the teaching

profession. The College's Department of Education rapidly expanded. In 1922 there were 138 students enrolled in the department, of which 95 were women. In 1926-1927 there were 307 students enrolled in the department, including 212 women. In 1927 Chandler changed the Department of Education into the School of Education. Chandler also established two other schools on campus: the School of Economics and Business Administration, and the Marshall-Wythe School of Government and Citizenship with its own law school, the School of Jurisprudence.⁹²

Chandler's background in public education led him to devote much energy to the training of teachers. While most students came to the College to complete four years of work toward an education degree, others brought previous normal course work with them. Some of his former Richmond teachers, for example, attended William and Mary to earn their bachelor's degrees. In 1920 Josephine Halloran, secretary of the National League of Teachers' Associations headquartered in Richmond, wrote to Chandler that both she and Cornelia Adair, the president of the league and one of Chandler's former teachers, wanted to attend the College's Summer School to begin work on their bachelor's degrees. Halloran explained that neither she nor Adair held more than a three year high school degree plus a year of normal school work. She also inquired if the College could offer any extension classes for teachers in Richmond. Chandler told her that he would evaluate their credits to determine the units that would be granted to them. He also told them that taking work in the Summer School would count toward residence work at the College, and that if there were a sufficient number of students, he would offer extension courses in Richmond.⁹³

Other students receiving their first two years of teacher training in the state normal

schools also looked to the College to complete the requirements for bachelors' degrees. Two students completing the Fredericksburg Normal School, for example, wanted to know if they could complete the requirements for their bachelors' degrees in Williamsburg. Chandler responded that he had already accepted two graduates from the Female Normal School in Farmville to begin their two years of additional work toward the degree, and he would extend the same arrangements to the graduates from Fredericksburg.⁹⁴

Beginning in 1922-23, Chandler upgraded the education program to halt students from attending only the first two years in Williamsburg in order to obtain a teaching certificate. He strategically moved all the course work for education into the junior and senior years of the educational program designed to prepare students to become high school teachers and principals. This removed any duplication of the two-year normal course offered in the state normal schools for elementary teachers by eliminating courses in the first two years at the College, and prohibited students from earning education credits to teach elementary school without obtaining a college degree. Chandler sent women students who wanted to be elementary school teachers to the state normal schools, and for much of the 1920s devoted his teacher training to the high school level.⁹⁵

Two years later he updated the curricula for junior and senior high school teachers in such special areas as home economics, physical education, and fine arts, and at the same time provided more specific curricular offerings for principals, supervisors, and superintendents. By the late 1920s the College reorganized course work for elementary teachers who wanted to earn college degrees in preparation for elementary teaching. The need for elementary teachers in Virginia remained so great that Chandler felt he should

offer training for elementary teaching as well. The College culminated its offerings in education during the Chandler years in 1930 when the School of Education offered “advanced courses in professional education” for teachers, principals, and superintendents to obtain a master of arts degree.⁹⁶ By 1934-1935 the College ranked fifth in the state in numbers of former white students teaching in Virginia schools. That year 864 teachers who had studied at William and Mary taught in the Old Dominion.⁹⁷

Extension Courses

One of Chandler’s first initiatives after taking office was his establishment of extension courses in 1919 as he followed the emerging progressive model for modern colleges and universities. Within a few years Chandler established extensions programs to offer classes in Newport News, Norfolk, and Richmond. Chandler even offered classes in Suffolk, Petersburg, and Portsmouth, albeit briefly. The College also took control of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health. School teachers, especially, took classes from the numerous course offerings to advance or renew their teaching certification. When Chandler first instituted classes in Newport News, for example, he established business courses during the week, but also offered a “special course for teachers on Saturday mornings.” When extension enrollment peaked in 1931-1932, approximately 1,980 students were enrolled in classes away from Williamsburg. With an additional 1,054 students attending summer sessions and 1,682 enrolled in the fall and spring semesters on campus, the College offered educational opportunities to over 4,700 students during that peak enrollment year.⁹⁸ The size of the combined William and Mary

student body would surely have astounded Lyon G. Tyler. Such growth can be attributed directly to Chandler's progressive emphasis on teacher and professional education, and especially to his commitment to higher education for women.

Although Chandler set up the extension courses to appeal to a wide variety of citizens,⁹⁹ they appealed especially to women. In 1922 at least 138 of Richmond's 236 students enrolled in extension classes were women; 65 women enrolled of the total 114 in Newport News classes; 35 of the 48 students in the Petersburg classes were women; and 52 of the 160 students in Norfolk extension classes were women.¹⁰⁰ Chandler employed women faculty as well as men from the main campus to teach extension classes. Thelma Brown, for example who had taught in the Richmond schools while Chandler was superintendent, was one of the early women faculty to teach extension classes. In the 1921-1922 academic year, Brown offered a class in Newport News. Fannie Gill, the home economics instructor at the College, offered a special class in millinery that same year in Newport News. The following year Brown taught as an instructor in physical education at both the main campus and the School of Social Work and Public Health in Richmond.¹⁰¹

Women faculty continued to offer extension courses and obviously traveled just as the men. In the 1929-1930 academic session, professors in the School of Education made suggestions about where they could best provide classes for teachers. While Dr. Helen Weeks was able to offer, "Foundations of Education Practice" in Norfolk, another education professor, Lydia Sherritt, suggested offering "Problems in Elementary Education" in Portsmouth, Hampton, and Gloucester.¹⁰² Chandler envisioned extension throughout the Tidewater region: "Our extension work should have a faculty of strong women who will open up centers in all of eastern Virginia counties in the vicinity of

Williamsburg” which would help women prepare to become teachers.¹⁰³

Funding

The enlargement of the physical plant, the student body and the faculty, and the implementation of the new curriculum required increased funding. In 1924 Chandler published a wish list that was essentially a blueprint for his expansion plans. In his pamphlet, The Romance and Renaissance of the College of William and Mary, he listed 16 pet building projects and endowment needs for 11 additional schools and projects for the campus. He stated that the endowment of the College was approximately \$118,000 in 1924, but he had set astronomical goals in hopes of raising it to almost \$6 million. In terms of academic buildings, he wanted to build a new science building for Physics and Chemistry, a Biology building, an Education building, a library building and a Library School, a classroom building, a building for a School of Home Economics, a building for a School of Music and a School of Art, a building for a School of Economics and Business Administration, a School of Biblical Literature and Religious Instruction, a School for Government and Citizenship, and a School of Journalism. To complete his dream campus, he wanted a new athletic field and stadium, the restoration of the Wren building to its colonial appearance, two more men’s dormitories, one additional women’s dormitory, a dining hall, and a chimes tower. Finally to support the faculty, the wish list contained five lectureships, a faculty pension endowment, and six new faculty houses.¹⁰⁴ Obviously J. A. C. Chandler did not lack ambition.

Chandler established seven national committees to raise funds for these projects.

His Executive Committee included members of the Board of Visitors. The National Committee of Alumni and Co-Operating Citizens included former governor and well-known progressive Andrew J. Montague, along with several Board of Visitors members, including Mary Munford. Munford's associate, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, the renowned Virginia beauty and model known nationally as the "Gibson girl," and the sister of Nancy Langhorne, Lady Astor, the first woman to hold a seat in the British Parliament, was also a member. Mrs. Gibson also served on the New York Committee. The Virginia Committee included former progressive governor, Claude A. Swanson, and former Board of Visitors member and Chandler friend, W. C. L. Taliaferro. Wealthy businessman T. Coleman DuPont and Charles W. Eliot, former Harvard president, joined the William Barton Rogers Committee, while Albert J. Beveridge, former progressive U. S. senator from Indiana served on the Marshall-Wythe Committee. The director of the Endowment Campaign for the College was W. A. R. Goodwin, the professor of religion and minister at Bruton Parish Church, who would involve John D. Rockefeller Jr. in the restoration of the old colonial capital in the mid-1920s.¹⁰⁵

Chandler made good use of his experience in New York and Richmond with foundations and his previous work in soliciting funds for higher education to obtain revenues for his expansion of the College. He tapped his connections in his established networks in New York and Richmond to obtain funds for new buildings at the College, for hiring faculty, and for raising salaries. Chandler's early experiences in politicking in state government and in seeking funds from John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board became the monetary foundation upon which he transformed the College.

As soon as Chandler came to William and Mary, he began to seek additional

revenue. To expand his student body he immediately began to spend “money on beds and furniture and hot water” which he expected to cost “up to twenty-five thousand dollars.” He also started looking for help from alumni in Richmond and Norfolk. He asked alumni to raise forty thousand dollars to support the expansion of both the curriculum and the size of the student body.¹⁰⁶ To help him get through the first year, Chandler and Rector James H. Dillard obtained an emergency \$13,015 from the General Assembly and Governor Westmoreland Davis.¹⁰⁷ Chandler and the Board of Visitors had obtained Governor Davis’s support before the College even opened in the fall of 1919. In late August the governor sent a request to the General Assembly for emergency funds, explaining that the College might not be able to open without them. The need for roof repairs, hot water in the girl’s dormitory, and more chairs in the dining hall, beds, and mattresses to accommodate more students, created a crisis situation for which Davis demanded funds for the College. When Davis secured the necessary funds, Chandler was careful to thank the governor for being a “good friend.”¹⁰⁸

During Chandler’s first year in office, he invited Davis to come to the College to visit and to meet his students and to “look them squarely in the face.” Chandler promised Davis he would like the new William and Mary students. He also thanked Davis for his political appointments in giving the College a “most excellent Board” of Visitors, adding that it was “very gratifying to have Mrs. Munford on our Board.” Chandler worked hard to keep Davis’s friendship. In 1920, for example while he was still editor of the Virginia Journal of Education, Chandler wrote an editorial praising Davis for the large increase in the state appropriations to public schools, and acknowledged the governor as being “a real friend to the system” of public education. Chandler’s gestures toward Davis were

rewarded. He received an invitation from Mrs. Davis in 1922 to attend a reception in Richmond that the governor was giving for the General Assembly. Chandler would certainly not have missed such an evening to further his agenda for the College with members of the state legislature.¹⁰⁹

Chandler also used the Board of Visitors Rector James Dillard and his connections to raise money. Chandler consistently pushed Dillard to use his position as a member of the Board of Trustees of the General Education Board (GEB) in New York to further the cause of William and Mary. One of his first priorities was to increase salaries at the College. In 1920 Chandler asked the General Education Board for a \$250,000 endowment to increase pay levels. Professors at the College earned only \$2,160 in 1920. Chandler sought to raise their salaries to \$3,000 which would be more in line with salaries at other colleges. The GEB had already provided aid to both the University of North Carolina and the Georgia Institute of Technology for salary increases, and Chandler hoped to be next. Chandler justified his request by explaining the College's financial situation and its dedication to public education. He told Dr. E. C. Sage, assistant secretary of the GEB, that William and Mary was a "poor man's college" where "very poor young men are able to come" to get a good education and teacher training. Chandler also asked for an emergency grant of \$28,000 for two years to pay salaries. He justified the need by appealing to the Board's support of public education, explaining that not only did the College prepare "more men for public school work than any institution in Virginia," but it also was the "only State coeducational institution in Virginia and as yet the expense of the coeducational department has not been provided for."¹¹⁰ Chandler was unsuccessful in these two instances, but the significance of the effort lies not in success or failure but in

the illustration of his use of skills developed in Richmond and New York decades earlier. When he next employed those skills, he would succeed.

Chandler lost several professors to other colleges in 1920, including the University of Virginia and Randolph-Macon College, both of which offered better salaries. He had already been to Richmond to speak to members of the General Assembly and the aide to the Governor to try to obtain additional funds from the next budget. He then returned to New York to visit Trevor Arnett, secretary of the GEB, to state his case.¹¹¹ Chandler and Dillard increased their request for a two year grant to \$30,000 to support professors' salaries. They arranged for Dr. Wallace Buttrick, the president and former secretary of the GEB whom Chandler had visited earlier in his career, to come to Williamsburg to visit the campus.¹¹² Buttrick and Arnett reported after their visit that the General Assembly had not totally fulfilled the College's request for appropriations for 1920-1922. They also took note that the College was "already attracting many women students," and were especially "impressed with the energy and ability of President Chandler and his administration of the College." They recommended the appropriation be made. The GEB agreed to provide the \$30,000.¹¹³ After the GEB paid the first \$10,000, Chandler lamented to Dillard in 1921 that he needed the funds from the General Education Board more quickly because "we are very hard up for money as we are paying our professors at this time a salary larger than we are getting from the State." Dillard took the matter to the GEB and the second payment of \$10,000 came within a few weeks.¹¹⁴

Chandler soon sent Dillard back to the GEB to try again to secure additional revenue for salaries. In 1920-21 when he had obtained the original funding from the Board, he reported that the College had hired 27 faculty at a cost of almost \$64,000. By

1922-1923 he had hired 48 faculty at a cost of \$120,000 per year. He was exceeding the Governor's budget allowance for faculty by \$20,000 per year, for the Governor had allotted only \$101,600 in the last budget for College faculty. Just as he had needed the original \$30,000 from the Board to subsidize the College's budget for faculty, he needed another subsidy in 1923 to support a faculty that had almost doubled in size. He asked Dillard to try to get an additional \$30,000 for the next two years. With this help Chandler believed that he could later obtain \$130,000 from the Governor in his next biennial budget.¹¹⁵ Although the response from the Board is unclear, the importance of the request is in Chandler's continual lobbying to obtain funds.

While simultaneously seeking funds from the Commonwealth of Virginia and Rockefeller's GEB, he also pushed Dillard to get money from the Carnegie Foundation. In 1921 he reported to Dillard that, for the 1921-1922 term, the College had expanded to 357 men students, 243 women students, and the faculty has increased substantially. He sent Dillard to secure funds from the Carnegie fund. By Christmas Dillard and Chandler had obtained \$25,000 from the Carnegie Foundation for the expansion of the library.¹¹⁶

Chandler constantly sought more funding. In 1922, for example, he needed a dormitory. He had obtained an appropriation for the biennium from the State for \$431,000 of which \$80,000 was earmarked for a dormitory if he could raise \$120,000. He sent Dillard back to the Carnegie Foundation for the dorm. He needed to raise \$14,000 to total the first \$60,000 in order to obtain the State's first \$30,000. He had already obtained \$21,000 from alumni although he lamented that "our alumni are very poor."¹¹⁷ Chandler continually urged Dillard to work on the problem. The rector lobbied both Wallace Buttrick and Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation.¹¹⁸ When

the Carnegie Foundation did not come through, Chandler continued to send Dillard back to the GEB to try to obtain additional funds.

To raise money Chandler sought help in numerous ways. Using extended networking ties, he enlisted, for example, the services of Robert M. Hughes, the former rector of the William and Mary Board of Visitors, who contacted Senator Henry Cabot Lodge to recruit his support to contact a former senator who was a member of the Carnegie Foundation to try to win his support for the College's restoration.¹¹⁹ When Chandler discovered that the Rockefellers were "giving some money individually now," he asked Dillard to invite John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to Williamsburg. Chandler asked Dillard, "See if you can get him here in the spring to speak on Moral Education or anything else he is particularly interested in."¹²⁰

He also used his networking skills to send Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, a William and Mary graduate, personal physician to President Woodrow Wilson, and chairman of the College's fund raising drive, along with James Dillard to contact Julius Rosenwald, president of the Sears, Roebuck and Company. Rosenwald had given money for a gymnasium to the University of Chicago, and Chandler wanted to tap those resources. If he could get the Sears president to donate a gymnasium, Chandler "would be glad for the gymnasium to be named the Rosenwald gymnasium or give it any name that might be agreed upon between you [Dillard] and Mr. Rosenwald." To attract the millionaire to the College, Chandler was "trying to find out who was the first Jew ever to attend William and Mary."¹²¹ Although it would be Mrs. George Blow rather than Rosenwald who would provide funding for the gym, Chandler was always searching for funds anywhere he could find them.

Chandler came back to the GEB in 1923 with another project. He wanted to raise \$275,000 for a science hall, and hoped to obtain \$100,000 of that amount from the Board. The GEB report summarized Chandler's fund raising efforts up to that time. This report noted that the General Assembly had already provided \$150,000 for a girls' dormitory, and had made an appropriation of \$80,000 towards a men's dormitory. In addition to these funds, the report noted that philanthropist J. P. Morgan had just given \$25,000 towards the men's dormitory; the Carnegie Corporation had given \$25,000 for a library stack room; Mrs. George Blow had given \$100,000 for a gymnasium; and the appropriation by the State Legislature had more than doubled during Chandler's brief administration. The report stated that, according to President Chandler, the annual contribution from the state had increased "three-or-four-fold" in just four years. Although the GEB did not normally provide funding for college buildings, the report praised the College for its efforts in educating men and women to serve the public education of Virginia.¹²² Since the Rockefeller fund supported the advancement of public education, Chandler provided the information necessary to prove that the College was indeed a major part of that process in the Old Dominion.

In seeking to justify the funds for a science building, Chandler reported to the GEB that the money he had obtained from the State had grown in just four years from \$52,000 in 1919 to \$228,000 in 1923, and the number of his faculty had grown to 49. Chandler's lobbying worked. In late 1923 the Board notified Chandler that it would provide \$100,000 towards the construction of the science hall.¹²³ In 1925 Chandler obtained an additional \$50,000 for the science hall from the GEB. After a fire destroyed the dining hall on campus, Governor E. Lee Trinkle appropriated \$125,000 to replace the

dining facility, but that gesture reduced the amount that the State could provide for the science building. The GEB, therefore, agreed to provide the extra funds to help the College.¹²⁴

In 1926 when Rockefeller was traveling to Virginia, Chandler invited him to visit the College. After Rockefeller made his first visit to the campus, he expressed to Chandler how much he appreciated the president's hospitality. Although Rockefeller did not speak to the students, he expressed his pleasure at seeing "an unusually fine looking lot of young people." He complimented Chandler on his work at the College, stating, "What you have accomplished in the building up of the College in your brief term as President is nothing short of marvelous." Chandler replied that he still had much to do for the College, and added, "I have determined to give my life to it and to do the best that lies within my power."¹²⁵ Later that year, Chandler went back to the GEB to request \$75,000 to help build two dormitories. Although the Board declined to help with the dorms, Chandler never hesitated to ask for additional help.¹²⁶

Another project that Chandler took to the GEB was the establishment of a School of Education and the construction of its practice teaching building. In 1927 Chandler wanted to create a new School of Education, and expand his teacher offerings to include a new baccalaureate Elementary Education training program. Although 307 students had enrolled in the Department of Education in 1926-1927 of which 212 were women, only 42 were completing supervised teacher training. The College simply could not manage all the applications for supervised teaching. Therefore Chandler and Dillard asked the GEB in 1928 to fund \$100,000 to help build a new school building that would provide the necessary supervised practice teaching. They also applied for additional funds to raise the

pay of the education faculty. In 1929 the General Education Board provided \$100,000 for the construction of a "practice school building."¹²⁷ This became the Matthew Whaley School which provided the teacher training facilities the College needed.

Politics and Recognition

To obtain funds from the Virginia legislature Chandler continued to cultivate his associations in the General Assembly and in state government. He had become a friend of Westmoreland Davis who sent him a personal congratulation when he was selected for the State Board of Education in 1922.¹²⁸ State leaders also recognized him for his political acumen. When Edward R. Fuller, of Richmond had to decide whether he wanted to run for re-election to the House of Delegates in 1925, he asked Chandler for advice. "I wish you would connect up the many links that can be of very great help to me," he wrote. Chandler responded that he was going to Richmond and would "do everything I can for you" because "I do want you back in the General Assembly."¹²⁹

He received additional recognition for his political acumen when state Senator Harry F. Byrd asked Chandler for his support in his run for the governorship. Byrd acknowledged Chandler's "influence in the public affairs of Virginia," and asked "to receive an assurance that I will receive your cordial and influential support."¹³⁰ These examples of Chandler's political connections in state politics demonstrate that Chandler had influence and recognition in the Commonwealth that helped him secure funds he needed for the College. In 1928 he was appointed to serve on the State Board of Education with some of the most influential men in state education. Members of the

board included Governor Harry Flood Byrd; Harris Hart, the state Superintendent of Public Instruction and member of the William and Mary Board of Visitors; and Chandler's old friend, E. C. Glass, Superintendent of Lynchburg Public Schools.¹³¹

While Chandler exercised political influence to raise needed funds, he also sought national recognition for the institution, never knowing when this networking might be important to his fund raising plans. Chandler obtained a measure of that recognition when United States President Warren G. Harding agreed to come and give an address at Chandler's inauguration as president in 1921. Attending with President and Mrs. Harding were "Cabinet members, Congressmen, senators, college presidents, and delegates from learned societies, patriotic bodies and educational institutions." Virginia's Governor Westmoreland Davis presided over the inauguration. Those attending on behalf of the College included new members of the Board of Visitors, Dr. Kate Waller Barrett, and Mary-Cooke Branch Munford.¹³² Five years later, he brought President Calvin Coolidge to campus when Coolidge came to Williamsburg to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Virginia Resolutions for Independence.¹³³ Chandler had learned early in his life that politics was a key to success. He cultivated the friendship of political leaders as well as personal and institutional recognition as an integral part of his life as an administrator.

Summary

Julian Chandler led the College into the modern era. The foundation for change was the great growth in enrollment, and that in turn depended upon Chandler's commitment to thorough, rather than token, coeducation. Expanding the student body led

to hiring more faculty, and specifically women faculty, and the expansion of the physical plant. Chandler applied his progressive ideas to modernizing the curriculum, improving teacher and vocational education, and offering extension courses. Chandler offered these changes to the middle classes in an attempt to promote more democratic values on the campus and around the state. He built his College with fund-raising techniques that he had learned earlier in his life, and expanded the networking and fund-raising tactics that he had previously developed in Richmond and New York. For the first time in the history of the College, women played a very large part in the affairs of the College and in Chandler's progressive transformation and modernization.

Frank Pierpont Graves, president of the University of the State of New York, and State Commissioner of Education, wrote in 1934 that Chandler "was without equal in the country for the project he accomplished. I know of no one else who could have done it." He added that "the resurgence of William and Mary College was regarded throughout the country as next door to a miracle." Graves said that everyone had watched the second oldest college "sink into oblivion" and had done nothing to help. Then came Chandler, a "perfect gentleman, a high-minded educator, and a dynamo of energy" who "gave his life to the college, and therefore to the cause of education in America."¹³⁴

CHAPTER 5

Chandler Builds a Faculty With Women

During J. A. C. Chandler's first year as president of the College of William and Mary (1919-1920), 333 students were enrolled. Two years later, the student enrollment had doubled to 680. A decade later, the enrollment had soared to 1,682, which was the high point during Chandler's tenure. The president had swung wide the doors to women--the doors that Lyon G. Tyler had left ajar. The percentage of women students climbed rapidly from one-third of the student body during Chandler's first year to more than half by his last two years. In response to the influx of women students, Chandler recruited the first full cadre of women educators at his alma mater.

During Chandler's presidency, the College of William and Mary compared favorably with other colleges across the nation in the employment of women. As a result of Chandler's aggressive recruitment of women, the College also led other Southern white co-educational public colleges in the number of women faculty. Chandler hired women across the ranks and within a variety of academic disciplines. The women faculty members had a slightly lower rate of turnover than their male colleagues, but earned fewer advanced degrees, and held fewer high ranking faculty posts. Although the gender balance among the faculty was never equal, Chandler closed the gap significantly before he died in office in 1934.

William and Mary's Employment of Women: A National and Regional Context

The post war period was characterized by exploding enrollments. In 1920, more than 38,000 students earned baccalaureate degrees in the country. Forty percent of these students were women. At the end of the decade, the number of bachelor's degrees had almost tripled, jumping to 91,623 of which 44 percent were women. Graduate education similarly expanded and women's participation was equally extended. Of the 4,853 graduate degrees earned in 1920, women took home 29 percent. A decade later, women earned 36 percent of the 16,832 graduate degrees. By far, women tended to pursue master's degrees most often, but women also earned doctoral degrees during this decade. As the decade wore on, however, the proportion of women earning doctorates decreased as the number of men pursuing Ph.D.s rose. Whereas 93 women earned 17 percent of the doctorates awarded in 1920, and the number expanded to 332 in 1930, the proportion decreased to only 16 percent of the total of 2,024 earned doctorates in the United States. These women with doctorates were to be a potential labor pool for colleges and universities. Since many American universities were still single gendered in the 1920s, the number of universities that granted advanced degrees to women was limited. Five institutions--Columbia, Cornell, and Yale universities, the University of Chicago, and Radcliffe College, awarded fully 40 percent of all doctorates earned by women in the 1920s.¹

Enrolling women in American colleges and universities appears to have led to the employment of women faculty. The hiring of women at American institutions of higher learning slowly increased during the 1920s before beginning its decline. Whereas in 1900

women accounted for 20 percent of the faculty, by 1930 they were 27 percent of the faculty nationwide. During Chandler's first year as president at William and Mary, 1919-1920, college departments across the nation employed 28,113 faculty members. About 23 percent of these professionals were women.²

At the turn of the century, progressivism was starting to make inroads into the South. The universities provided leadership in the progressive movement in their states, especially in education. Edwin Alderman, president of the University of Virginia (1904-1931), was one such regional leader prior to 1920. Alderman established a professional academic campus, expanded course offerings, established professional schools and departments, upgraded entrance requirements, offered extension courses, and provided leadership in the advancement of public education and university service to the state. Alderman, however, was also opposed to admitting women to the university as undergraduates; he permitted women only to matriculate in graduate and professional programs as of 1920 and to take undergraduate summer classes beginning in 1925.³

Although Alderman raised the standards at the university and provided leadership in the modernization of the Commonwealth, Chandler extended higher education to white women and offered career opportunities to women faculty. At a time when the South lagged behind national norms for hiring women faculty, President Chandler's recruitment of women made William and Mary a regional leader. At the beginning of his tenure, his actions matched the national averages, but by the end, he surpassed them. After starting slowly, President Chandler began to rapidly expand the number of women faculty in 1921-1922. In that year, women faculty in collegiate departments nationwide equaled 7,424 out of a total of 33,109 (22%). In 1921-22, there were nine women on the William

and Mary faculty of 44 (20%). A decade later in 1929-1930 the total faculty nationwide had dramatically increased. There were 54,195 faculty teaching in college and university collegiate departments, including 14,460 women, or almost 27 percent of the entire faculty nationally. At William and Mary, 20 women represented 26 percent of the 78-member faculty.⁴ Chandler's leadership enabled the college to become a regional model for coeducation.

As Table 1 below demonstrates, the percentage of faculty nationwide who were women increased during the decade. At the same time, the rate at which Chandler recruited women at the College of William and Mary increased even more dramatically. While women never exceeded 27 percent of the faculty nationally during the Chandler years, women eventually held 31 percent of the faculty slots at William and Mary. The trend toward increased reliance upon women faculty was steady during Chandler's administration, like the national levels, hovering just below to just above one-quarter of the faculty as a whole during the 1920s and bettering the nation-wide numbers in the 1930s, so that very nearly one-third of all William and Mary faculty were women during Chandler's last year as president, 1933-1934. The College clearly surpassed the national averages of the day.

Chandler's drive to create a faculty that included women began in earnest in 1921. In that year, Committee W of the American Association of University Professors published a study of the faculties at 104 leading coeducational institutions in the United States that painted a bleak picture of the employment of women faculty. Committee W found that women held only 4 percent of full professorships and that when home economics and physical education faculty were removed, women faculty occupied less

that 3 percent of full professorships. Women were concentrated in the lowest ranks, where they accounted for 24 percent of the instructorships. At 26 percent of the 104 colleges and universities, there were no women faculty at all above the level of instructor.⁵

**TABLE 1: Employment of Women Faculty at William and Mary
in a National Context**

	School Year:							
	1919-20	1921-22	1923-24	1925-26	1927-28	1929-30	1931-32	1933-34
Nation-Wide^a								
Number Faculty	28113	33109	38025	43326	50122	54195	77524	77086
Number Women Faculty	6469	7424	9153	10721	13339	14460	17623	17313
% Faculty Women	23%	22%	24%	25%	27%	27%	23%	22%
William & Mary^b								
Number Faculty	23	44	53	60	69	78	77	81
Number Women Faculty	6	9	12	16	21	20	22	25
% Faculty Women	26%	20%	23%	27%	30%	26%	29%	31

^aThe numbers presented are those for "Collegiate Programs" in "Review of Statistics of Universities, Colleges, and Professional Schools, by decades, 1890-1922, and for 1924," *Biennial Survey of Education, 1922-1924*, Bulletin 1926, No. 23 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1927), 578; "Review of Statistics of Universities, Colleges, and Professional Schools, by decades, 1890-1928," *Biennial Survey of Education, 1926-1928*, Bulletin 1930, No. 16 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1930), 698; "Historical Summary, 1900-1934: Universities, Colleges, Professional Schools, and Junior Colleges," *Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934*, Bulletin 1935, No. 2 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), 31.

^bAlthough not specifically identified as such, it appears that instructors at the Norfolk and Richmond extension campuses are included in the totals given for William and Mary in the *Biennial Survey* for these years. As the purpose of this table is to compare the presence of women faculty at the Williamsburg campus with national patterns, totals developed from information in yearly College catalogs are substituted in the table. Chandler generally hired more women than men to teach on the tiny Richmond Division and Norfolk Division faculties. Thus substituting the data from the catalogs introduces a conservative bias into the table. For example, calculated from numbers in the *Biennial Survey*, 34% of the William and Mary faculty were women during the 1933-1934 academic year. Calculated from information in the catalog for that year, only 31% of the Williamsburg-campus faculty were women. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1921-22 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

Committee W offered additional evidence of the lack of opportunity for women faculty. Women composed 75 percent of the faculty at women's colleges but only 12.8 percent of faculty at coeducational institutions. At one mid-western coeducational state university whose 2,500 women students made up 34 percent of the student body, women were only 7 percent of the faculty. The committee also found women faculty clustered in the traditionally feminine subjects, particularly home economics and women's physical education. As if to complete the dismal picture of women faculty at co-educational institutions of higher learning, Committee W reported that 25 percent of the schools did not even have a dean of women.⁶

In the South, opportunities for women faculty were even fewer. Southern public universities resisted coeducation, which in turn led to fewer faculty openings for women academics. The region continued its historical preference for educating men for professions while educating women to be wives and mothers. Traditionally, southerners segregated both their public and their private colleges and universities by gender and established separate schools for young women. Few or no women students usually meant few or no women faculty at southern public institutions.⁷ Table 2 shows the College of William and Mary in comparison to other public southern colleges and universities from the point at which Chandler began in earnest to recruit women faculty in 1921-22 through his last year as president in 1933-34.⁸

TABLE 2: William and Mary Compared to All Public Institutions in the South^a

	School Year:						
	1921-22	1923-24	1925-26	1927-28	1929-30	1931-32	1933-34
All Public Colleges and Universities in the South^b							
Number of Institutions	30	30	30	30	32	32	32
% Faculty Women	15%	16%	17%	17%	18%	25%	23%
William & Mary							
% Faculty Women, from College Catalogs ^c	20%	23%	27%	30%	26%	29%	31%
% Faculty Women, from <i>Biennial Survey</i> ^b	15%	19%	24%	26%	23%	27%	34%

^a Here, the South includes the following states: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Private schools, two-year schools, and black schools are not included in the table.

^b *Biennial Survey of Education*, 1920-1922 through 1933-1934.

^c William and Mary College Catalogs, 1921-22 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

William and Mary College was well within the national norms in terms of employing women as faculty members. Yet the College was well ahead of the regional patterns. While the percentage of southern faculty positions held by women drifted very gradually upward throughout the South during the Chandler years, at William and Mary it climbed both higher and faster, eventually outdistancing the regional rate by 8 to 11 percent in Chandler's last year in office, 1933-34.

Table 3 gives perhaps the clearest indication of Chandler's role as a regional leader in the employment of women as faculty. When William and Mary is compared to other major Southern coeducational state colleges and universities that admitted at least some women as students in each year from 1921-22 through 1933-34. Tied with Louisiana State University at 20% in 1921-22, William and Mary ranked ahead of all of the other schools in the sample until 1931-32, when the much larger University of

Georgia outdistanced it by a few percentage points.

TABLE 3: William and Mary Compared to Major Public Coeducational Institutions in the South^a

	School Year:						
	1921-22	1923-24	1925-26	1927-28	1929-30	1931-32	1933-34
Southern Public Co-Ed Colleges and Universities^b							
% Faculty Women	8%	8%	9%	9%	10%	19%	20%
Number Institutions	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
William and Mary							
% Faculty Women	20%	23%	27%	30%	26%	29%	31%
William and Mary's Rank	1 st	1 st	1 st	1 st	1 st	2 nd	2 nd

^aData for William and Mary was compiled from the William and Mary College Catalogs, 1921-22 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library. The statistics for the other fourteen schools in the sample came from, *Biennial Survey of Education*, 1920-1922 through 1933-1934.

^bThe public coeducational institutions in this study are: Auburn University, University of Alabama, University of Arkansas, University of Georgia, University of Kentucky, University of Louisville, Louisiana State University, University of Maryland, University of Mississippi, University of North Carolina, University of South Carolina, University of Tennessee, University of Virginia, and Virginia Polytechnic Institute. All of these schools had begun to admit at least some women by 1921. At the University of Virginia, women were limited to the School of Education; at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, women could pursue only home economics.

By Chandler's last year in office, 1933-1934, the total number of full time faculty employed in Virginia institutions of higher education statewide was 2,095. Women comprised 30 percent of that number, or 623 women.⁹ In that year the College of William and Mary reached the apex of its employment of women faculty. Chandler employed 56 men and 25 women (31% of the total) on the Williamsburg campus. William and Mary was the one place in the Commonwealth where more than a handful of women taught alongside men in a four-year, public, coeducational college setting. Chandler had moved both quickly and boldly to complete coeducation at William and Mary by recruiting the first true cadre of women faculty. That he did so might not have

surprised his contemporaries if they knew his long history with women's colleges in Richmond and as superintendent of the public schools in that same city.

In the broadest sense, the status of women faculty at William and Mary during the Chandler years followed the pattern described by Committee W. Men dominated the highest academic ranks; nearly a third of the women taught either home economics or physical education; and for 5 years between the 1920-21 and 1924-25 academic terms, Chandler even declined to hire a dean of women, employing instead Social Director for Women Bessie Taylor to see to the needs of women students. However, the situation of women faculty on the Williamsburg campus was much less bleak than the one Committee W reported in 1921.

Gender and Academic Rank at William and Mary

When Chandler took office in 1919 he inherited a faculty composed overwhelmingly of men who held the rank of professor. At the end of Lyon G. Tyler's presidency, there were 16 professors in a faculty of 19 members. Of the 16 professors, only Edith Baer, head of the newly-established home economics department, was a woman. Although Tyler had previously hired a few faculty as associate professors, assistant professors, and instructors, almost all the faculty were at the senior rank by his last year in office. In 1918, the year that the first women joined the faculty, Tyler hired Caroline Tupper as the first dean of women and as an associate professor of English.¹⁰ As Chandler increased the faculty after 1919, he continued to hire at the professor level, but he also began to hire many more faculty, both men and women, as associate professors,

assistant professors, and instructors. As Table 4 below demonstrates, women held just over one quarter (26%) of faculty positions at all ranks during the Chandler administration. While men overwhelmingly dominated the highest two ranks, more than one-third (35%) of the assistant professors were women and at the instructor level women were almost half (48%) of the staff.

Table 4: Gender and Academic Rank at William and Mary, 1919-1934^a

	College of William and Mary, 1919-1934					All Ranks
	Professor	Assoc Prof	Assist Prof	Instructor		
Men	87%	89%	65%	52%	74%	
Women	13%	11%	35%	48%	26%	
Number Faculty Slots	82	91	40	90	303	

^aWilliam and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library. Due to promotion, faculty sometimes held more than one rank over the course of their careers. Therefore the 226 people who served on the William and Mary faculty from 1919 through 1934 account for 303 faculty slots in the table.

Under both Tyler and Chandler, the highest degree earned by a faculty member was a criteria for rank. Of the total of 161 men on the faculty during the Chandler era, 61 (38%) held doctorates, 47 (29%) had earned master's degrees, 39 (24%) held bachelor's degrees, 10 (6%) had LLB or JD degrees, and 4 (3%) had no degree at all. Of the 65 women faculty who taught for Chandler, 5 (8%) held doctorates, 19 (29%) had master's degrees, 32 (49%) held bachelor's degrees, 1 (2%) had a degree from a normal school, and 8 (12%) had earned no degree at all.¹¹ Table 5 below shows the highest degree earned by faculty at all ranks. Among professors, almost two-thirds (62%) of the men held doctorates, compared with just over one-third (36%) of the women. At the associate rank, just over half (52%) of the men held doctorates, but the great majority of women

(70%) had earned only master's degrees. Although a majority of both men and women assistant professors held master's or bachelor's degrees, nearly a quarter (23%) of the men had doctorates. Even at the instructor level, a few men (4%) held doctorates. No woman assistant professor or instructor during the Chandler years possessed a doctoral degree.¹²

Table 5. Highest Degree, Men and Women Faculty, William and Mary, 1919-1934^a

Rank	Highest Degree Earned					
	Doctorate	Master's	LLB/JD	Bachelor's	Normal	None
Professor						
Men (71)	62%	21%	7%	7%	0%	3%
Women (11)	36%	36%	0%	27%	0%	0%
All (82)	59%	23%	6%	10%	0%	2%
Assoc. Prof.						
Men (81)	52%	37%	4%	7%	0%	0%
Women (10)	20%	70%	0%	10%	0%	0%
All (91)	48%	41%	3%	8%	0%	0%
Assist. Prof.						
Men (26)	23%	50%	8%	15%	0%	5%
Women (14)	0%	43%	0%	53%	0%	14%
All (40)	15%	48%	5%	25%	0%	8%
Instructors						
Men (47)	4%	23%	11%	56%	0%	4%
Women (43)	0%	19%	0%	63%	2%	16%
All (90)	2%	21%	6%	60%	1%	10%

^aWilliam and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library. Due to promotion, faculty sometimes held more than one rank over the course of their careers. Therefore the 226 people who served on the William and Mary faculty from 1919 through 1934 account for 303 faculty slots in the table.

Possession of a doctoral degree was only one of the criteria for holding high academic rank during the Chandler administration. Teaching or administrative experience and scholarship were also important. Only five women with doctorates taught at William and Mary during the Chandler administration: Caroline Tupper and Grace Landrum in

English, Helen Foss Weeks and Inga Helseth in education, and Kathleen Bruce in history. The well-documented career of Kathleen Bruce provides an excellent illustration of a woman faculty member who matched Chandler's rigorous standards for high academic rank.

The history department needed another faculty member for 1926. Chandler received applications from several men and women, some of whom were already experienced college teachers. Eva Smock explained in her letter of application that she held a master's degree from the University of Chicago and had been teaching history at Western Reserve University for six years. Chandler responded that he was looking for someone with the doctorate. While Chandler did not always state that he was searching for a candidate with a certain degree, in the case of history which was his own field, he clearly wanted a faculty member to meet that criteria. Also he knew from his Johns Hopkins days that good candidates should be available in that discipline. S. C. Coe actually hoped to complete his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University that very year. The president was interested, but perhaps because Coe did not actually have the degree in hand, Chandler responded that the "highest rank" he could offer him was assistant professor. Stella Camden, with a master's degree from Cornell, was working towards her doctorate at the same school, and was already a faculty member at Sullins College in Bristol, Virginia. Hunter Farish, was completing his master's degree at Harvard. Although Chandler got as far as discussing salary with Farish, he settled on Bruce.¹³ That Chandler seriously considered hiring both Farish and Coe may indicate either a bias for men or a bias towards Johns Hopkins and Harvard, all other qualifications being reasonably equal, but it also underscores the exceptional qualifications of Kathleen Bruce.

Bruce was in fact one of only a few women to teach in the College's history department until the 1990s. Born and raised in Richmond, Bruce attended the prestigious Miss Ellett's Private School (later, St. Catherine's School), then earned her bachelor's degree in 1918 at Radcliffe College, where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. She followed that with a Radcliffe master's degree in 1918 and doctorate in history in 1924. Bruce then taught history and government for two years at Wheaton College, the private liberal arts college for women in Massachusetts, before joining the history faculty at William and Mary. During her tenure at the College from 1926 through 1931, she took leave for two years with funding from the National Research Council. While nothing in the correspondence between Bruce and Chandler illuminates her motives for leaving the College, she later continued her teaching career at Hollins College, Sophie Newcomb College, and Westhampton College.¹⁴

Few faculty at the College of William and Mary during the Chandler years regularly published, and fewer still among the women faculty. By the time Bruce joined the staff, she had already begun to establish herself as an authority in antebellum southern history, with an emphasis on the iron industry. Her choice of topic is hardly surprising. Her maternal grandfather, General Joseph Reid Anderson, was the former owner and president of the famous Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, largest supplier of arms and iron products to the Confederacy. In 1925 she had presented a paper, "Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry," to the American Historical Association. The William and Mary Quarterly then published her papers as a two-part article in 1926 and 1927.¹⁵ Richard Morton, the one-man Department of History at William and Mary at the time, and his colleague, librarian Earl Gregg Swem (who also offered history classes) were authorities

on early Virginia history. Morton wrote Chandler that Bruce had “done excellent work as a research student under Harvard professors.” Both he and Swem had met Bruce in person and “were favorably impressed with her.” Morton also added that she was the niece of Philip Alexander Bruce, the prominent Virginia historian who had been the founding editor of the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.¹⁶ Philip Alexander Bruce’s publications were legion, and he held an honorary degree from the College.¹⁷ He was also the brother of Senator William Cabell Bruce. Political connections of this sort never escaped Chandler’s notice. Certainly, he must have known the family from his days in Richmond. Kathleen Bruce’s sister, Sally Bruce Kinsolving, even gave a poetry reading at the College in 1923.¹⁸

Bruce’s qualifications as a scholar, the recommendations from Morton and Swem, and the sterling pedigree as a daughter of one of Virginia’s leading families swamped the competition. Chandler hired her at the rank of full professor. Her subsequent career validated Chandler’s selection. During her time at the College, Bruce was a contributor to the Dictionary of American Biography, published several articles and book chapters, and later served as a member of the board of editors of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (later renamed the Journal of American History).¹⁹ Thanks to financial support in the form of a subvention from the American Historical Association, Bruce published her dissertation, Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era, in 1931. This book remains a basic source on that industry. In the preface, Bruce thanked the new dean of women at the College, Dr. Grace Warren Landrum, another Radcliffe Ph.D., who “through research, evaluation, the reading of the proof, and instruction in the mechanics of the press (provided) unfailingly that encouragement which perhaps the majority of authors must

have to carry through their tasks.”²⁰ Bruce and Landrum, were the most prolific and important scholars among the women faculty at the College during the Chandler era.²¹

Kathleen Bruce provides perhaps the best example of a woman who held high academic rank at William and Mary during the Chandler administration on the basis of advanced degree, teaching experience, and scholarship. Other women held professorships as a consequence of becoming deans or department heads. The link between high academic rank and service as an administrator is underscored by the example of Annie Marion Powell, who joined the William and Mary faculty in 1925-26 as Dean of Women and as a professor in the English Department. Powell did not possess a doctorate, nor did she publish. She did, however, have experience as both a college instructor and as an administrator at a private school for girls. After serving for two years as dean, Powell married Professor of Education William Thomas Hodges, stepped down as dean, and left the faculty for a year. When Powell returned to the faculty as a member of the English department, she held the rank of associate professor.²² Of the eleven female full professors, eight, like Powell, were also deans or department heads.²³ Some did hold doctorates and some published, but all owed their professorships primarily to the fact that they were deans of women or heads of the departments of home economics or women’s physical education.

Gender and Academic Discipline at William and Mary

The women faculty at William and Mary during the Chandler years show three distinctive patterns. As Table 6 below demonstrates, not quite half (48%) of the women

taught in the all-female departments of home economics, women's physical education, secretarial science, and fine arts. At the same time, more than half (52%) taught alongside men in the eleven departments shown in bold in the table. Finally, there were no women faculty members in the fourteen science and vocational departments listed last in the table.

Table 6: Gender and Academic Discipline at William and Mary, 1919-1934^a

Academic Departments	Number of Women in Department	Percentage of all Women Faculty	Number of Men in Department	Percentage of all Men Faculty	Total Faculty Members
Home Economics	11	17%	0	0%	11
Women's Physical Education	9	14%	0	0%	9
Fine Arts	7	11%	0	0%	7
Secretarial Science	4	6%	0	0%	4
Sub-Totals	31	48%	0	0	31
English	6	9%	18	11%	24
Biology	5	8%	11	7%	16
Math	5	8%	6	4%	11
Music	5	8%	3	2%	8
Education	3	5%	10	6%	13
Library Science	3	5%	2	1%	5
Religion & Biblical Literature	3	5%	2	1%	5
Ancient Languages	1	2%	9	6%	10
History	1	2%	5	3%	6
Modern Languages	1	2%	24	15%	25
Psychology	1	2%	3	2%	4
Sub-Totals	34	52%	93	58%	127
Accounting	0	0%	2	1%	2
Aeronautics	0	0%	1	1%	1
Business Administration	0	0%	7	4%	7
Chemistry	0	0%	10	6%	10
Economics	0	0%	11	7%	11
Engineering	0	0%	5	3%	5
Government	0	0%	7	4%	7
Journalism	0	0%	3	2%	3
Law	0	0%	6	4%	6
Men's Physical Education	0	0%	6	4%	6
Philosophy	0	0%	2	1%	2
Physics	0	0%	5	3%	5
Political Science	0	0%	1	1%	1
Public Speaking	0	0%	2	1%	2
Sub-Totals	0	0%	68	42%	68
Totals	65	100%	161	100%	226

^aWilliam and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

In the early twentieth century, women faculty were concentrated in home economics and physical education nationally and also at William and Mary. During the entire Chandler administration, 31 percent of the women faculty at the College taught one of those two subjects.²⁴ Five of the eleven women who taught home economics became heads of that department and acquired professorships as a consequence. No woman serving on the physical education faculty made it as far as the associate level during Chandler's years as president, and only two of the nine were ever assistant professors. The others toiled as instructors. Of the nine women who taught physical education under Chandler, only Martha Barksdale earned a master's degree. Three of the women had received post secondary training in gymnastics but had never completed bachelors' degrees.²⁵

Home economics and physical education for women were actually two of four departments at William and Mary that were consigned entirely to women during the Chandler era. Neither fine arts nor secretarial science had male faculty during those years, but together they accounted for 11 percent of all women faculty. Chandler's progressive focus on vocational training led him to create the Department of Secretarial Science in 1931. He appointed Kathleen Alsop to be the first faculty member. Alsop actually began her career at William and Mary as a secretary in 1920 and quickly became secretary to the president. By 1922 she was teaching shorthand and typing at the College while at the same time pursuing her bachelor's degree. In 1933 she became Registrar, serving in that capacity until 1949. Even though secretarial science was predominantly a female department with a faculty of all women, the addition of that very vocational department to the College curriculum provided Alsop, who graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1925, a chance

to move from secretary to college professor and into a responsible administrative post as well.²⁶ Certainly, Alsop herself was a model of upward mobility as a result of vocational education.

Perhaps because he did not see an immediate vocational impact in fine arts instruction, Chandler placed a low priority on that department. In the summer of 1924, he explained to a parent who had inquired about the possibility that his daughter might pursue art at William and Mary that, while he would be delighted to have the young woman as a student, *fine arts was not a major component of the curriculum. He noted that the College had never appointed a chair in that field. "Our financial situation," he reported, "has been such that we could not emphasize this phase of the work."* Indeed, with Assistant Professor Gertrude Carey on leave for the approaching fall term, there would be no fine arts classes at all until after Christmas, when sculptress Alice Michael would come on board as a visiting instructor.²⁷

Even though Chandler de-emphasized the role of fine arts, some of the seven women who taught that subject at William and Mary were accomplished. Carey, for example, had studied art in both Paris and Munich; Eleanor Craighill, who held a master's degree from Columbia University, was one of a handful of American artists to enjoy a year of funding from the French government to study in Paris; and Alice Michael, who substituted for Carey in 1924-25, had won first prize at the Paris Beaux Arts Competition.²⁸

J. A. C. Chandler personally shaped the faculty at the College of William and Mary between 1919 and 1934. Asking an opinion from other people, as he did of Richard Morton and Earl Swem in the case of Katherine Bruce, was a rather unusual occurrence.

Like Lyon G. Tyler before him, Chandler believed that a coeducational student body required a faculty that included women as well as men. Although many more men taught at William and Mary between 1919 and 1934, Chandler employed women as faculty in 15 of his 29 departments. Of 27 faculty in the departments of mathematics and biology, for example, 10 were women, and Beulah Russell, one of the few women hired at the associate professor rank, taught mathematics.

The distribution of men and women faculty across the various disciplines in Table 6 seems to reflect Chandler's judgment about the likely interests of his women students and especially about what vocations were appropriate for them. Just as home economics, women's physical education, secretarial science, and fine arts were feminine departments at William and Mary, most of the sciences were given over to men. No women taught in the vocational departments of business, law, engineering, and journalism. If Chandler consciously created the gendered pattern in Table 6, his biases certainly paralleled the commonly-held beliefs about what fields were appropriate for women.

Gender and Turnover at William and Mary

As Chandler moved the College toward a systematic expansion of the enrollment, a project he pursued largely by pushing full-steam ahead with coeducation, he faced the problem of how to increase the size of the faculty as well. Retention, however, became a serious problem that exacerbated the need to hire. Faculty attrition did not escape the notice of the Flat Hat. In October, 1927 that newspaper reported the "exodus of 20 faculty," and the necessity of hiring 22 new faculty in a wide range of departments

including finance, economics, accounting, jurisprudence, mathematics, physics, English, modern languages, fine arts, and physical education.²⁹ A comparison of the 1926-27 catalog with that for 1927-28 revealed only 13 departures, but even so, they represented 20 percent of the 64 faculty listed for 1926-27. In their place were 15 new names, or 22 percent of the entire faculty of 69 people in 1927-28.³⁰ Looking at the entire decade, 24 percent of the 111 men hired for the academic years 1920-21 through 1929-30 stayed only a single year. Of the 41 women faculty hired over the same span of years, 17 percent lasted only one year.³¹ Turnover was always a great consideration for Chandler.

Some women, however, enjoyed long teaching careers at William and Mary that often stretched far beyond Chandler's death in 1934. The remarkable Martha Barksdale taught physical education for 45 years, from 1921 through 1966. Her colleague in women's physical education, Marguerite Wynne-Roberts taught for 29 years, 1925 through 1954. Alma Wilkin was a member of the home economics faculty for 42 years, from 1928 through 1970. Although Barksdale, Wynne-Roberts, and Wilkin were certainly unusual, 16 women faculty members hired during the Chandler era taught at William and Mary for 10 years or more.³² Comparable figures for length of service on a regional or national basis are almost impossible to find, but in a 1928 report on women who had received doctoral degrees through 1924, the Journal of the American Association of University Women noted that, "Those with the rank of full professor had taught on the average over fifteen years in college or university [settings]," while those at the associate or assistant levels "had taught on the average for nearly eleven years."³³

In easily the most striking example of the brevity of tenure among the women faculty at William and Mary, Margaret Bomar served only a month as director of

women's athletics in 1920-21 after Chandler hired her to replace Bertha Wilder, the first athletic director for women. Bomar's profile shows several characteristics that seemed to fit Chandler's model for women faculty. She had an undergraduate degree from Elizabeth College, had done some post-graduate summer study at the University of Virginia, and expressed an interest in pursuing a graduate degree. Bomar had public-school teaching experience in both history and physical education and had taught physical education at the Lewisburg Seminary in West Virginia. Among her references was Harris Hart, the Virginia State Superintendent of Public Instruction, a post that made him an *ex-officio* member of the College's Board of Visitors. Chandler had even been acquainted with her father, a Baptist minister, when Chandler lived in Richmond.³⁴ But what seemed at first to be an excellent match for William and Mary quickly became a disaster, and the details of this appointment provide an example of Chandler's on-going difficulty in retaining women faculty.

Initially, Bomar expressed the hope that she might obtain a combination "fellowship-teaching position" in history or French. Chandler was only willing to make such an arrangement for her if she taught women's physical education. He interviewed Bomar for a position in that department in Richmond on June 4, 1920.³⁵ Her letter to him four days later was a preview of problems to come. Negotiations with Bomar were difficult at best. Unwilling initially to commit to the job and its duties, she stated that she was "still considering your proposition" but had not "entirely made up my mind." She had written to Converse College to see if she could receive summer instruction there in hockey as well as swimming. Chandler suggested that she teach dancing at William and Mary, but she did "not feel competent to teach it." She was apparently ready to teach

gymnastics, hockey, basketball, and tennis, but was also concerned about teaching swimming for she was “not in very excellent condition for that sport.” She told Chandler that her parents were pleased that she might teach at the College, although she was “trying to consider it from all sides” before making a commitment. Chandler replied that Bomar would teach gymnastics, hockey, basketball, tennis, dance, and supervise swimming once the pool was completed. Those duties would total 10-12 hours of teaching per week. Bomar would also act as a chaperone and as assistant to the social director for women. Bomar accepted Chandler’s offer and made arrangements to go to Converse College for her summer studies.³⁶

Bomar was to begin her faculty duties in September. The first College faculty meeting was set for September 13. She wrote to Chandler on September 9 to inform him that she had two operations during the summer, both on her nose. She said that the doctor had told her she might be able to begin her teaching duties by October 1. Chandler asked her if she could return sooner since it would be difficult to begin the fall session with no one in charge of the women’s physical education. If she could come the following week, he would make arrangements so that her “work will be very light.” Bomar responded that she could not arrive before October 1.³⁷

In its first October issue, The Flat Hat identified Margaret Bomar, a graduate of Elizabeth College, as the new athletic director.³⁸ Before the month had ended, Bomar had resigned. She apologized to Chandler for having “disappointed you so keenly as an instructor,” and said that her father would send a check to pay for the classes she was taking at the College in piano, voice and French. Her resignation became effective October 30, 1920.³⁹ Chandler had promised her \$600, plus room, board, and tuition for

her classes. Since she only worked one month, she had earned \$70 but the College had advanced her \$100 over the summer. Thus she owed the College \$30. Bomar's father later thanked Chandler for all his "thoughtful care of my daughter" during the month she taught at William and Mary. Rev. Bomar apologized for pushing her to teach at the College before she had fully recuperated, but noted that she was "much better" by mid November.⁴⁰

Chandler had certainly done everything he could to hire and retain Bomar. Unlike Bomar, women faculty such as Martha Barksdale and Marguerite Wynne-Roberts, both of whom Chandler also hired to teach women's physical education, provided long-term stability. The continual turnover among both women and men, however, made it very difficult for Chandler to maintain that sort of continuity. In November 1927, The Flat Hat published an editorial lamenting the "yearly exodus of professors and instructors from the campus," and noting that colleges were judged by their ability to staff departments with "experienced professors."⁴¹ The Flat Hat might have made that observation at any point during Chandler's administration. The president dealt with it as best he could.

In all, 226 faculty served under Chandler from 1919 through his death in office in 1934. They included 161 men and 65 women. In 1934, there were 81 faculty members, of whom 56 were men and 25 were women. Thus almost two-thirds (64%) of the total faculty had departed through death, retirement, resignation, or non-renewal of contracts during the fifteen years of Chandler's presidency. Among men, 35 percent of those who taught at William and Mary at any time during Chandler's presidency were on staff at the end in 1934. Among women, that figure was 38 percent.

Table 7 shows that, overall, there was little difference between the average length

of service by the men and women of this 1934 faculty cohort. While men professors in 1934 had, on average, served about 2 years longer than the much smaller number of women professors, at the other three ranks, women had served slightly longer on average than their male colleagues.

TABLE 7: Average Tenure at William and Mary^a

Faculty in 1934	No. in Rank	Mean Yrs.
MEN		
Professors	28	9.4
Associate Professors	14	6.6
Assistant Professors	2	6.0
Instructors	12	2.0
All Men Faculty	56	7.0
WOMEN		
Professors	4	7.5
Associate Professors	3	7.7
Assistant Professors	6	7.8
Instructors	12	4.3
All Women Faculty	25	6.0

^aCatalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1933-1934, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 28, no. 1, April 1934, 6-29.

Brevity of service was a faculty trademark in 1934. Even among men professors, 3 of whom had begun their William and Mary careers under Lyon G. Tyler, the average length of tenure in 1934 was less than a decade. Rapid turnover, however, did not prevent Chandler from increasing the size of his teaching staff. Nor did retention problems deter him from enlarging the cadre of women faculty sufficiently to make William and Mary the regional leader among public institutions of higher learning in the employment of women as college teachers.

Conclusions

J. A. C. Chandler's impact on the gender composition of the William and Mary faculty was striking. In his last year as president, Lyon G. Tyler had hired the first three women faculty. After six years of Chandler's leadership, William and Mary surpassed the national rate for employing women, remaining at that level for the rest of Chandler's term in office. Regionally, the College became a model for employing women. By 1921, William and Mary ranked first among all southern public coeducational colleges and universities in the rate of employment of women among all public four-year institutions.

Although William and Mary was the regional leader in the rate of employing women faculty, most women on the Williamsburg campus served in the lower academic ranks. Chandler's criteria for assigning rank included teaching experience and scholarship, but possessing a terminal degree was a major factor, as was service as a dean or department head. While more than one-third of all men faculty held doctorates, almost one-half of all women faculty had only bachelor's degrees. Even so, Chandler did hire some women to be professors and associate professors. Most of these women were either deans or heads of departments.

Approximately one-half of all the women Chandler hired taught in the women's departments of home economics, women's physical education, secretarial science, and fine arts. The other half of the women faculty, however, taught both men and women students in mainstream liberal arts departments in which the faculty included both men and women.

Retention of both men and women faculty was a serious problem throughout Chandler's presidency. Chandler struggled to maintain continuity among his faculty, so

much so that even the student newspaper complained about the excessive turnover. Most faculty, especially at the lower ranks, stayed on staff only a few years.

Although the names on the roster changed at a very rapid pace, Chandler managed to greatly increase the presence of women on the faculty. Within fifteen years of inheriting a staff that was almost entirely made up of men professors, he had assembled a faculty of which almost one-third were women, a few of whom held professorships and headed departments, and who offered classes in a wide variety of disciplines. Chandler indeed provided a model for the hiring of women faculty.

CHAPTER 6

Recruiting, According to Chandler

In 1931 President J. D. Eggleston of Hampden-Sydney College asked President Chandler which of three procedures William and Mary used to recruit faculty. Did Chandler alone make the choice of a faculty member before submitting his choice for Board approval? Or did Chandler submit several names to the Board from which they made the final selection? Or did the Board appoint a search committee to assist the president in making the selection? Chandler replied that the Board did not select faculty members directly. As president of the College, he nominated to the Board a single candidate to fill each vacancy, and that the Board had “never, since I have been here, turned down any of my nominations.”¹ The original College charter made the Board of Visitors the governing body, but Chandler demanded more authority when he took office. The Board so expanded his powers that he considered his right to hire and fire to be all but absolute. The president personally solicited nominations and applications, evaluated credentials in all fields, and negotiated freely with candidates. Therefore faculty recruitment at William and Mary between 1919 and 1934 reflected Chandler’s goals for the College as well as his personal preferences and habits, and looked back to associations formed during his career as an educator and editor in Richmond and New York City. Those patterns are the subject of this chapter.

This chapter will prove that Chandler followed very specific patterns in recruiting the first women faculty at the College of William and Mary. It breaks down into five assertions. First, Chandler, early in his presidential career, depended heavily upon

women teachers from Richmond, where he had been both a teacher and an administrator at Woman's College at the turn of the century and later served for a decade as superintendent of the public schools there. In his second pattern, Chandler hired William and Mary alumnae, some immediately after their graduation and others after they had taught elsewhere. Although Chandler continued to hire some Richmond women and some alumnae into the 1930s, these sources were more prominent at the beginning of his career, when he needed to create a cadre of women faculty quickly. In Chandler's third pattern, he expanded his search for women faculty onto the national job market. In this phase, Chandler hired women with a mixture of backgrounds, but Columbia University, especially its Teachers College, was his chief recruiting ground. In another pattern that seems a curious arrangement by today's standards, Chandler accepted teachers from the Methodist Church for whom the church supplied salaries. Finally, this chapter will show that, while Chandler did make some use of unsolicited applications, he relied especially on college and university placement offices and teacher agencies to locate and assess potential faculty, male and female, for William and Mary.

Diversity in Background: The Faculty at William and Mary, 1919-1934

In what sometimes seemed a mad scramble to hire and retain faculty despite the high rate of turnover and the severe budgetary limitations, Chandler recruited both men and women from a wide spectrum of colleges and universities. As Table 8 below shows, the men Chandler hired during his fifteen-year presidency held their highest degrees from 56 colleges and universities. Women, however had fewer educational choices than men,

especially at the graduate level. Fewer American colleges and universities offered graduate work to women, especially at the doctoral level. As Table 8 shows, the 65 women who joined the William and Mary faculty during the Chandler years held their highest degrees from a total of only 20 different schools.

Table 8: A Comparison of Institutions Granting Highest Earned Degrees to Women and Men Teaching at the College of William and Mary, 1919-1934^a

Women Faculty Members

These Institutions Granted Degrees to at Least 2 Faculty Members:	Number Women	Percent Women Faculty
Columbia University	19	29%
College of William and Mary	14	22%
Radcliffe College	4	6%
University of Chicago	3	5%
University of Wisconsin	2	3%
15 Schools Granted Degrees to 1 Woman Each	15	23%
8 Women Held No Degree at All	8	12%
Total Number Women Faculty	65	100%

Men Faculty Members

These Institutions Granted Degrees to at Least 2 Faculty Members	Number Men	Percent Men Faculty
College of William and Mary	24	15%
Harvard University	15	9%
University of Virginia	13	8%
Columbia University	11	7%
University of Chicago	11	7%
Johns Hopkins University	9	6%
University of Illinois	6	4%
Yale University	6	4%
George Washington University	4	2%
Ohio State University	4	2%
Princeton University	3	2%
University of Michigan	3	2%
Lafayette College	2	1%
Oxford University	2	1%
University of Texas	2	1%
University of Toulouse	2	1%
40 Other Schools Granting Degrees to 1 Man Each	40	25%
4 Men Held No Degrees at All	4	2%
Total Men Faculty Members	161	100%

^aWilliam and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

As Table 9 below demonstrates, the 65 women who taught for Chandler between 1919 and 1934 earned undergraduate degrees at 35 colleges and universities. Their master's degrees came from 11 schools. Only five women faculty possessed the doctorate, two from Teacher's College and three from Radcliffe College.²

Table 9: All Degrees Held by William and Mary Women Faculty, 1919-1934^a
Undergraduate Degrees

These Institutions Granted Undergraduate Degrees to at Least 2 Women	Number Women	Percent
College of William & Mary	13	20%
Columbia University	13	20%
North Carolina College for Women	3	5%
Radcliffe College	3	5%
Randolph Macon Woman's College	2	3%
30 Other Institutions Granted Undergraduate Degrees to 1 Woman Each	30	47%
Total Bachelor's Degrees	64	100%

Master's Degrees

These Institutions Granted Master's Degrees to at Least 2 Women	Number	Percent
Columbia University	11	41%
College of William & Mary	2	7%
Radcliffe College	3	11%
University of Chicago	3	11%
Scarritt College	2	7%
6 Other Institutions Granted Master's Degrees to 1 Woman Each	6	22%
Total MA Degrees	27	100%

Doctoral Degrees

These Institutions Granted Doctorates	Number	Percent
Radcliffe College	3	60%
Columbia University	2	40%
Total Ph.D. Degrees	5	100%

^a William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

The foregoing roster of schools shows a high degree of regional variety. Yet southern schools were well represented. Dean of Women and English professor Annie Powell, for example, had graduated from both Hollins College and Sweet Briar College in western Virginia, while Lois Hatcher (religion) had graduated from Wesleyan College and taken graduate courses at the University of Georgia before earning her master's degree at the University of Chicago; and Inga Olla Helseth (education) earned both her bachelor's and master's degrees from Florida State College for Women before taking her doctorate at Columbia University.³ However, several of the women faculty had studied at leading northern institutions, including physical education instructor Thelma Josephine Brown, who did graduate work at Cornell and Harvard; Martha Barksdale (women's physical education), who took non-degree graduate work at Harvard and New York University in addition to her master's degree at William and Mary; Gertrude Carey (fine arts), who took classes at New York University; and Olivia Downing (religion), who received her master's degree at Boston University.⁴ Chandler also hired women from leading universities in the Midwest, including, for examples, Iowa State College (Jessie Coles); the University of Minnesota (Beatrice Sellevold); the University of Wisconsin (Anna Briggs Loughlin); and the University of Oklahoma (Olive Downing). There were even a few representatives of schools in the far West. Lillian Cummings (home economics), for instance, earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Arizona before she took her master's from Columbia University; and Helen Foss Weeks (education) received her bachelor's degree from the University of California before earning her doctorate at Columbia.⁵

Some of the women faculty even took extended studies in Europe before coming

to Williamsburg. Eileen Whitehead Grimes (biology) had a bachelor's degree in science from the University of London; Alice Michael (fine arts) held a certificate in sculpture from the Beaux Arts School in Paris; Gertrude Carey (fine arts) studied in both Paris and Munich; Marguerite Wynne-Roberts (physical education) graduated from the Bedford College of Dancing in England and attended the Chelsea College of Physical Training in London, while Martha Barksdale (physical education) attended the Gymnastics Peoples College in Denmark after joining the William and Mary faculty.⁶

Amid all this variety in alma maters, however, some patterns do emerge in terms of training and experience. Early in his presidency, Chandler faced the prospect of creating a cadre of women instructors almost instantly. None of the three women he had inherited from Lyon G. Tyler in 1919 pleased him, and within two years all three had departed. Essentially beginning again in 1921-22, Chandler turned mainly to the areas he knew best--the city of Richmond, and the College of William and Mary--to jump start the process. In all, Chandler hired eight Richmond women, and fifteen alumnae. The Richmond teachers and William and Mary alumnae were known quantities. He could access them quickly and rather easily. Of considerable importance, they also knew him and his leadership style.

Hiring Richmond Teachers

Chandler turned first to Richmond to meet his immediate need for a female presence on his staff. He recruited Bessie Taylor, Hazel Gallagher, Margaret Bomar, Thelma Brown, Anne Smith, Althea Hunt, Grace Landrum, and Elizabeth

Brockenbrough. Chandler hired the first five of these women during his first four years as a college president. He hired Taylor to meet his pressing need for an administrator to supervise the first women students. Taylor became the College's first Social Director of Women in 1920, and served in that capacity until 1934. Chandler's next most pressing need was someone to lead the home economics department. He hired Hazel Gallagher as the professor and head of that department (1920-1922). His third need was a director of women's athletics. He hired a disappointing Margaret Bomar to become women's athletic director in 1920, then replaced her with the more qualified Anne Smith (1921-1922), supported by Thelma Brown as an instructor (1921-1924).

Chandler hired several other Richmond women later in his presidency. Althea Hunt joined the William and Mary faculty as an assistant professor of English in 1926. Continuing to employ Richmond women even late in his administration, Chandler hired Elizabeth Brockenbrough as an instructor in piano in 1932. The eighth woman with connections to Richmond, Grace Landrum, would follow a different path to the College to become the third dean of women in 1927. Of all the Richmond women, it was Landrum who would have the most outstanding career at William and Mary.

When Chandler hired Bessie Taylor, he needed someone immediately whom he could trust to replace Caroline Tupper whom he dismissed as dean of women. Taylor worked for Chandler longer than any other woman. When Chandler hired her as Social Director of Women, Taylor actually held no college degree although she did have both a rich educational background and professional experience to bring to the College. She had attended several schools including Margaret Academy in Accomack County, Virginia; Richmond College; Teachers College at Columbia University; and the University of

Virginia Summer Schools. Taylor had taught English and Latin at John Marshall High School in Richmond during Chandler's superintendency of that public school system. As to her administrative experience, she had served as an assistant principal in the Manchester schools.⁷ Her parents, from northern Virginia and Maryland, had been landowners, and both had attended colleges in Baltimore. Her father had received a commission as a United States diplomat to Egypt at some point after the Civil War but decided to remain on the Eastern Shore of Virginia to raise his family.⁸ Bessie Taylor served as a vice president in the Virginia State Teachers Association as the representative of the Richmond-Williamsburg area during Chandler's presidency of the teachers association in 1919.⁹ In 1918-1919 she also had served as one of the first appointees to the Virginia Education Commission created by the General Assembly to analyze the needs and conditions of Virginia public schools. The commission was composed of governor-appointed members from both houses of the state legislature and three members of public school systems.¹⁰

Taylor utilized her Richmond connections to enhance the extracurricular life of the women students at William and Mary. For example, Taylor brought her friend Ellen Tompkins Kidd to the College to speak on the growth of her Richmond company, the Pin Money Pickle Company, which became a million dollar business in the mid 1920s.¹¹ Taylor's affiliations with women activists gave her additional beneficial networking connections for her position at the College. She was a member of the Virginia League of Women Voters along with the leading progressive women of the state in the 1920s including leading Richmond activist Mary Munford, the first woman member of the College's Board of Visitors; and Mrs. John Lewis, the state president of the Virginia

League in 1926, with whom Taylor worked in Richmond.¹²

In 1920-1921 Chandler named Hazel Gallagher to replace Edith Baer, whom Lyon G. Tyler had hired as the first home economics professor. Tyler had appointed Baer as a full professor to start up the home economics department even though she only possessed a bachelor's degree from Columbia University. Baer left after having a disagreement with Chandler concerning her position as professor. Also hired as a professor, Gallagher likewise arrived with only a bachelor's degree from Columbia University, but had done additional work at the University of Chicago. Like Bessie Taylor, Gallagher had previously served on Chandler's faculty in Richmond and had teaching and administrative experience. She had been the supervisor of home economics in the Richmond Night Schools from 1915-1920, the head of the home economics department at John Marshall High School from 1916-1920, and a supervisor of vocational education in the Richmond public schools from 1916-1920.¹³

The third faculty member from Richmond hired in 1920 was Margaret Bomar, whose one-month stay as director of women's athletics was fraught with problems. When Bomar left the College after only one month due to her health problems, Chandler replaced her with Rae Booth Shaughnessy, who had trained at the New York Normal School for Physical Education. Shaughnessy had been the director of physical training in several New York public school systems, as well as an instructor in corrective and remedial gymnastics at St. John's Dispensary in Yonkers, New York. A non-Richmonder, Shaughnessy stayed for only one year.¹⁴

When Shaughnessy departed, Chandler went back to Richmond, hiring Anne Smith, an alumna of Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin, to be the Director of

Physical Education for Women in 1921. Smith had taught history in the Wisconsin public high schools. She had received a graduation certificate from the Recreation Department in the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, which soon after became the Recreation Training School of Chicago. Begun by women from Jane Addams' Hull House, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy was an early progressive leader in training women in social work. In 1920, Dr. Sophonisba Breckinridge successfully led the school into an affiliation with the University of Chicago and the school was upgraded into the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Social Services Administration. With these progressive credentials, Anne Smith had taken a position as the director of the Department of Recreation in the Richmond School of Social Work in 1919. Chandler hired her as an instructor in the College's Summer School in 1920 before she assumed her full-time duties at the College the following year.¹⁵ Smith wrote to Chandler that she was pleased to work with him "for one year in your plan to make [William and Mary] of great value to the South."¹⁶

To work with Smith, Chandler hired Richmond public school teacher Thelma Brown, who had lived in Williamsburg before taking a teaching job in Richmond. She had come to the colonial capital in 1911 when her father, Dr. G. W. Brown, later a lecturer in clinical psychology at the College, became the director of Eastern State Hospital. Thelma Brown obtained her bachelor's degree from Randolph-Macon Woman's College and took graduate work at Cornell University and Harvard University. With majors in English and political science, she had applied to the Richmond schools, hoping to teach high school English.¹⁷ As Richmond superintendent, Chandler had hired Brown to teach the seventh grade at Ginter Elementary School. She liked it so much that she

chose to stay there even after Chandler offered her a position teaching English at John Marshall High School.

Chandler hired Brown in 1921 as an instructor in physical education.¹⁸ She stayed for three years, and also taught an extension class in Newport News. A 1922 letter from Chandler to Brown confirmed her “class in Newport News for another term of twelve weeks.”¹⁹ She also taught classes at the School of Social Work and Public Health in Richmond in 1922-1923 as did several other William and Mary professors while Chandler served on its Board of Trustees. The School of Social Work had established an affiliation with the College in 1920 whereby the College would offer extension classes in Richmond for the students at the school who could then use their credits toward a degree at William and Mary. After working through the 1923-1924 year as an instructor, Brown departed. She later married, becoming Thelma Brown Heffelfinger.²⁰

Althea Hunt, had taught English at John Marshall High School while Chandler was superintendent. After earning a master’s degree at Radcliffe College, Chandler hired her to teach English at the College of William and Mary in 1926 as an assistant professor, then promoted her to associate professor in 1931. During this time she also undertook additional graduate work at the University of Michigan and Columbia University. Soon after arriving at William and Mary, Hunt offered a course entitled, “Play Production” that led to the founding of the William and Mary Theater which she directed for thirty years. Long after Chandler’s death, Hunt became a full professor, thereby capping a career at William and Mary that lasted until 1961.²¹

Grace Warren Landrum was one of the most important and best educated women on the College faculty for several decades. Chandler hired her to become the third dean of

women at the College of William and Mary. She was the daughter of Dr. William Warren Landrum, the Baptist minister who had served on the Board of Trustees of Woman's College of Richmond during Chandler's years there. She had been educated at Richmond Female Institute before it became Woman's College, and was among the first Southern women to graduate from Radcliffe College with an undergraduate degree. She earned her master's degree at the University of Chicago in 1915, and later returned to Radcliffe to earn her doctorate in 1921. Her career as an educator began by teaching Latin and English at the Washington Seminary in Atlanta, and then at the Kentucky Home School for Girls in Louisville. After earning her master's degree she joined the faculty as a professor of English at Tennessee College at Murfreesboro in 1916 for two years. After earning her doctorate she returned to Richmond to become an associate professor of English at Westhampton College of the University of Richmond. When she left Richmond, she joined Chandler at the College as dean of women and professor of English. Landrum would remain at the College as the dean and academic leader of women for twenty years, 1927-1947.²²

Although most of the teachers Chandler hired from Richmond came early in his administration, Elizabeth Powell Brockenbrough arrived from Richmond to teach instrumental music in 1934. She received "only the fees from her students," as did Maurice Tyler, the vocal music instructor also from Richmond. Brockenbrough had attended the Richmond Female Seminary where her father, John Henry Powell, had presided, and claimed her most famous pupil to be her younger brother, John Powell, an "internationally famous composer and pianist."²³

These former teachers from the Richmond schools were a remarkable resource for

Chandler as he created the first cadre of women faculty at William and Mary, but they did not entirely supply the demand created by the new emphasis on coeducation. They provided the College with a dean of women, a social director of women, the heads of two departments, an innovator in the establishment of theater, plus needed instructors. Chandler hired the majority of these women from Richmond to work predominantly with the women students on campus. To fill the remaining slots, Chandler turned to the women graduates of the College itself. He could obviously not hire women graduates, however, until they existed.

The College of William and Mary Alumnae

The first women graduated from William and Mary in 1921. Like the former Richmond teachers, they were available and talented, knew something of Chandler's temperament and personal style of administration, and had completed a college curriculum that he knew well. They were also very likely to recognize his authority as president. In all, Chandler hired fifteen William and Mary women graduates. As Table 10 below shows, thirteen alumnae earned their undergraduate degrees at the College, while two, Fannie Gill, and Mary Snead, attended for a year and earned degrees elsewhere. Four of these women enjoyed long careers at the College: Martha Barksdale, Emily Hall, Emily Eleanor Calkins, and Kathleen Alsop. Barksdale and Hall earned both their bachelors and masters degrees at William and Mary during the Chandler years, while Alsop completed her bachelor's degree and did graduate work towards her master's degree at the College. The other eleven women faculty had short careers at William and

Mary. At least three, Fannie Lou Gill, Elizabeth Berger, and Elizabeth Mercer, left for marriage. Mary Omohundro, on the other hand, subsequently took a position in the local secondary school in association with the College's student teaching program. The most obvious aspect of the education of these women, however, is that the great majority did not have masters degrees and none had doctorates. Chandler hired most of these women soon after their graduation from William and Mary. Most joined the faculty when they were quite young and stayed only a short time.

TABLE 10: W&M Alumnae, 1919-1934^a

Name	Bachelor's Degree	Master's Degree	Additional Study	W&M Dept	Joined W&M
Martha Barksdale	W&M, 1921	W&M, 1929	Gymnastic P. Coll, 1926	Physical Education	1921
Lucy Berger	W&M, 1922			Mathematics	1922
Kathleen Alsop	W&M, 1925		W&M, 1927	Secretarial Science	1922
Elizabeth Mercer	W&M, 1924			Mathematics	1924
Emily Hall	W&M, 1922	W&M, 1923	Columbia Univ, '26, '27, '28, '29	English	1924
Eleanor Calkins	W&M, 1927		Columbia College, 1917	Mathematics	1925
Mary Omohundro	W&M, 1927		VA St Teacher Coll, 1919	Biology	1926
Lucy Taylor	W&M, 1925			Biology	1928
Mary Quick	W&M, 1930		Columbia Univ, 1930	Physical Education	1930
Anne Croxton	W&M, 1932			Biology	1932
Alice Trevett	W&M, 1927		Richmond Business Coll, 1930	Secretarial Science	1932
Ethel Childress	W&M, 1924			Mathematics	1932
Lucille Lowry	W&M, 1932			Physical Education	1933
	Attended, no degree				
Fannie Gill	W&M--1919		Columbia Univ, 1921	Home Economics	1919
Mary Snead	W&M--1933		Meredith College, 1933	Fine Arts	1933

^a William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

If Chandler was looking for women with staying power, then Martha Barksdale, Emily Hall, Emily Eleanor Calkins, and Kathleen Alsop were wise choices. Martha Barksdale, for whom Barksdale Field is named, epitomized the type of woman Chandler hoped to find among the alumnae. She taught at the College in the physical education

department from 1921 to 1966. She had been a member of the entering class of the first women students in 1918 and had graduated in 1921. Due to the alphabetical order in the awarding of degrees, Barksdale became the first woman to receive the bachelor of arts degree at the College. An English major, she had planned to teach on the high school level, but instead accepted Chandler's offer of a position teaching physical education due to her numerous athletics activities during her undergraduate years. At that time the College did not offer a major in physical education but did offer PE classes. Barksdale also coached the women's basketball team. In 1929 she earned her master's degree in the William and Mary history department with her thesis, "Amusements in Colonial Virginia" directed by Dr. Richard Morton, history department chairman. In 1931 she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.²⁴

While a student, Barksdale had been a leader on campus. She served as president and vice president of the first Women's Student Government, was a member of the basketball and hockey teams, two literary societies, the honorary Alpha Club which later became Mortar Board, and business manager of the Colonial Echo. She also served as the Assistant Athletic Director from 1920-1921 in her senior year. The 1920 yearbook described "Babs," as "our best all-around," and a student not only good in sports but also "excellent in the class room."²⁵

In August 1919 just before Barksdale began her second year at the College and just after Chandler assumed his duties as president, she received a letter from Chandler. Already in pursuit of enlarging the student body, Chandler wrote to Barksdale and other students to assure them that, as the new president, his desire was to provide the "very best type of educational facilities" at William and Mary. He told Barksdale and other women

students that he hoped to fill the girls' dormitory, Tyler Hall, and asked them to use their "very best endeavors to interest one or two young ladies in attending the College" because he could accommodate fifteen more girls. Beyond "the liberal arts course, home economics, and teachers' course," the College could offer them other subjects including "economics, political science, finance and commerce" to ensure that the young women had access to courses beyond just those that girls might traditionally take.²⁶

Chandler seized upon the talents of Martha Barksdale who became an instructor after her William and Mary graduation. Having no professional training in the field, she began taking courses in physical education during the summers. In 1921 and 1922 she took physical education classes at the Chautauqua School of Education, and in 1923 asked Chandler for an advance on her September pay check to take classes at Harvard. Effective the 1925-1926 academic year, Chandler promoted Barksdale to assistant professor.²⁷ Barksdale obtained both her bachelor's and master's degrees from William and Mary, earned a certificate from the Gymnastic Peoples College in Ollerup, Denmark, and studied at New York University, the University of Virginia, Chautaugua School of Physical Education, and Harvard University to earn her physical education teaching requirements. She also taught at the University of Virginia during the summers of 1924 and 1925.²⁸

Emily Moore Hall, who taught English at the College from 1924 until 1945, also stayed at the College for many years, one of the few long-term faculty who never rose above the rank of instructor, yet held excellent credentials. After graduating in 1922, Hall earned her master's degree at William and Mary in 1923, and began her teaching career as a W&M instructor in 1924.²⁹ While an undergraduate, Hall was a member of the honorary

Alpha Club, a recipient of a Phi Beta Kappa Scholarship,³⁰ and became a member of Phi Beta Kappa.³¹ Hall was the daughter of John Lesslie Hall, a member of the William and Mary English faculty from 1888 until his death in 1928. John Hall, who had taught Chandler, had risen during the Tyler administration to be dean of the faculty, a position he held until his death during Chandler's presidency.³²

The third alumna with a long career at William and Mary, Emily Eleanor Calkins taught mathematics from 1927 until 1961, only the third woman to teach in that department. While Barksdale and Hall had joined the faculty immediately upon graduation, Calkins had established a teaching career in the public schools long before coming to William and Mary, and also brought both teaching and administrative credentials to her faculty post. Born in Sackville, Nova Scotia, and a graduate of both Columbia College and Massey Business College in Jacksonville, Florida, she had taught math and Latin in high schools in Florida and West Virginia, and had become an assistant principal in Florida before earning her bachelor's degree at William and Mary in 1927. She was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Mortar Board. Chandler hired her as an instructor in mathematics. She did graduate work at the University of Chicago and the University of North Carolina during the summers, but did not earn her master's degree from the University of Michigan until 1942. Calkins continued at the rank of instructor until 1944, was then promoted to assistant professor, and stayed at the College until her retirement in 1961.³³ Emily Calkins' brother, Robert D. Calkins, a William and Mary 1925 graduate, later served as vice president of the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation.³⁴

The fourth alumnae with a long career at the College was Kathleen Margaret

Alsop. She remained on staff for 30 years. Alsop expanded her credentials after coming to the College, and Chandler utilized her talents in both teaching and administrative positions. From Raleigh and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Alsop began her career at William and Mary as assistant secretary to the president in 1920. Soon thereafter entering the College as a student, she graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1925. Alsop then worked toward a master's degree in 1927 but did not complete it during the Chandler years. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, she served as secretary to the president from 1921 until 1933. Chandler then promoted her to College Registrar, the position she held until 1949.

Alsop also served as an instructor in shorthand and typing from 1922 until 1931. When she began to offer classes, she was the only instructor to teach these service courses to the students. When he established the secretarial science department in 1931, Chandler promoted her to assistant professor of secretarial science, a position she held until 1950.³⁵ Alsop explained in 1923 that William and Mary students took her course in shorthand and typing "to be able to take their lecture notes in shorthand and transcribe them on the typewriter." Through the 1920s there was no secretarial science major at the College. In 1924 Alsop told one student that, since she could not obtain a commercial teaching certificate at William and Mary, she should consider applying to Simmons College in Boston, which offered a secretarial course.³⁶ In the early 1930s, however, Chandler created the Department of Secretarial Science as part of his program in vocational education.³⁷

Eleven other alumnae faculty had much shorter tenures at the College. Fannie Gill, Lucy Berger, Elizabeth Mercer, Mary Omohundro, Lucy Taylor, Alice Trevett,

Lucille Lowry, Ethel Childress, Anne Croxton, Mary Quick, and Mary Snead all departed within seven years of taking up their teaching duties. They were a talented group. Four of the women, Berger, Mercer, Omohundro, and Taylor, were members of Phi Beta Kappa. While information is not available to explain why all these alumnae left the College, it is clear that Gill, Berger, and Mercer left the College for marriages.³⁸

One of the first W&M alumnae to join the faculty, and the most successful of these eleven, was Fannie Gill of the home economics department (1919-1920 and 1921-1925). She was the only faculty member in that department to attend William and Mary, but was also one of a long line of home economics faculty members at the College who held degrees from Columbia University. The daughter of a medical doctor from Bedford County and Roanoke, Virginia, Gill became an instructor in 1919-1920 while she attended the College. A 1917 graduate of Drexel Institute, she had served as a social service worker for two years in the Pennsylvania public schools, and had taken course work at Columbia University before coming to the College for a year as both an instructor and student.³⁹ Edith Baer, another Drexel graduate and head of the home economics department at that time, offered Gill the position of part-time instructor at Chandler's suggestion. Baer, who had taught at Drexel (1907-1912) before taking a one-year teaching post at Teachers College (1912-1913), had returned to Drexel (1913- 918) and to teach while Gill was there. The College paid her \$750 plus tuition. Gill offered to teach as many as twelve hours of classes and then devote the remainder of her time to her own College studies. Baer reported that Gill taught courses in textiles and sewing, dressmaking, plus a general class in home economics for a total of eight hours of teaching, a half-time position.⁴⁰

After a year, Chandler granted Gill a leave of absence to complete her studies at Teacher's College.⁴¹ In 1921 she received her B. S. degree from the New York school, and returned to William and Mary as an assistant professor of home economics.⁴² When department head Hazel Gallagher left, Chandler promoted Gill to that post for the 1922-1923 academic year.⁴³ After Gill married Dr. Henry M. Stryker of Williamsburg, she taught in 1923 under her married name. An alumnus of the College, Dr. Stryker eventually served as mayor of Williamsburg for twenty years.⁴⁴ Mrs. Stryker's last year as professor of home economics was 1924-1925.⁴⁵

When Chandler hired Lucy Elizabeth Berger as an instructor in the mathematics department (1922-1925), she became the first woman on the faculty in a discipline not dominated by women students or faculty. She was also the first of four alumnae to teach in the mathematics department during the Chandler years. Berger brought good undergraduate academic credentials to her teaching. A native of Drakes Branch, Virginia, Berger entered William and Mary in 1919. As a student, she was a member of the literary society, the women's basketball and hockey teams, the State Student Honor Roll, and Phi Beta Kappa. Chandler hired her to teach mathematics after her 1922 graduation. Berger taught mostly the basic mathematics courses at the College as an instructor for two years.⁴⁶ She then married Earnest Jackson Oglesby, who had reached the rank of professor of mathematics at William and Mary while a doctoral student at the University of Virginia. When Oglesby returned to Charlottesville to become a professor of engineering mathematics, Berger left the College. Chandler granted her a leave of absence in 1924-1925, but she did not return.⁴⁷

Chandler replaced Berger with the second woman to teach mathematics, alumna

Elizabeth Mercer of White Stone, Virginia. Her credentials and career at the College resembled that of Berger. She had entered William and Mary in 1920, one year behind Berger, and had graduated in 1924. During her undergraduate years, she was vice president of the Student Council, a member of the Debate Club and Debate Council, an associate editor of the Colonial Echo yearbook, and vice president of her junior class. Her senior yearbook entry described her as a natural “leader in scholarship and all college activities,” with “plenty of life and fun,” and possessing “capability plus a spirit of determination.” She had served as a Student Assistant in mathematics for two years before she graduated.⁴⁸

While still a student at the College, Mercer had applied to Chandler for a job teaching mathematics in the Williamsburg High School in 1923.⁴⁹ Mercer sought Chandler’s help because the College had a contract with the Williamsburg School Board in order to maintain its student teaching responsibilities. The College contributed funds to the upkeep of the public school and provided the school board with a list of nominations for teachers. In return the public schools would be “open to the students of the Department of Education of the College of William and Mary for observation and student teaching.”⁵⁰ Chandler, therefore, annually submitted a list of nominations for the public school teachers. Instead of submitting Mercer’s name to the public schools, however, Chandler offered her the opportunity to join the faculty as an instructor in the mathematics department in 1924. Rehiring her in 1925, Chandler offered Mercer a salary of \$1100 plus room and board.⁵¹ The majority of the mathematics courses taught by both Lucy Elizabeth Berger and Elizabeth Mercer were on the freshman and sophomore levels.⁵²

In 1927, Mercer married fellow faculty member Reynold Clinton Siersema (physical education department). When Siersema took a job as director of athletics at Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Mercer also left the College,⁵³ but continued to teach mathematics at Juniata College. When her husband returned to Virginia to study medicine at the Medical College of Virginia, she sought a teaching position with the College's Richmond Extension Division.⁵⁴

Few women taught in the sciences, but three alumnae did manage to secure positions in biology. Mary Gladys Omohundro was the first to be hired by Chandler to teach biology. She joined the faculty in 1926, the year before her graduation, and remained through 1928. Raised in Farmers Fork, Richmond County, Virginia, Omohundro had graduated with a teaching certificate from the State Teachers College in Fredericksburg and taught for six years in Virginia public schools before earning her bachelor of science degree from William and Mary in 1927. In 1929 she became a teacher at Williamsburg High School where she was a teacher training supervisor in science for William and Mary student teachers.⁵⁵ After Omohundro left, Lucy Anne Taylor, class of 1925, became the second alumnae to teach in the biology department. Chandler hired her as an instructor from 1928 through 1931. Chandler then hired alumna Anne Croxton to teach biology in 1932, the year she graduated from the College.⁵⁶

Alumnae brought varying levels of teaching experience with them to the College. Several had teaching backgrounds in secondary and post-secondary education. Others joined the faculty after graduation. Mary Quick and Lucille Lowry began their teaching careers when they joined the physical education department soon after their College graduations. Lowry remained at the College for seven years. Alice Trevett and Ethel

Childress, on the other hand, had prior teaching experience in post-secondary education before returning to the College. Alice Trevett had both studied and then become an instructor at the Richmond Business College before joining the William and Mary secretarial science department in 1932 for one year as an instructor. Ethel Childress had previously taught in Richmond at St. Catherine's Girls' School before moving to William and Mary's Norfolk Division in 1930 for a two-year teaching position. Childress left Norfolk to return to the Williamsburg campus as an instructor in the mathematics department. Mary Frances Snead took a different path. She already possessed a diploma in art from Meredith College when she joined the faculty as an instructor in fine arts but also chose to enroll in classes at the College.⁵⁷

These College alumnae formed a deep pool of talent that allowed Chandler to fill out a faculty roster which already included women who had taught for him in Richmond. Chandler sought women who were academic leaders with impressive credentials. He hired a total of eight alumnae women who were members of Phi Beta Kappa: Barksdale, Hall, Alsop, Calkins, Berger, Mercer, Taylor, and Omohundro.⁵⁸ While the majority of William and Mary alumnae did not remain long on the faculty, they were an invaluable source of able women teachers especially during the early Chandler years. Chandler hired women alumnae who proved their academic abilities in seven disciplines: mathematics, biology, secretarial science, English, home economics, physical education, and fine arts. These women were most important in helping Chandler establish women on his faculty. While more of these fields were supported by predominantly women students, several, including mathematics, biology, and English, were sought by both genders.

Women Graduates of Columbia University and Teachers College

College alumnae and former Richmond school teachers had provided effective solutions to Chandler's early problem of how to establish a cadre of reliable women faculty quickly. Yet even while recruiting primarily from Richmond and the College, Chandler had also entered the national job market in search of talent. He recruited women with degrees from several schools, but Radcliffe, the University of Chicago, and especially Teacher's College of Columbia University were the primary suppliers of new teachers at William and Mary.

Chandler knew Columbia University well from his career as an editor in New York. He had lived just a few blocks from that institution between 1904 and 1906 and frequently had business on campus. During Chandler's presidency, more William and Mary women faculty earned degrees from Teachers College than from any other institution, and several other women faculty members who never actually pursued a degree there had taken classes on this New York campus. It might seem strange, for example, that Jessie Coles would find her way from an undergraduate program at the tiny Coe College in Iowa to a faculty job at William and Mary in the Virginia tidewater. Teachers College was the connection between the two; many other women repeated this pattern. In all, 26 women who taught at William and Mary between 1919 and 1934 studied at Columbia University, and most of them studied at Teachers College. Columbia University, then, was the primary link that connected Chandler and William and Mary to aspiring women academics hailing from all over the country.

By the 1920s, Columbia University's Teachers College had become one of the

premier institutions in teacher education, and especially in the education of women. Founded in 1888, Teachers College had merged into Columbia University ten years later. In 1912 the college reorganized its offerings into the School of Education and the School of Practical Arts. It also offered the Child Development Institute to train students in the field of child welfare and parent education. The School of Education offered advanced studies in 18 areas of education plus professional training in teaching and administration from kindergarten through the higher education level. The School of Education began granting masters and doctoral degrees in 1914. The School of Practical Arts offered training in household arts, fine arts education, music education, health and physical education, nursing education, practical science, and industrial arts education.⁵⁹

Columbia University was without question the leader in the United States in the early 1920s in conferring doctorates to women. In 1922 when Chandler was hiring some of his first women faculty, Columbia conferred 21 doctorates to women. The next greatest number of doctorates conferred to women by any university in the nation that year was eight, awarded by Yale University, the University of Chicago, the University of Minnesota, Fordham University, and Bryn Mawr College. Radcliffe College followed with 7 doctorates awarded to women. That year, only 113 women received their doctorates nationally as compared to 770 men. Thus nationally, Columbia University awarded almost 19% of all doctorates granted to women that year.⁶⁰

Twenty women who taught at the College between 1919 and 1934 earned degrees at Teachers College or Columbia University and another six women attended Columbia but did not earn degrees there. Nine of the twenty who took degrees did so in the field of home economics. Of the other eleven, three earned degrees in education, three in library

science, three in fine arts, one in English, and one in physical education. Although many women joined the William and Mary faculty as instructors, Chandler employed most of the Columbia women at higher ranks. As Table 11 below shows, eight of the twenty women earned only their bachelors degrees from Columbia University. Although none of these eight earned masters degrees during the Chandler administration, only one was hired as an instructor. The others joined the William and Mary faculty as assistant professors or professors on the strength of Columbia baccalaureates. The first three full professors in home economics, Edith Baer, Hazel Gallagher, and Fannie Gill, all held undergraduate degrees from Teachers College. Although Martha Holladay joined the home economics faculty as an instructor, three others joined the faculty as assistant professors: Agnes Melgaard in fine arts, and Ruth Budd and Flossie Foster, both graduates of Columbia University's School of Library Science. Nellie Cunningham came to the College as a lecturer in physical education while serving as Director of the Department of Public Health Nursing at the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health.⁶¹

Five other women faculty earned both their bachelors and masters degrees at Teachers College. Chandler obviously valued women with two degrees from the New York school because he saw to it that all five reached the ranks of associate professor or professor during their stays at William and Mary. Jean Stewart joined the William and Mary faculty as an associate professor in home economics, and Leone Reaves (later Leone Spicer), headed the William and Mary home economics department as a professor for several years before she moved to Charlottesville. Chandler hired Eleanor Craighill as an assistant professor to teach fine arts, then promoted her to associate professor two

years later. Lydia Sherritt held the rank of associate professor of education during her only two years at William and Mary. After Catherine Pierce earned her degrees at Columbia's School of Library Science, she joined William and Mary as a professor of library science.⁶²

TABLE 11: Women Faculty Attending Columbia University ^a

Name	Bachelor's Degree	Master's Degree	Doctorate	Additional Study	Joined W&M
Edith Baer	Columbia U, 1913				Home Ec, 1918
Fannie Gill	Columbia U, 1921				Home Ec, 1919
Hazel Gallagher	Columbia U, 1919				Home Ec, 1920
Nellie Cunningham	Columbia U, 1921				PE, 1922
Martha Holladay	Columbia U, 1925				Home Ec, 1925
Agnes Melgaard	Columbia U, 1928				Fine Arts, 1929
Flossie Foster	Columbia U, 1931				Library Sc, 1931
Ruth Budd	Columbia U, 1930				Library Sc, 1932
Leone Reaves	Columbia U, 1924	Columbia U, 1925			Home Ec, 1925
Jean Stewart	Columbia U, 1911	Columbia U, 1921			Home Ec, 1928
Eleanor Craighill	Columbia U, 1923	Columbia U, 1926			Fine Arts, 1928
Lydia Sherritt	Columbia U, 1922	Columbia U, 1923			Education, 1928
Catherine Pierce	Columbia U, 1927	Columbia U, 1931			Library Sc, 1931
Jessie Coles	Iowa State Coll, 1915	Columbia U, 1922			Home Ec, 1922
Annie Powell	Sweet Briar Coll, 1910	Columbia U, 1913			English, 1925
Lillian Cummings	Univ Arizona, 1923	Columbia U, 1924			Home Ec, 1926
Adelaide Johnson	NC Coll Women, 1926	Columbia U, 1927			Fine Arts, 1927
Alma Wilkin	Kansas St Ag Coll, 1920	Columbia U, 1928			Home Ec, 1928
Helen Weeks	Univ California, 1906	Columbia U, 1923	Columbia U, 1931		Education, 1923
Inga Helseth	Fla St Col Women, 1914	Fla St Col Women, 1920	Columbia U, 1931		Education, 1930
Bessie Taylor				Columbia U.	English, 1919
Gertrude Carey				Columbia U, 1917	Fine Arts, 1923
Emily Hall	Coll W&M, 1922	Coll W&M, 1923		Columbia U, 1926-29	English, 1924
Kathleen Hipp	Mankato St Normal, 1900			Columbia U, 1926	Music, 1925
Mary Quick	Coll W&M, 1930			Columbia U, 1930	PE, 1930
Sara Jane Romes	Univ Iowa, 1931			Columbia U, 1932	Sec. Sc, 1933

^a William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

Chandler also hired five women with bachelor's degrees from institutions other than Columbia, but who had earned master's degrees from Teachers College. Most held ranks of assistant professor or above, and three of the five taught home economics. Jessie Coles taught home economics courses for two years as an assistant professor. Alma Wilkin joined the home economics faculty as an instructor, but after one year, Chandler promoted her to assistant professor. On the other hand, Lillian Cummings, who had taught at Teachers College, rose from associate professor of home economics to professor and department head in 1928. Annie Marion Powell, the second dean of women at William and Mary, joined the English faculty as a full professor. Adelaide Brooks Johnson joined the faculty as an instructor in fine arts, stayed only one year, and became the only woman in this group not to receive a promotion.

Two women faculty with doctorates took their degrees in education at Teachers College. Helen Foss Weeks first taught at William and Mary as an associate professor. After she earned her doctorate in educational research at the New York college, Chandler immediately promoted her to professor. Inga Olga Helseth also earned her doctorate at Teachers College in the same field as Weeks. After serving as a professor of education at her alma mater, Florida State College for Women, and as an associate professor at Ball State Teachers College, Helseth joined the William and Mary faculty as a full professor in 1930.⁶³

Chandler hired only three alumnae of Teachers College, at the instructor level (Holladay, Johnson, Wilkin). He hired six at the assistant professor rank (Gill, Melgaard, Foster, Budd, Coles, and Craighill); four at the associate level (Stewart, Sherritt, Cummings, Weeks); and six at the full professor rank (Baer, Gallagher, Reaves, Pierce,

Powell, Helseth). Chandler favored the women of Columbia over many other women faculty members. Six other William and Mary women faculty also studied at Columbia in art, English, music, physical education, or secretarial science.⁶⁴ In all, 26 of the 65 women faculty who taught during the Chandler presidency attended Columbia University, and especially its Teachers College. Chandler hired 25 of the 26. Edith Baer was already on the faculty when Chandler became president.

Women from the University of Chicago and Radcliffe College

President Chandler also hired women faculty from other institutions of higher learning famous for their outstanding education of women. Of particular note, he employed women with degrees from the University of Chicago and Radcliffe College. After Teachers College and the College of William and Mary, these institutions provided the next greatest numbers of female faculty during the Chandler years.

The University of Chicago was renowned for its education of women in the early twentieth century. When the university opened in 1892, President William Rainey Harper recruited women as both undergraduate and graduate students before later trying to put curbs on the number of women students.⁶⁵ During Chandler's tenure as president, four women on the William and Mary faculty earned undergraduate or graduate degrees at the University of Chicago and two others took at least some graduate courses at the Chicago school. Three of the four earned their master's degrees from Chicago. Beulah Russell, who held a bachelor's degree from Randolph Macon Women's College, earned her master's degree at Chicago in mathematics in 1919, then enjoyed a 15-year teaching

career at the College as an associate professor of mathematics (1925-1940). Grace Warren Landrum, who had a 20-year career as the third dean of women (1927-1947), earned her master's degree in English from Chicago in 1915 after receiving her bachelor's degree from Radcliffe College. After taking her bachelor's degree from Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, Lois Hatcher studied at Scarritt Bible Training School in Nashville, Tennessee before earning a master's degree from the Divinity School at the University of Chicago in 1923. She taught in the Department of Biblical Literature and Religious Education at the College for two years (1923-1925).⁶⁶ After earning her bachelor's degree from Chicago in 1920, Francesca Shotwell taught home economics the following year at William and Mary. Jean Stewart, who joined the home economics faculty in 1928, took both a bachelor's and a master's degree at Teachers College, and did additional graduate work at the University of Chicago in 1927-1928, just before Chandler hired her as an associate professor. Lydia Sherritt, with a master's degree at Teachers College, also did additional graduate work at Chicago. Chandler also hired her as an associate professor in education (1928-1930).⁶⁷

President Chandler also recruited women with degrees from Radcliffe College. Three of the early women faculty members held doctorates from Radcliffe College. Another earned her master's degree there. Chartered in 1894, Radcliffe had issued its first doctorate to women in 1902. These women students actually took their course work from Harvard professors but were prevented from taking their degrees at Harvard.⁶⁸

President Tyler hired Caroline Tupper to be the first dean of women in 1918. Tupper earned all three of her degrees from Radcliffe. After taking her bachelor's degree in 1909 and her master's degree the following year, she completed her doctorate in

English in 1917 and joined the William and Mary faculty the following year. Tupper left the College in 1920.⁶⁹ The third dean of women, Grace Landrum, also earned her bachelor's degree at Radcliffe (1898) before taking her master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1915. She then returned to Radcliffe for her doctorate in English literature in 1921. After a stint on the faculty of Tennessee College, she taught in Richmond at Westhampton College from 1921 until 1927, when Chandler hired her as dean.⁷⁰ Landrum had a personal tie to Harvard and Radcliffe as a direct descendant of Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard, through her mother, Ida Dunster Landrum.⁷¹ She brought all the necessary components Chandler sought: degrees from two major institutions, a doctoral degree, and teaching experience. That the experience came from the Richmond college with which he enjoyed a long association was undoubtedly a bonus.

Kathleen Eveleth Bruce, the first and only woman Chandler hired to teach in the history department, earned her three degrees from Radcliffe College: bachelor's degree in 1918, master's degree in 1919, and doctorate in 1924. She served on the faculty at Wheaton College before Chandler hired her as a professor in 1926. Bruce was one of only a few women that Chandler hired at the professor level outside of the home economics department. She taught at the College from 1926 until 1928, at which time Chandler began to grant her unpaid leaves for research. As mentioned earlier, Bruce was a scholar who attracted national grants. After receiving two major research grants, she officially left the College in 1931, and later taught at Hollins College, Sophie Newcomb College, and Westhampton College.⁷²

Althea Hunt, whom Chandler hired to teach English in 1926, combined two

elements of his patterns for hiring women faculty. After receiving her bachelor's degree at Allegheny College in Pennsylvania, she taught in the public schools in Richmond, Virginia from 1916-1923 while Chandler was superintendent. She then earned her master's degree at Radcliffe College in 1924. Chandler wrote a letter of recommendation for Hunt to Radcliffe. He described her as a "most successful teacher" at John Marshall High School while he was superintendent of schools, and "a most excellent teacher of English." After earning the master's degree, Hunt returned to the Richmond school system for two years before Chandler brought her to the College. Later, she did additional graduate work at Columbia University and the University of Michigan. Chandler hired her as an assistant professor of English in 1926, then promoted her to associate professor in 1931 even though she did not have a doctorate.⁷³

Columbia University, the University of Chicago, and Radcliffe College were among the foremost institutions in the nation in offering both undergraduate and graduate degrees to women. Alumnae of these three institutions became the backbone of the cadre of women faculty at William and Mary during the Chandler years. Many of these women rose to positions of associate and full professors. Several had long careers which extended far beyond the Chandler administration. Of the Columbia graduates, Helen Foss Weeks, who rose to be a professor of education during the Chandler administration, held that position until her retirement in 1948, serving a total of 25 years at the College. Lillian Cummings, who became a professor of home economics during the Chandler years, continued in that post until her retirement in 1948, serving 22 years on the Williamsburg campus. Inga Olla Helseth, hired as a professor of education in 1930, remained at the College in that post for 21 years, retiring in 1951.⁷⁴ Of the Chicago and Radcliffe

graduates, Beulah Russell remained an associate professor of mathematics for 15 years until her death in 1940. Grace Warren Landrum retired as dean of women and professor of English after a 20-year tenure in 1947, and Althea Hunt rose from an assistant professor of English to a professor of fine arts by her retirement in 1961. She served an amazingly long 35 year tenure at William and Mary.⁷⁵ Their numbers were modest, but their significance as being among the founders of the female faculty in Williamsburg was great.

College Teaching Experience

At about the same time that Chandler began recruiting the women from Richmond, hiring the first William and Mary graduates, and employing women from premier institutions, he also began to seek women with college level teaching experience. The first women with such teaching credentials averaged 2-4 years of college teaching experience before coming to William and Mary. For example, he hired Jessie Coles as an assistant professor of home economics in 1922. She was one of the first women he employed with a graduate degree. She held two bachelors' degrees, from Iowa State College and Coe College, and a master's degree from Columbia University. Coles had taught on the secondary level before teaching for four years as a professor of home economics at two colleges, Buena Vista College in Storm Lake, Iowa, and Park College in Parkville, Missouri. Similarly, Nellie Cunningham also came with post-secondary teaching experience. She joined the faculty as a lecturer in physical education, also in 1922, while also serving as Director of the Department of Public Health Nursing in the

Richmond School of Social Work. She too brought four years of teaching and supervisory experience to her work at the College.⁷⁶ Gertrude Carey had been an instructor of art at State Teachers College in Minnesota for two years in addition to her sixteen years of public school teaching before joining the College faculty. Lois Hatcher had served briefly as director of religious education at Oklahoma State Normal College prior to her 1923 arrival in Williamsburg, and Bess Hodges had taught as an instructor in home economics at State Agricultural College in Arkansas before she moved to William and Mary in 1924.⁷⁷

By the mid 1920s Chandler was actively recruiting and employing women with extensive college teaching credentials. While several of the women whom he hired from the mid 1920s until the end of his presidency had only a few years of college teaching experience, others had amassed long careers before joining the College faculty. Annie Powell, who joined the faculty in 1925 as the second dean of women and a professor in the English department, had been an instructor in English for six years at Sweet Briar College and Farmville Normal School for Women before becoming head of the English department at Sullins College two years. Powell took a rather unusual career step when she left college teaching to serve for five years as principal of Chatham Hall, a posh prep school for girls in south central Virginia. Kathleen Bruce, on the other hand, taught only at colleges. She had been an associate professor of history and government at Wheaton College in Massachusetts for two years before joining the history department faculty at the College. Leone Reaves had taught home economics at East Carolina Teachers College, while Lillian Cummings had also been an instructor in home economics at Columbia's Teachers College for three years before coming to Williamsburg. Grace

Landrum, the third dean of women and also a professor of English, had a long teaching career prior to coming to William and Mary. She had previously served for eight years as a professor of English at both Tennessee College and Westhampton College, plus had twelve years of seminary and private school teaching prior to her college teaching experience. Beulah Russell also had a long career before joining the William and Mary faculty. After beginning as an instructor at Lafayette College, she became a professor of mathematics at Grenada College, teaching six years at those schools before teaching mathematics for sixteen years as an adjunct professor at Randolph Macon Woman's College from 1909 to 1925.⁷⁸ Powell, Landrum, and Russell had long college teaching careers before coming to William and Mary. While Bruce and Cummings had less time in a college classroom, all of these women had experience in conducting college classes.

Chandler's desire for recruits with teaching experience was equally pronounced near the end of the decade. Before joining the William and Mary home economics department in 1928, Jean Stewart had eleven years of teaching experience prior to coming to Williamsburg. She had served as head of the division of foods in the home economics departments at both Rockford College and the University of Nebraska, and then associate professor of home economics at the Texas College of Industrial Arts. Before Lydia Sherritt joined the College's education department also in 1928, she held the rather unusual post of head of the Department of Education at the Union Normal School for Young Women in China for five years before becoming an assistant professor of Education at Central State Teachers College in Michigan the year before she came to Williamsburg. Eleanor Craighill had served as director of art at Clarion State Normal School for three years prior to joining the William and Mary faculty in 1928. Inga Helseth

had a long teaching career before joining the College faculty. She had twelve years of college teaching experience as a professor of education at Florida State College for Women and associate professor of education at Ball State Teachers College before coming to Williamsburg in 1930. Plus she had twelve years of teaching and supervisory experience in the public schools prior to beginning her college teaching career.⁷⁹

All of these women brought college teaching experience to their positions at the College. These women not only knew their academic disciplines, they also knew the daily routines of lectures, syllabi, and the demands of working with college students. This kind of knowledge would make these women valuable to Chandler.

Unusual Arrangements in Religion Department

One of the more unusual arrangements that Chandler made which increased the size of his women faculty contingent was the staffing of the Department of Biblical Literature and Religious Education. Although the College was a public school, the separation of church and state was seemingly not an issue at this time. Chandler made special arrangements with the Methodist Episcopal Church South to hire four women in succession upon the recommendation of the Methodists and for whom the church provided a salary. The Methodist Church even provided dormitory space for women students at very little cost to the school. For a college president beset with budget problems, this arrangement must have been attractive. While possibly illegal by today's standards, cooperation between churches and public colleges was not unknown during the first three decades of the twentieth century. During this time, the Methodist Episcopal

Church, South built dormitories and provided support for the teaching of Bible at several state colleges and universities in Texas, Oklahoma, and at the University of Missouri. The Methodist missionary society provided an instructor in Bible to teach the girls in the dormitory, and the schools issued full college credit for the courses. The demand for these Bible teachers at state colleges increased in the 1920s.⁸⁰

Methodist women faculty began their work at the College of William and Mary in 1923 when Chandler made arrangements to bring Lois Hatcher to campus to teach Bible. Three other women arrived during the Chandler administration: Olive Downing, Zoe Anna Davis, and Lena Noll. In 1926 the Methodist Episcopal Virginia Conference established Brown Hall for freshman girls next to the new Methodist Church in Williamsburg. The Methodist Board of Missions provided dormitories on college campuses like William and Mary where there were more Methodist students in state institutions than in their own Methodist institutions.⁸¹

In 1923 Chandler received a letter from the presiding elder of the Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was assigning a woman to be assistant to the Methodist minister in Williamsburg. The elder, Henry Pfeiffer, explained that Lois Hatcher was a graduate of Wesleyan Female College, Scarritt College, and the University of Chicago, who had specialized in religious education. Asking if the College would provide her with a classroom, the elder explained that the Woman's Department of the Methodist Episcopal Church would pay her salary. He also suggested that his organization might be able to provide a dormitory if there were some financial support from private donations and from the Williamsburg community. Further, he explained that the dormitory would be the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Chandler replied

that if Hatcher could provide a “satisfactory” course, the College would attach three quarter-hours of academic credit. Chandler then added that he thought he could help the elder get a “free site for a women’s dormitory.” The dormitory would be a welcome addition to the William and Mary housing base, for the College had turned away more than three hundred potential women students the year before.⁸² Hatcher joined the faculty in 1923. The College catalogue listed seven religion courses and religious education courses for the three academic quarters of 1923-1924. Hatcher taught courses in Bible literature on the 200 and 400 level as well as courses in religious education with the cost paid by the Methodist Church, South.⁸³

The College continued its association with the Methodist Church after Hatcher left in 1925. Chandler hired Olive Downing, a Methodist teacher with a master’s degree from Boston University, as an instructor. Although there is little preserved correspondence between them, in one short note Downing noted her continuing connection with the Methodists as she told Chandler that she would attend the annual meeting of the Woman’s Council of the Methodist Church, South to be held in Raleigh, North Carolina. She taught at the College for three years.⁸⁴ The Methodists did provide the dormitory they had promised while Downing was still on campus. The Flat Hat reported in 1926 that a new dormitory for girls, Brown Hall, would open to accommodate fourteen students. While maintaining her professional position at the College, Downing, the “Methodist Young People’s worker,” would also serve as matron for Brown Hall which was built from private funds to honor a prominent Methodist. The local Methodist Church would soon open across from the College, and the Methodists planned to build a larger brick dormitory to house about 100 girls adjacent to the church and the campus.

The dormitory would not be reserved exclusively Methodists.⁸⁵ This larger, brick building, which also took the name of Brown Hall, still serves as a William and Mary dormitory today.

Chandler hired another Methodist teacher, Zoe Anna Davis, to replace Downing in 1928 and serve as an instructor. In 1934, Davis resigned to be nearer to her family. Chandler corresponded with the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Conference, South to review the arrangements whereby the Methodist Conference would continue to supply him with teachers. Chandler explained to the Board of Missions that he was sorry to lose Davis and indicated that he would "be glad to have the Committee recommend another Bible teacher" to replace her. Reminding the association that "Miss Davis had the rank of a faculty member at the College and is in every way qualified to have this rank," he told the board that it was necessary that "the person you select to fill her place will be as well qualified."⁸⁶ The Church sent Lena Noll to replace Davis. Noll held a bachelor's degree from the University of Missouri and a master's degree from Scarritt College in Nashville. Scarritt was "fully accredited with Peabody College for Teachers." The Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church had founded Scarritt College originally as its Scarritt Bible and Training School. Noll had been teaching for six years at the Oklahoma State Teachers College. The church board requested that Noll receive the "rank of faculty member." Kathleen Alsop, Secretary to the President, replied in Chandler's absence that Noll would "be considered a full member of our faculty."⁸⁷

Chandler continued this arrangement with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South to the end of his administration. The agreement provided him with a succession of well-

educated and experienced women faculty members for the College's religion department, and also provided dormitory space for the College women students.

The Hiring Process

Chandler's correspondence with college placement centers, teacher placement agencies, and applicants, provides an in-depth look at the actual recruitment process that brought the first cadre of women faculty to William and Mary. In the early part of the century, public postings and clearing housings for job information were virtually unknown. The modern standard in that regard, The Chronicle of Higher Education, did not even begin publication until 1966.⁸⁸ In general, there were two patterns by which faculty found their way into jobs. They could send unsolicited letters of inquiry with their credentials to colleges and universities in hopes that there might be an appropriate opening on the other end, or secondarily, that the person who received their material would retain it and perhaps contact them if a position came open in the future. In the other pattern, the flow reversed. Colleges and universities in need of a faculty member contacted teacher placement agencies, the placement offices at colleges and universities, or simply used personal contacts to obtain recommendations. In this way, a president such as Chandler could create a pool of potential applicants who had already passed at least the first level of scrutiny. Chandler's correspondence shows his use of both general patterns, albeit with variations on the themes.

Unsolicited Inquiries

President Chandler dealt with a steady stream of applicants seeking faculty positions. Some were in search of their first jobs, while others were looking for advancement. Chandler routinely saved their letters. When a position opened, he wrote to them to ascertain whether they were still available. He wrote to both men and women; this correspondence betrays no preference for either gender. The following are examples of unsolicited inquiries, first from women, followed by inquiries from men regarding possible vacancies in the English department. Recruitment correspondence in the William and Mary College Archives is extensive, but these letters are entirely representative.

In the spring of 1923, Chandler received inquiries from numerous candidates in search of a position in the College's English department. He received these inquiries from the candidates themselves as well as from parents of some potential applicants. Unfortunately there were no vacancies that spring. When a vacancy did open in August, Chandler returned to these letters to quickly try to secure an applicant for the position.

Several women, including Cornelia Cooper, Elizabeth Moseley, Carmen Rogers, Emma Dintruff, and Pearl Willoughby, sent unsolicited letters to Chandler in 1923, all searching for an English teaching post. Neither Cornelia Cooper, Elizabeth Moseley, nor Carmen Rogers held doctoral degrees. They are representative of many inquiries that Chandler often received from women. Cooper, who had a master's degree from Columbia University, had taught under Chandler's supervision while he was superintendent of schools in Richmond. She contacted Chandler in the spring, hoping to obtain a teaching post at William and Mary. Chandler replied to her in June that, although he remembered

her well, he did not have a vacancy. He added, "I shall keep you in mind for another year, but our faculty is filled at this time."⁸⁹ Elizabeth Moseley also wrote to Chandler that spring to ask if there were vacancies in the English department. Moseley had taught in two colleges in North Carolina, and had done some graduate work at Columbia University and Oxford University.⁹⁰ Carmen Rogers sent a similar letter. Hoping for an English vacancy, she also contacted Chandler that spring. She was completing her master's degree at Cornell University and had previously taught at Meredith College in Raleigh, North Carolina.⁹¹

When a vacancy in the English department opened unexpectedly in mid-August, Chandler sent out letters to Cornelia Cooper, Elizabeth Moseley, and Carmen Rogers as well as other applicants to ask if they were still interested in the English position. He asked "the lowest salary" Cooper would accept. She had already accepted another position.⁹² Chandler contacted Moseley just before he went on vacation to see if she was interested in the vacancy. While Chandler was away, his secretary, Kathleen Alsop, contacted Moseley in hopes that Moseley could wait on a decision until Chandler returned to campus. Moseley, however, could wait no longer and accepted another teaching post.⁹³ At the same time that he was contacting Cooper and Moseley, Chandler also wrote to Rogers to ascertain the lowest salary she would accept. She also replied, however, that she had already accepted a position, again at Meredith College.⁹⁴

Although the majority of women who wrote to Chandler held master's degrees, several had done additional graduate work. Often, however, their timing was unfortunate. Emma Dintruff, for example, working on her doctorate at Teachers College, did not write until the last day of August. Chandler responded that he had already filled the English

position she sought. Pearl Willoughby, with a doctorate from the University of Virginia, was the only woman with a terminal degree to send an unsolicited inquiry to seek an English position in 1923. She was a month too late in her correspondence. Although she might have been a strong candidate, by the time her October letter reached Chandler, he replied that he had filled the slot.⁹⁵

While most unsolicited letters for English positions in 1923 came directly from applicants, Chandler received several inquiries from parents seeking teaching positions for their sons or daughters. Sometimes fathers interceded, using their connections to try to help their children find jobs. Although some parents wrote for sons, more fathers wrote to Chandler for their daughters. The case of Eunice Crabtree, who was completing her master's degree at George Washington University, is a good example. She was the daughter of J. W. Crabtree, Secretary of the National Education Association, of which Chandler was a member and had held office. Her father asked Chandler in April 1923 if there might be a vacancy in the English department. When Chandler learned in late summer that he needed another faculty member in that department, he followed up on the inquiry. While Chandler was on vacation, Kathleen Alsop, as secretary to the president, asked the father if Eunice Crabtree would consider \$1,600 for the year. Eunice replied just as Cooper, Moseley, and Rogers had. Eunice had already secured a job at Mankato State Teachers College in Minnesota.⁹⁶

Another parent, the father of a young man, also sought Chandler's help. In August 1923 Chandler corresponded with the father of Richmond Bond who was to receive his master's degree that year from Harvard and planned to continue for the doctorate. Bond's father, Albert Bond, was editorial secretary of the Education Board of the Southern

Baptist Convention. When the post opened in August, Chandler asked what would be the “lowest salary he would accept.” Albert Bond, however, had by this time accepted a teaching position at Hollins College.⁹⁷

A different set of inquiries came directly from Harvard men seeking teaching jobs. Applicants with Harvard doctorates contacted Chandler directly. When Dr. Sanford Salyer and Dr. Albert Halley corresponded with Chandler, the president was interested in hiring them. Salyer was head of the English department at Sweet Briar College. After contacting Chandler in 1922, he again pursued the possibility of a vacancy in English in 1923 as well as the possibility of a summer school vacancy. Salyer had decided to leave Sweet Briar and was looking for a permanent job.⁹⁸ Another professor with a Harvard doctorate also inquired in the spring of 1923. Although Chandler had told other applicants there were no vacancies, he apparently wanted to pursue this professor if the price was right. Dr. Albert Robert Halley held both a medical degree and a Harvard doctorate in English. Chandler asked Halley what would be the lowest salary he would consider to come to William and Mary. Halley replied \$3,000. Chandler could not afford Halley at that price, and replied that he could not make such an offer.⁹⁹

When the English vacancy appeared in August, Chandler was unsuccessful in securing either Salyer or Halley. Chandler apparently asked Salyer if he wanted the position. Salyer, however, had already accepted a position as head of the English department at Agnes Scott College.¹⁰⁰ Chandler also tried unsuccessfully to contact Halley in mid-August about this new vacancy.¹⁰¹ When Chandler finally did hire for the vacancy, he found applicants by a different means which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Two comparisons of later correspondence continue to demonstrate similar patterns in job applications. At one end of the spectrum were women whose parents tried to secure jobs for them through the use of networking influences. At the other end of the application spectrum were men with terminal degrees and teaching experience whom Chandler could not afford. In 1925, Baptist minister, C. J. D. Parker, inquired about a possible position in English for his daughter who was working on her master's degree at Columbia University and held a bachelor's degree from Westhampton College in Richmond. Rev. Parker drew upon some special references she had in hopes of securing a position for his daughter. Her references included Chandler's colleagues, President Frederick Boatwright of Richmond College and Dean May Keller of Westhampton College. Parker expressed hopes that his daughter could find a college position not far from her home. Chandler politely replied that he had no vacancy but would contact the father if one became available. There was no further correspondence. In stark contrast, Dr Clark Slover, a full professor at the University of Texas, inquired about a position on Chandler's English faculty in 1929. He possessed a master's degree from Harvard and a doctorate from the University of Chicago. Chandler desperately tried to secure Slover, but could not afford him.¹⁰² Often Chandler could not afford the faculty that he desired most. Chandler's correspondence with Salyer, Halley, and Slover indicates his preference for Harvard men with doctorates and strong teaching credentials. If Harvard men were not available, he would consider other candidates, both men and women. Always, however, he posed the same question. What was the lowest salary a prospective faculty member would accept? In many instances, neither men nor women were willing to accept the low salaries Chandler offered.

Many men and women who sent unsolicited inquiries presented excellent qualifications, but it was the timing of the vacancies that often created the difficulties. The foregoing examples show a remarkable pattern of futility on the parts of both the applicants and Chandler. Almost routinely, Chandler could not respond positively when the letters arrived. Although he retained the inquiries, by the time an appropriate faculty slot opened, the applicants had often accepted other jobs or required salaries that William and Mary could not afford. It was much more effective, therefore, from Chandler's perspective, to go to teacher placement agencies or the placement offices of major training grounds for college faculty such as Teacher's College or Harvard. In that way, he could easily make known his requirements and his timetable. On occasion, he also used the less systematic method of personal contacts within the profession to identify likely faculty members.

Teacher Agencies

Chandler used teacher placement agencies when he could anticipate a vacancy well ahead of a College term. He kept a list of independent teacher agencies with specific contacts at each. The five agencies, plus two branches, on his list were: the National Teachers' Agency with offices in both Chicago, Illinois and Washington, D. C.; the Giles Teachers' Agency in Birmingham, Alabama; the Interstate Teachers' Agency in New Orleans, Louisiana; the Southern Teachers' Agency with offices in Columbia, South Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia; and the Albert Teachers' Agency in New York City, New York.¹⁰³ Chandler would also rely heavily on teacher placement agencies at colleges

and universities, including the Bureau of Educational Placement at Teachers College and the Harvard Appointments Office to be discussed later in this chapter.

Teacher placement agencies provided one way to advertise vacancies quickly. Chandler could contact the Albert Teachers' Agency, for example, to advertise openings to potential applicants in New York. The agency then notified possible candidates and sent their placement files to Chandler to support their applications. In one case, that of Dr. Sandford Salyer, the candidate's lack of efficiency may have cost him a consideration. Salyer had failed to have his recommendations on file at the agency. Salyer, the Harvard professor at Sweet Briar College, had written to Chandler in 1922 because he had heard through the agency that there would be a vacancy in the English department for the following year. Although some teachers put letters of recommendation on file with the agency, Salyer had not. He offered to request Harvard deans and professors to write letters of recommendation for him if a vacancy existed. Chandler replied, however, that the position had already been filled.¹⁰⁴

Willard Bonner offered a similar case in the use of an agency. In this case, Chandler had filled one slot, and tried to get Bonner to accept another. Bonner wrote to Chandler in 1922 that the Fisk Teachers Agency in Chicago had informed him of a vacancy in the English department at William and Mary teaching Freshman English. Bonner, with a master's degree in English from Stanford University, was currently teaching Freshman English at Michigan Agricultural College. He asked the agency to send the College the letters of recommendation he had on file with them. Although he sent his initial letter to Dean Kramer Hoke, it was President Chandler who answered his inquiry. Chandler did not offer him an English position, but instead asked if he could

teach public speaking. Chandler also asked Bonner for religious information. In the context of his own religious interests and his willingness to employ faculty provided by the Methodist Episcopal Church for the William and Mary religion department, Chandler apparently did not see this as an unusual request. He asked Bonner about his church membership and whether he was active in church work. Bonner replied that he was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and had been active in church work. More importantly, he told Chandler that he was not qualified to teach public speaking.¹⁰⁵ Other applicants using the Fisk agency to inquire about English positions in 1922 included L. J. Davidson, who would soon receive his doctorate from the University of Michigan, and J. O. Faulkner, superintendent of schools in Mooresville, North Carolina. None of the three men, however, joined the faculty.¹⁰⁶ Teacher placement agencies provided a useful way for Chandler to advertise positions available and to make contacts with potential faculty members.

Chandler's Hiring Patterns: Two Case Studies

President Chandler's first two priorities in the selection of faculty were that they have degrees from leading institutions, and present good teaching experience. His third criteria--and often the deciding factor--was cost. In order to accomplish these goals, he needed help. Case studies from his recruitment for home economics and English shed considerable light on his use of university placement offices to find teachers he could afford and who filled his expectations.

First Case Study: Home Economics Department

The growth of home economics at the College mirrored remarkable gains by this discipline nationwide in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Public schools were offering more courses in this area, and states were beginning to establish state supervisors of home economics instruction. World War I led to an increased emphasis on food preservation and a call for better instruction in sewing and knitting. Home economics, therefore, began to receive substantial support from the federal government. The federal Smith-Hughes Act, signed into law in February 1917, made federal money available not only to assist in the creation and maintenance of vocational schools in home economics, agriculture, and industry, but also to provide financial support for the training of teachers for these vocational schools. Teachers College became one of the leaders in the establishment of practice houses where students could daily put into action their home economics instruction. Teachers College developed new graduate courses during the war to train students in “teaching vocational homemaking,” and in “training for home demonstration agents in rural communities.” Teachers College became one of the leading institutions in the nation in producing graduates to lead the home economics movement.¹⁰⁷

Chandler therefore sought candidates for the College’s home economics department from the source of the nation’s leading educators in this area. To accomplish his goal, he enlisted and cultivated a relationship with the staff of the Bureau of Placement at Teachers College. Chandler hired a succession of Teachers College graduates for the home economics department: Edith Baer, Hazel Gallagher, Fannie Gill,

and Jessie Coles. After Baer left in 1920, Chandler replaced her with Gallagher who stayed for two years. Chandler then promoted Fannie Lou Gill from assistant professor to professor of Home Economics to head the department. To assist her, Chandler hired Jessie Coles.

Coles first heard of a position at the College through the Bureau of Educational Placement at Teachers College where she was completing her master's degree. Although she first applied for a 1922 summer position at William and Mary, Chandler hired her that same spring for a full time post. When Chandler hired Coles, he offered her the position of assistant professor at a salary of \$2,200 with the promise of a salary increase the following year if she succeeded in her work. He also hired Coles to teach in his 1922 summer school, June 16-September 1. He agreed to pay her \$500 plus housing. Chandler expected her to teach clothing and millinery, but added that she might also have to teach foods and home management during the academic year.¹⁰⁸

After conferring with Isabel L. Pratt, the placement officer at the Bureau of Educational Service at Teachers College, Coles asked Chandler to be released from their arrangements so that she would not teach during the first summer school session and instead could take a job in a millinery shop to learn more about that trade. Chandler agreed to release her from the first summer session, but cut her summer salary in half.¹⁰⁹ Coles then taught home economics as an assistant professor for the next two years.

When Coles decided to leave, Chandler contacted Teachers College again to fill the position. Chandler visited the New York campus in March 1924 and conferred with the staff at the Teachers College placement office. Isabel Pratt and her staff provided Chandler with much assistance in his search for faculty. She alerted possible applicants

about the two openings, including the position of department head. Chandler wanted women with expertise in cooking and nutrition, and textiles and clothing. Pratt apparently worked industriously to contact several women of Teachers College, both current students and alumnae, about the position. Pratt was an important ally for Chandler, supplying a steady stream of well-qualified applicants. Pratt strongly suggested four women to fill the positions: Lucy Kimball, Louise Jordan, or Alice Zollman to fill Jessie Cole's position, and Edith Ranney or a Miss Stiebeling to fill the department head position that Fannie Gill might be vacating after her marriage to Dr. Stryker.¹¹⁰

Chandler received letters of application or inquiry from several women with ties to Teachers College. Those still in residence included Alice Zollman who had taught for three years at Penn State College with a bachelor's degree from Teachers College; and Louise Jordan who had taught at Kansas State Teachers College. Pratt also spread the word to Teachers College alumnae employed elsewhere. Anna Grimes was on the faculty at East Carolina Teachers College; Clare Henser was currently teaching at the North Carolina College for Women in Greensboro with a bachelor's degree from Teachers College; Edith Ranney who held a bachelor's degree from Teachers College, was teaching at the North Carolina Women's College after having taught at Penn State College; and Margaret Coffin had taught for five years at the University of Kentucky and five years at Simmons College with bachelors degrees from Teachers College and the University of Tennessee. All these women held bachelor's or master's degrees from Teachers College, but none held doctorates. As always, money was a key factor in the negotiations. When for example, Chandler asked Coffin what salary she would accept, she replied \$2,500. This salary was too high for William and Mary. Chandler did not plan

to increase the salary of the home economics position.¹¹¹

Yet despite the flurry of correspondence with Teachers College, Chandler initially did not hire one of their students or alumnae for the 1924-1925 academic year. Instead, he arranged with Fannie Gill Stryker, Teachers College alumna (B.S., 1920) to remain as head of the home economics department on a one-year contract. Gill had married, was teaching as Mrs. Stryker during the 1923-1924 academic year, and was one of only a few married women who taught on campus. Chandler also hired Bess Hodges as an assistant professor to assist Stryker for the 1924-1925 year. Hodges was unusual for the William and Mary home economics department in that she had no connection to Teachers College. Her undergraduate degree was from the University of Arkansas, and her master's degree was from the University of Wisconsin.¹¹² Hodges, hoping to be considered for the position of department head, expressed interest in pursuing a doctorate at Teachers College or the University of Wisconsin. Chandler hired her for the year at a salary of \$2,000.¹¹³

In the meantime, Chandler was making arrangements for the 1925-1926 year. When Chandler had previously visited Teachers College in the spring of 1924, Edith Nind, a member of the placement staff, had informed Chandler the day after his visit that they had been able to reach another possible applicant, Leone Reaves. Reaves was apparently a candidate whom they had discussed. She would eventually become the applicant Chandler valued most, and it would be Reaves who would subsequently become head of the home economics department at William and Mary. A graduate of Harrisonburg Normal School, Reaves had attended George Peabody College for Teachers, and was completing her bachelor's degree at Teachers College in 1924. She

had taught in public schools in both Virginia and North Carolina before taking a teaching post at East Carolina Teachers College. Nind, however, reported that Reaves was on a leave of absence from her teaching post and expected to return to that position the following academic year. Reaves had written to Chandler. After stating that it had been unfortunate that she had not been able to speak with him at the college, Reaves explained that she was on leave from East Carolina. She then inquired about the William and Mary home economics program, the job position, and the salary.¹¹⁴

Later that year Chandler invited Leone Reaves to become department head and made very generous arrangements with Reaves in order to secure her. When Reaves had contacted Chandler about a position while working on her bachelor's degree in 1924, Chandler had acknowledged her prior commitment to East Carolina and said he would not delay her since he had not confirmed his own plans at the College.¹¹⁵ Instead of returning to East Carolina, however, Reaves had remained at Teachers College for the 1924-1925 term on a fellowship for the Leadership Training Course in Education for Parents and stayed to earn her master's degree. She had also remained in touch with Chandler. In September 1924 she visited William and Mary for a campus interview with the president, and thanked him for recommending her for the leadership training fellowship. Later that month she informed him that she had received the fellowship, and again thanked Chandler for his assistance. She told him that her "appreciation of what you have done for me is quite inexpressible but I assure you that I am duly grateful and shall try to return thoroughly fitted for the work that you want me to do there." Chandler obviously had an impact on her fellowship. Her letter is also clear that the president hired her for the next academic year, 1925-1926. He then began to make arrangements for her

to come to the College the following year to replace Fannie Stryker as department head. While Reaves was still studying at Teachers College, for example, Chandler asked her to attend a Home Economics Education conference in Hot Springs, Arkansas as a representative of the College which would reimburse her for the expenses. The conference was for teacher training in agriculture and home economics in the South.¹¹⁶

While still in New York attending Teachers College, Reaves worked at long range with Chandler to schedule new courses, including those in the “preparation for parenthood.” Reaves suggested new courses on child care study, and the need for a new practice house. She also presented the curious proposal that the College consider “borrowing a baby from an institution, at least for three months, while we are giving the course in child care.” Reaves said that she did not believe this “would be too great a responsibility for the girls in the practice house” but it “would be invaluable for clinching the instruction given in class.” Chandler replied that he needed more information on the child care classes. He added that “borrowing a baby from some institution” could be done, but it would take more consideration before accepting that responsibility.¹¹⁷ There was no final answer on bringing a baby to the campus, but there is no evidence that this suggestion became a reality. Reaves’ unusual request to bring a baby to campus actually followed some of the newest practices during the era. Several practice houses at American colleges and universities institutions had already adopted this as a means to enhance training in child care. Institutions of higher education in the West led in this experimental method of training.¹¹⁸

While Reaves was still at Teachers College, Chandler asked her to try to see Mary Munford, a member of the College’s Board of Visitors, who was coming to New York

City. Reaves tried unsuccessfully to contact Munford “about the work in Virginia and what she expects of me.” Mary Munford was on the board of directors of the Child Study Association of America which had worked for over thirty years with child study groups of teachers and parents. This organization was holding its national conference and institute in New York City later that year. Munford may have hoped that Reaves could help develop more child study in Virginia.¹¹⁹

Reaves also complied with a request from Chandler to make suggestions for another faculty member in home economics. Using Reaves rather than Pratt and the placement office to solicit applications was a bit of a departure for Chandler. Reaves recommended Ona Youngblood because of her prior experience in teacher training. Youngblood had already received an “excellent” job offer in Oklahoma. Chandler asked Reaves to discover the terms of the offer.¹²⁰ Based on Reaves’ recommendation, Chandler offered Youngblood a position. Although Youngblood accepted Chandler’s May offer of \$2,000 for the 1925-1926 academic year, she asked in June to be released from the position. Chandler complied. He then returned to Reaves for additional recommendations.¹²¹ Reaves suggested two more women from Teachers College. Faye Kever, her first choice, was a graduate of the University of Minnesota and had “teacher training work” at the University of Arkansas. Reaves also suggested Martha Holladay who had just earned her bachelor’s degree from Teachers College. Reaves suggested that she had “no experience so could be secured for less than you offered Miss Youngblood.” Chandler hired Martha Holladay as an instructor for \$1,400 for the 1925-1926 academic year. She joined Reaves and Bess Hodges to complete the home economics faculty that year.¹²²

Leone Reaves remained as head of the department from 1925 until 1928. Chandler kept Holladay on the staff for a while, but was not entirely pleased with her performance. He told Reaves that he felt Holladay was “rather immature for this work” and asked Reaves to supervise her carefully. He also suggested that Holladay take a six-week summer course stressing practice house work and budgets.¹²³

When Chandler replaced Reaves, Hodges, and Holladay, he finally found the long-lasting faculty he needed. He returned to Teachers College once again and hired Lillian Cummings. Cummings had the best credentials of any of the women whom Chandler hired for the department, and would have one of the longest careers at the College of any women in that department. With a bachelor’s degree from the University of Arizona, and a master’s degree from Teachers College, Cummings already had teaching experience in two fields. She had been a supervisor of music at the State Normal School in Brockport, New York and an instructor in music at the University of Southern California, before becoming an assistant instructor in home economics at the University of Arizona. The most impressive aspect of Cummings’s resume for Chandler was her work as an assistant instructor and then instructor in textiles and clothing at Teachers College from 1923 to 1926. Chandler hired her as an associate professor from 1926 to 1928. In 1928 Chandler promoted her to professor and head of the department. She remained at the College until 1948. Emma Gunther, at the School of Practical Arts in Household Management at Teachers College, wrote Chandler to congratulate him on securing Cummings. She noted that those at Teachers College “regard her very highly and I was very happy when I heard that you had been fortunate enough to secure her.”¹²⁴ Cummings later helped to found the Virginia chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma Society, the

organization to honor women in education, serving as its state president from 1934 to 1938.¹²⁵

When Chandler replaced Halladay, he continued his pattern of using Teachers College. He hired Jean Stewart in 1928 as associate professor of home economics to work with Cummings. Stewart held both a bachelor's and a master's degree from Teachers College and had also taken graduate work in 1927 at the University of Chicago. She had taught home economics at Rockford College, had been head of the division of foods and nutrition in the home economics department at the University of Nebraska from 1918 to 1925, and was an associate professor of home economics at the College of Industrial Arts in Texas before coming to Williamsburg. Cummings and Stewart led the department for many years. Stewart would retire from the College in 1953. Joining Cummings and Stewart in their long tenures was the third and final Teachers College alumna to be hired for the department during the Chandler years, Alma Wilkin, who held a masters degree from that same institution. Wilkin would remain at the College until 1970.¹²⁶

The high level of turnover in the home economics department in the 1920s was not a headache merely for Chandler. A report on the value of home economics published in 1924 lamented this problem of turnovers in these departments nationwide. At least 26 changes had occurred among heads of departments in large colleges and universities in a two-year period (between 1920 and 1922). A 50 percent change among the entire staff of college home economics teachers also occurred during the same time.¹²⁷ In confronting this problem, Chandler relied on Teachers College repeatedly to replace his home economics faculty, and usually did so through its placement office.

Second Case Study: English Department

The hiring of a faculty member in the English department in 1923 involved not only Teachers College, but also Harvard University. To fill this position, Chandler considered both men and women applicants, and the results made it plain that no matter how much Chandler valued Teachers College women, he valued Harvard men more.

Chandler discovered that he needed an additional instructor to teach freshman English in August of 1923. Classes started in mid-September. He needed to fill the position immediately. Given the time constraints, Chandler used a scatter gun approach to find a faculty member quickly. He first sent out letters to both men and women who had written unsolicited letters of inquiry to him during the academic year. He also immediately contacted both Harvard University and Teachers College placement offices to see if there were any promising candidates for his position at either institution. Chandler needed someone with good credentials who would accept a low salary. Gender was not a consideration. He would hire the best person, man or woman, that he could obtain for the lowest salary.

He contacted the Harvard Appointments Office near August 28 to see if they had any applicants who would accept an instructorship for \$2,100 and could begin classes September 18. Luella Breed, a staff member in the placement office, sent telegrams to Chandler the very last few days of August to recommend Harvard students, including Walter K. Schwinn (A.M., 1923), James Hutchinson Smith (A.M., 1922), and Carl Lorraine Withers (A.B., 1922). While several additional names became possibilities, Chandler found Withers and Smith to be still available in late August. Chandler relied on

the Harvard placement staff to evaluate the two men for him. Under the guidance of placement staff member, George Cram, the office staff sent Chandler a telegram explaining that Smith had a slight hip defect which would not affect his teaching. The telegram further noted that Withers had received the stronger recommendation from Harvard Professor F. N. Robinson even though Smith held the advanced degree. Chandler relied on the recommendation and authorized the Harvard Appointment Office to hire Withers, a 1922 magna cum laude graduate in English language and literature, for \$2,100. If Withers was not available, he told the office to hire Smith for \$1,800. George Cram acted as the contact between Chandler and the two young men to make sure that the job offers and the necessary paperwork were complete.¹²⁸

Chandler sent an identical inquiry to the placement office at Teachers College on August 28, asking for any applicants who would consider an instructorship for \$2,100. Edith Nind in the placement office sent him the names and credentials of six women on August 29. Five of the women, Margaret Crawford, Grace Squires, Edith Perry, Vance Nell Garner, and Catherine Shea held masters' degrees or were completing them.¹²⁹ When Chandler asked Vance Nell Garner to indicate the "least salary for which you will come," Garner stipulated \$2,300. When Chandler asked the same of Catherine Shea, she stated \$2,500. Grace Squires considered Chandler's price of \$2,100, but was also considering another position elsewhere.¹³⁰

Chandler had hoped to get only one instructor from Harvard. Instead he took two when he discovered he could hire two Harvard men for very low salaries. Joseph H. Smith accepted the position of instructor for the lower salary of \$1,800. Soon thereafter, Carl Withers took the post of instructor for the higher salary of \$2,100. Chandler sought

Harvard graduates. When he found two Harvard men would come for small salaries, he hired both.¹³¹ Chandler could not turn down two Harvard men for such a small cost.

The efficient use of placement officers at teacher agencies and schools such as Teacher's College and Harvard was Chandler's most effective tool for recruiting faculty on the national job market. In an era when it was often difficult to meet candidates in person, it was imperative to have reliable persons evaluate the applicants whom Chandler would have to hire by mail sight-unseen. Considering the number of faculty with Teacher's College in their backgrounds, Isabel Pratt, his primary contact in the placement office at the New York school, stands out as more than merely useful. Because she and her staff funneled such a steady stream of people to Chandler, Pratt was a pivotal factor in shaping the early cadre of women educators in Williamsburg.

Home economics, of course, was one of the disciplines set aside entirely for women as both students and faculty. English, however was shared territory. Both men and women taught that subject at William and Mary. Clearly direct competition between women and men occurred in that department. It also reveals when Chandler could hire Harvard men for less money than Teacher's College women, he immediately took advantage of that opportunity.

Conclusions

Just as Lyon G. Tyler's decision to enroll the first women students at William and Mary was the catalyst for hiring the College's first women faculty, J. A. C. Chandler's decision to expand the student body by promoting coeducation led to his decision to hire

more faculty. His hiring methods demonstrate specific patterns that he followed in faculty recruitment. In immediate need of women faculty and administrators to teach and supervise a rapidly increasing number of women students, Chandler looked first to the women teachers at both the secondary and college levels in the city of Richmond, where he had been a college administrator and teacher and had served as superintendent of the public schools. Simultaneously, Chandler began to cultivate women who were earning undergraduate degrees at the College itself in 1921. Combined, the veterans of the Richmond academic world and the newly-minted William and Mary alumnae played a crucial role by providing Chandler an almost instant faculty of talented, dependable, and often experienced teachers.

Even in these earliest years, Chandler began to show evidence of a third recruiting pattern by hiring women from Teacher's College of Columbia University. His reliance upon Richmond and the College itself as sources of women faculty never completely disappeared, but by the mid-1920s, Chandler was recruiting primarily from the national market for aspiring academics. Given its national prominence, it is not surprising that Teacher's College of Columbia University emerged as the chief source of women faculty for William and Mary. Chandler did hire several notable women faculty from Radcliffe College and the University of Chicago, but he generally preferred Columbia, where he had maintained a degree of contact since his days as an editor of text books in New York from 1904 to 1906.

About half-way through his tenure as president, Chandler availed the College of the opportunity to use educated and experienced women faculty who were funded by the Methodist Church. Since there was not a great emphasis on church and state separation at

that time, Chandler seized upon the relationship as did other colleges and universities that made similar arrangements with the Methodists.

The reliance upon Columbia University and its placement offices highlighted another pattern in Chandler's recruiting practices, both for women and men faculty. So often did he turn to the placement offices there to locate potential women faculty that members of the placement staff such as Isabel Pratt of Teacher's College actually assumed considerable importance in the shaping of the William and Mary faculty. Chandler also maintained files of unsolicited applications from job-seekers, but he made better use of placement offices at Columbia and at other universities, notably Harvard, as well as teacher-placement agencies to make his recruiting increasingly efficient and to insure that he selected faculty from pools of candidates with proven credentials. Starting essentially from scratch in 1920, Chandler used these means and followed these patterns to recruit capable and dedicated women in such numbers that by the end of his administration fourteen years later, approximately one-third of the William and Mary faculty was female.

CHAPTER 7

Chandler in Charge

J. A. C. Chandler was a leader in the hiring of women in the South and in the nation. He willingly expanded his recruitment of women to disciplines other than home economics and physical education, but also he consigned the majority of women to lower ranks. Four additional aspects of Chandler's administrative work with women fill in the portrait of his presidency and his relationship with women and coeducation: his relationship with his deans of women, social directors, and women heads of departments; his assignments of faculty duties both in and out of the classroom; his pay scale; and his use of visiting women faculty. As always with Chandler, any evaluation of his behavior and policies regarding women faculty is mixed. The overall pattern, however, demonstrates that he was a bold, decisive, and innovative president who, in general, treated women as well as he treated men. On the other hand, Chandler clearly would not tolerate independence on the part of subordinates and loaded his faculty with myriad responsibilities that often extended beyond teaching. Just as Chandler drove himself unmercifully, he demanded that his faculty follow his example without questioning his authority. In the end, Chandler committed to making William and Mary a place where women academics could thrive, and he very much wanted the College's reputation to reflect this atmosphere.

Chandler as Autocrat

Apparently Chandler preferred to build his own faculty; he significantly changed the faculty roster by hiring new male and female teachers during his first year. Increasing his faculty from 19 to 23 during his first year, he hired nine new men to replace eight male faculty who either retired, took positions elsewhere, or left to continue their graduate educations.¹ In the case of the first dean of women and the first head of home economics, however, there was something more at work than merely assembling a faculty of his own choosing. Neither of these women, whom he inherited from President Tyler, pleased Chandler. Both challenged his authority. He would no more tolerate challenges as president of William and Mary than he did as superintendent of the Richmond schools when some women teachers protested his policies in 1912. By 1920 he had driven both the dean and the department head away and hired replacements who would mesh with his authoritarian style.

In 1918, Lyon G. Tyler hired Dr. Caroline Tupper as the first dean of women and Edith Baer as the first professor of home economics. He had exercised great care in recruiting them. Before hiring Tupper, he visited a variety of colleges, including seven women's colleges, to gather information on the "duties and qualities of a dean of women."² Dean Bettles Boody of Radcliffe College recommended Tupper to Tyler for the position of dean of women. Tupper had just received her doctorate in English literature in 1917.³ She was from a prominent Charleston, South Carolina family which undoubtedly Chandler knew. Her uncle, the Reverend Henry Allen Tupper, was not only a leader in the Southern Baptist Association, but had also served as a trustee of both the Woman's

College in Richmond and Richmond College while Chandler was associated with these schools.⁴ Tupper had attended Converse College before earning her bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees from Radcliffe College. She was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and had teaching experience at the Memminger Normal School in Charleston, Buffalo Seminary in New York, the College for Women at Columbia, South Carolina, and Goucher College in Baltimore.⁵ Tyler considered several women for the post, but reported to the Board of Visitors that Tupper was his first choice.⁶

Tyler hired Tupper for the dual positions of dean of women and associate professor of English. Although qualified with both a doctorate and college teaching experience, Tupper did not receive an appointment as a full professor even though she had published her dissertation on Goldsmith. There is no available information to explain why Tyler did not hire her at the level of professor of English. According to the William and Mary yearbook for 1919, Tupper was the only faculty member with a doctorate not to hold the position of professor. Seven men without doctorates held professorships that year as did Edith Baer, the first faculty member in home economics.⁷ Tupper thus served in both a teaching and an administrative role for one year before Chandler became the College's president.

Caroline Tupper's brief and troubled tenure as dean of women is by far the best documented example of Chandler's refusal to permit a woman subordinate to exercise authority autonomously. When Chandler returned to the College, he suggested that Dr. John Lesslie Hall, the head of the English department, and Tupper divide the teaching load so that both would teach freshman English courses in composition and literature. Chandler suggested that Tupper might also teach History of the English Drama, Medieval

Literature, Nineteenth Century Poetry, and Methods in Teaching Composition and Literature in the High Schools.⁸ He apparently was working with Tupper to give her an equal footing as a faculty colleague. Her major responsibility, however, would always be her work as dean of women and it was in that role that she locked horns with Chandler.

Tupper certainly fulfilled the mandates from Tyler and Chandler to be an active dean through her work with teaching, recruitment, and supervision of the social and academic facets of the lives of the first women students. She had reported to the Board of Visitors in 1919 that the first twenty students enrolled in the "Women's Department" had a slight academic advantage over the men students during their first year. That was fortunate, for their "appreciation of scholarship" would be the "ultimate test of the values of coeducation at William and Mary." The social life of the women students was Tupper's "particular responsibility," and was pleased that the women students had begun their College lives "with the enthusiasm of pioneers of a new order." She was greatly occupied with the details such as the creation of a reception area at Tyler Hall, the temporary women's dormitory, where men and women students could gather each evening for a "social hour." She explained that any resentment among the men students that had resulted from coeducation "has been gradually overcome through the success of the experiment." Tupper intended to bring female visitors to the College who were "public spirited women" interested in "the aims and progress of our department." She asked the College to provide repairs to the deanery so that she could entertain such prominent women guests. She also reported that she planned to visit high schools, conduct interviews with perspective female students, and use female students on campus to recruit more women students.⁹ Tupper visited elite schools such as St. Anne's School

in Charlottesville to recruit female students, and visited Swarthmore College to observe the process of coeducation there. To further her administrative duties representing the College's new coeducational policy and its women students, Tupper was elected president of the Virginia Association of Colleges and Schools for Women in May 1919.¹⁰ Tupper was a well qualified, talented, and energetic dean of women.

Just before Chandler officially took over from Tyler, he confirmed Tupper's return as dean for the 1919-1920 academic year. In her letter of reappointment, Chandler specified that one of her major duties would be to provide "aid in every way that you can in securing students for the College next year." Thus, Chandler expected her to recruit. Tupper accepted these conditions, explaining that she had received Tyler's "endorsement of my plans of publicity, and I am visiting schools upon the understanding you suggested." Tupper "assured" Chandler of her "sincere wish to cooperate" with the new president and to "assist" him in his "difficult, though interesting, beginning of the summer and next fall."¹¹ This she did. For example, she recruited Virginia Kirby of Newport News, having received her name from a list of high school graduates interested in attending college to become teachers. Tupper explained to Kirby that William and Mary wanted "girl high school graduates in this region to feel that William and Mary is distinctively the college for the students of southeastern Virginia."¹²

Tupper bore special responsibility for creating and enforcing the first set of rules to govern the women's behavior and dorm life.¹³ The College expected its students to spend most of their time in study and to attend church on Sunday. Women students could have social hours and entertain men in the Tyler Hall reception room or on campus from 7 PM to 7:45 PM during weekday evenings, from 3 PM to 6 PM on Sunday afternoons,

and from 7:30 PM to 10 PM on Sunday evenings. Students were required to be in their rooms at 10 PM, and lights were to be out at 10:30 PM. Women students could visit the nearby tea room with male escorts alone before dinner but were required to have a chaperone after the supper hour. The women could attend local movies with men if two or more couples went together. The dean of women granted permission for women students to walk with men off campus, take automobile rides, or visit the off campus tea room. If students wished to leave campus overnight, they needed the permission of the president, who reported his decisions to Tupper. For example, Chandler gave permission for a Miss Marks and a Miss Puckett to each go home for a day or two. Yet, he refused to grant permission, however, to a Miss von Laer because her father had not told Chandler “with whom she is to stay” on her trip to Norfolk. Chandler never gave Tupper the authority to grant permissions to leave town. Her authority extended only as far as granting permissions for women to leave campus for local activities including attending movies, taking walks, and going to church suppers.¹⁴

Almost immediately upon assuming the presidency, Chandler began to insist that Tupper more strictly enforce the rules governing the behavior of female students. Chandler told Tupper, for example, that she should grant permission for women students to walk with men on Sunday afternoons only when there was an “exceptional reason” for the walks and a “definite place” specified. He instructed Tupper that he wanted a weekly “transcript of all special permissions” that she granted with an explanation for the reasons she had granted the permissions, as well as a list of those girls who had broken any rules, and the “penalties” Tupper or the women’s student government had imposed.¹⁵ In late November Chandler told Tupper to further tighten her control over the young women. He

did not wish to prevent the young women from “enjoying themselves while here” as long as they followed College rules, but he felt that giving them freedom to go to the tea house daily, to have recreation time and visits with young men each afternoon, and to receive young men on Sunday provided a “great deal of freedom in a social way.” He warned Tupper to stop the coeds from “dancing with boys in the hall every afternoon” which “certainly does not meet with my approval.”¹⁶

Chandler complained especially that the “library has been used too much for social purposes,” and expected Tupper to curtail such behavior. He also told Tupper to make sure that women students strictly observed her permissions for them to leave campus only in groups. Chandler was quite paternalistic and expected Tupper and the women students to follow his policies for safety and decorum. He felt it “very objectionable” to see “young men and young ladies out walking, with the young ladies swinging and dragging on the arms of the young men.” Chandler told Tupper to speak to the women and explain the “reasonableness of your request” so the girls with such “habits will at once give it up.” He wanted Tupper to continue the “custom in Virginia” of providing chaperones. To ensure that the women students were always under College supervision, Chandler announced that when Tupper was away from campus, Bertha Wilder, the athletic director for women, would substitute for her as acting dean and would in general share with Tupper some of the duties of looking after the young women.¹⁷

Tupper had a very different view of her job as dean. She did not believe in controlling the young women as strictly as did Chandler. One former student, Dr. Janet Coleman Kimbrough, remembered that Tupper, whom the girls called “Doc,” was “quite a liberal person for the period,” who tried to “avoid making hard and fast rules” to govern

the girls, and instead encouraged women students to “establish a ‘tradition’” of proper behavior. Nonetheless, Kimbrough remembered that there were many rules during that time, and it was Tupper’s job to enforce them, however reluctant she might be. Since lights were to be out at 10:30PM, a female student had to receive special permission to study until midnight, when all lights went out all over campus. Kimbrough remembered that the idea of complete darkness in the women’s dormitory disturbed Tupper who arranged to have small lights on the stair landings in the women’s dorm. Kimbrough characterized Chandler as a “strict disciplinarian” and Dean Tupper as espousing a liberal atmosphere. Kimbrough remembered Tupper as “not at all” a disciplinarian. She perceived that these two administrators “didn’t pull together.” Kimbrough believed this led to Tupper leaving the College.¹⁸

Janet Kimbrough was correct. Disagreements between Chandler and Tupper dramatically escalated during Chandler’s first term as president. On December 1, 1919 Tupper offered Chandler her resignation. Chandler accepted and specified an effect date of January 1. He suggested to Tupper that they discuss the matter further. When she did not meet with him, he confirmed that her resignation would become effective on January 1, 1920. Tupper responded that she had offered her resignation because she “could not enter sympathetically into your policy for the social life of the College.” She told Chandler that her “own very definite plans and ideals for the woman’s department” could only develop with “the sympathy and support of the president of the College.” Her plans “would require more executive power than, in your opinion, should belong to the office of the dean of women.” This was indeed the essence of their differences. While Tupper said she could understand Chandler’s point of view, she also believed “very strongly” in

her own views and had decided to “resign as an expression of my conviction.” Tupper, however, had expected to remain as dean throughout the academic year “thus fulfilling the spirit of my contract.” She agreed, however, to leave on January 1 according to Chandler’s wishes.¹⁹

Chandler told Tupper that he would need to “make some other arrangements” for her position before the College reopened January 5. He asked her to move out of the deanery by January 1. Since she was leaving at Chandler’s “request” before the “end of the term,” she asked that the College “be responsible for my salary until the beginning of the second term.”²⁰ Chandler wrote to Tupper that the Board of Visitors had decided she would only be paid “for that portion of the contract for which you rendered service,” and therefore her salary stopped on January 1. Meanwhile Chandler had already hired Bessie Taylor, one of his former teachers who was still teaching at John Marshall High School in Richmond, to become, not dean, but social director of women beginning January 1, 1920.²¹

After Caroline Tupper left, she secured a position at the University of Illinois where she taught in the English department for the next twenty-five years.²² She was well qualified to be dean of women at William and Mary, but could not abide Chandler’s unwillingness to allow her to exercise that office any more than he would compromise on the issue of enforcing the rules of behavior for women students. Although less documented, it is clear that the first head of the home economics department, Edith Baer, also chaffed at Chandler’s close scrutiny. Baer was the first woman to hold the position of professor at William and Mary. A graduate of Drexel Institute, Baer had served as an instructor in home economics at Drexel from 1907-1912, earned her bachelor’s degree in

1913 from Teachers College at Columbia University, and returned to Drexel as a professor of domestic science and head of that department from 1913-1918. She led Drexel's drive to establish its first practice house for home economics, and headed the department when Drexel began to grant both bachelor's and master's degrees in domestic science in 1917.²³

Baer had accepted the position as State Supervisor of Home Economics for Virginia in 1918 and held that position concurrently with her teaching position at the College. The state position provided part of her salary (\$900) while the majority of her salary (\$1200) came from the College through a Smith Hughes Act appropriation that granted federal aid to train teachers in home economics.²⁴ Baer was responsible for establishing a home economics department for women at the College. William and Mary advertised it was beginning a "collegiate course in Home Economics leading to a Bachelor of Science degree" through the "invitation of the State Board of Education," to "train college women to be teachers and supervisors" in that field. The advertisement acknowledged, "the Director of Home Economics is Miss Edith Baer, formerly of Home Economics at Drexel Institute," an institute for "Engineering, Secretarial, Domestic Science and Arts."²⁵

At William and Mary, Baer designed a four-year program for home economics that included textiles and sewing, organic chemistry, the chemistry of foods and nutrition, dressmaking, applied physics, costume design, home management, advanced cookery, bacteriology, child care, methods of teaching home economics, principles of vocational education, and practice teaching.²⁶ Chandler permitted Baer to hire Fannie Gill as a part-time instructor, earning half pay plus tuition while completing her bachelor's degree at

the College. In return Gill offered to provide up to 12 teaching hours and then devote “the rest of her time” to her studies. Baer offered classes in cookery on campus, taught an extension class off campus, and devoted two days a week to her position as state supervisor of home economics, while Gill taught textiles, sewing, and dressmaking, with the accompanying labs.²⁷

The relationship between Chandler and Edith Baer deteriorated quickly over the definition of her role at the College. As late as March 1920, Baer believed that she and Chandler had an agreement in place that would allow her to continue as head of the home economics department at William and Mary and also serve as a part-time state supervisor of home economics. Without Chandler’s permission, Baer contacted State Superintendent of Public Instruction Harris Hart, to negotiate a salary. In April Chandler sent Baer a letter telling her that he had decided that he needed a full-time person to head the home economics department. He would recommend to Harris Hart that he hire Baer as “a full time State supervisor.” Baer wrote to Chandler that she “was greatly surprised to learn from your note of April 11 that you had reversed this decision.” She abruptly resigned. Chandler responded that he was “sorry that your relations with the College are to end,” but added that Baer “could not expect a part time arrangement to continue.” He reminded her that he had advised her at their March 29 meeting to contact her “friends” to discover “what openings might be elsewhere” because he needed a “full time arrangement.” Chandler then reprimanded the now-resigned Baer for going directly to Hart. Chandler had told her that he would speak to the superintendent himself, and that he had “no understanding that you would endeavor to negotiate the matter with him [Hart] as it was clearly a question of policy to be decided by conference between the Superintendent of

Public Instruction and the President of the College of William and Mary."²⁸ In going over Chandler's head to Hart, Baer had displayed a disregard for Chandler's authority as president. Baer left after the spring term, 1920. She accepted a position at the University of Pennsylvania, but became ill in 1921 and died later that year. Ironically, the College continued her memory with the Edith Baer Club for home economics majors, and the club presented her portrait to the College in 1923.²⁹

Chandler certainly had difficulties with his first women educators. Although unclear as to the reasons, even Chandler's third woman faculty member, Bertha Wilder, director of women's athletics, also left after Chandler's first year in office.³⁰ Neither Tupper nor Baer, and perhaps not even Wilder, could work within the command structure imposed by the new president. All three left by the end of Chandler's first year in office, two of them clearly under unpleasant circumstances.

Thelma Brown, a member of the College's physical education faculty from 1921-1924, provided an intimate insight into Chandler's work with his staff in a 1975 oral history. Although an admirer of Chandler, she reaffirmed his image as an autocrat. Brown had come to Williamsburg in 1911 when her father, Dr. G. W. Brown, became the director of Eastern State Hospital. Chandler had hired Brown to teach at Ginter Elementary School in Richmond while Chandler was school superintendent.³¹ When she joined the faculty at William and Mary in 1921, however, Chandler hired her to teach in the physical education department rather than the English department. Brown taught anatomy and kinesiology, and the history of physical education. She also assisted with the first women's basketball team. She fondly remembered that when they returned from a road trip, "Dr. Chandler was amongst the delegation that met us at the [train] station."

The team was having a winning season, and Brown remembered that Chandler was “just as proud as punch.” She also reminisced that Chandler was “an awfully nice man to work with.”³²

Brown had previously taken a business course in Richmond, and had also attended Smithfield Business College to study “shorthand and typewriting.” She had worked for her father for “a couple of years” before she did graduate work. Therefore, when Chandler’s secretary became ill, the president asked her to fill the role briefly “as my secretary.”³³ Brown remembered Chandler as “a fine man,” but added that “his temper ha[d] as short a fuse as anybody you ever saw.” She reminisced that Herbert Bridges, the College Registrar, often laughed, “I know there was no one employed at William and Mary who was fired oftener, and taken back, than I was.” Brown explained that Chandler would often get angry over some matter, call Bridges into his office, and explode, “Bridges, you’re fired.” She explained that Bridges knew the president well enough to know that this was not final. Bridges would return later in the day to continue his duties as though nothing had happened. She remembered that “Dr. Chandler forgot he’d told him he was fired.” Brown also revealed that she had “some fear and trembling” when she took over the duties as Chandler’s secretary, but she “didn’t dare say no.”³⁴

Brown’s position as secretary to the president provided her with a “rare opportunity” to see Chandler in a way that his faculty did not because “he let down his hair” with her. She watched him hard at work in his office. His wife had died in 1920 and he sometimes would “sit and just fold his hands and reminisce about when Mrs. Chandler was here.” Brown “considered it a rare privilege” to know the president whom she characterized as “an unusually fine man.” She explained that “a lot of his faculty didn’t

get to know him well enough.” They “just saw him as a quick-tempered someone.” Brown, however, felt that his “fine qualities, in my book, far outweighed the superficial oddities.” She remarked that he did “so many kind things for people around the college,” and that he helped a great many students personally without wanting “any credit or glory.” She admitted that she was “a great admirer of Dr. Chandler” but did not believe that “he ever got the credit he deserved from the college community.”³⁵

Brown worked as an instructor from 1921 through the 1923-1924 year. She also taught on the faculty of the School of Social Work and Public Health in Richmond in 1922-1923 along with other William and Mary professors who commuted there while Chandler served on its Board of Trustees. After working through the 1923-1924 year as an instructor, Brown left the College. She later married and became Thelma Brown Heffelfinger.³⁶ Her flattering reminiscence of Chandler is not actually in opposition to the cases of Caroline Tupper and Edith Baer, in which his actions and correspondence were anything but flattering. Brown was a Chandler appointee, had worked for him in Richmond, and served him as a private secretary. She never held the high administrative positions that Tupper and Baer held in which conflict might arise. It is not surprising that she saw Chandler’s merits. The most significant parts of her reminiscences are not her assertions that Chandler was a fine man. The key points in her history are that even staff members such as she and Herbert Bridges sometimes stood in fear of the president’s wrath.

Chandler Hires a Social Director of Women

After Caroline Tupper resigned, Chandler waited five years before hiring another dean of women. Instead he created the post of social director of women as a position with less authority but still charged with enforcing his strict rules. He hired Bessie Porter Taylor, another woman who had taught for him in the Richmond public schools. This prior relationship all but ensured that Taylor would be far more likely to accept Chandler's limitations on her office than had Tupper. She faithfully served Chandler until his death in 1934, and he returned loyalty for loyalty.

Although Taylor had taken course work at Richmond College, Columbia University Teachers College, and the University of Virginia Summer Schools, she never earned an undergraduate degree. She had taught English and Latin at John Marshall High School while Chandler was school superintendent, and was, in fact, the first of many female Richmond school teachers Chandler would hire as faculty at William and Mary.³⁷ Taylor had served as a vice president in the Virginia State Teachers Association while Chandler was president of the organization in 1919,³⁸ and also as one of the first appointees in 1918-1919 on the Virginia Education Commission.³⁹ She maintained connections with the leading women in Richmond including Ellen Tompkins Kidd, who ran the highly successful Pin Money Pickle Company.⁴⁰ Taylor was also a member of the influential Virginia League of Women Voters, working with Mary Munford and Mrs. John Lewis, the state president of the Virginia League.⁴¹

When Chandler brought Taylor to William and Mary in January 1920, he suggested that she take a leave of absence for the remainder of her teaching year in

Richmond to determine if she liked the position enough to stay at the College. In addition to assigning her to teach some freshman English classes,⁴² Chandler described her major duties as those “to organize and look after the social work among the girls with due consideration to their health and to matters of hygiene, this work to be done under the immediate direction of the President.”⁴³

As social director, Taylor performed the same supervisory duties as had Caroline Tupper, but for many more women students. The numbers of women students grew from just over 100 to over 800 during her tenure from 1920 to 1934.⁴⁴ One of her more important duties was that of coordinating chaperones in order to meet Chandler’s demands for close supervision of the students. She wrote, “I am personally responsible for all chaperoning,” which included “all dances and fraternity houses,” as well as appointing chaperones to attend “picnics, hikes, and similar occasions.” She also supervised the chaperone in each dormitory.⁴⁵ One student remembered that Taylor “watched the girls with an eagle eye,” always telling them that “their skirts were too short and that they were holding too close to the young man they danced with.” She even reminded them when they “used too much lipstick.” Girls remembered that at dances they could almost see her measuring “the length of the skirts and looking to see if they were doing any cheek-to-cheek dancing.”⁴⁶

Dances were a major part of campus social life. Taylor supervised the “social hour” in Jefferson Hall, the girls’ new dormitory, as well as the social hour dances in the Jefferson gym. At the dances Taylor carefully monitored the supervision of young men who smoked cigarettes to ensure that the cigarettes were extinguished. Fear of fire led her to consistently request that they not smoke in the girls’ dormitory gym. Mindful of the

appearance of the gym, she asked Chandler for permission to have the floors around the sides of the gym weekly scrubbed to take care of the continual problem of "spitting."⁴⁷ In this strict enforcement of rules, Taylor was the instrument of Chandler's will, and quite different from the more liberal Caroline Tupper.

Equally as important as chaperoning was the granting of permissions, a duty Taylor shared with President Chandler. Girls needed permission from the Social Director to take hikes beyond Lake Matoaka, to be outside their dormitories after 11PM, to have visitors in the dormitory at night, to go swimming or have picnics off campus, and to visit fraternities. Women students needed permission from Taylor or Chandler to spend the night in town, to leave town, to take walks with men, to ride in automobiles with men, to go to any hotel, or to have any social engagements in town in the evenings.⁴⁸ Chandler and Taylor struggled with the daunting tasks of supervising a large student body. Chandler once received a letter from a proprietor on Jamestown Island complaining that young couples persisted in going to the island at night. They disregarded the locked gates, and displayed conduct that was "a bad example" for the man's children. He requested that Chandler send a watchman to the island to report on the students' behavior.⁴⁹ It was Taylor's responsibility to report this sort of improper student behavior to the president. She complained to Chandler, for example, that boys walking past the girls' Jefferson dormitory on their way to the fraternity houses whistled and called out to the girls by name in the late evenings. It was Taylor's suggestion that men's fraternities close to the girls' dorm be moved.⁵⁰

Taylor's supervision of girl's dormitories included the difficult responsibility of monitoring telephone calls so girls would not receive incoming social calls on the

dormitory public telephone. Incoming calls were restricted to leaving important messages or for emergencies, not for social conversations.⁵¹ Taylor assisted in hiring matrons to look after the dormitories, plus supervised janitorial cleaning arrangements and cleaning staff payrolls.⁵² Taylor complained to Chandler that all her duties together required eighteen-hour day schedules. She described her typical work day with office duties from 10AM to the mid-day dinner; from 2PM -- 6:30 PM, and from 7PM --10PM every day except Sunday. On Sundays she remained on duty from 2PM --10PM. She visited the women's dormitories at least twice a week, and even dealt with dorm plumbing and heating problems. Female students often came to her for various permissions between 4PM and 10PM, while girls in the student government frequently came even later. Taylor reported to Chandler that she normally did not get to sleep until one or two o'clock in the morning and slept as best she could until the girls went to breakfast. Chandler suggested that she set more reasonable hours: 10AM -12 noon; 2PM-2:30PM; 3:30PM-4:30PM, and 7PM-8:30PM to give her some time off.⁵³

In 1922 Bessie Taylor learned from member of the Board of Visitors Mary Munford that the College was considering hiring a dean of women. With no college diploma, Taylor realized that she was in an awkward situation. She had told Chandler at her hiring that he could "count upon my dropping out at anytime without embarrassing you or your work here." Upon hearing of the possibility of hiring the new dean, Taylor submitted her resignation. Voicing her loyalty to the president, Taylor expressed to Chandler her "faith in and sympathy for the purposes you are trying to effect at the College of William and Mary."⁵⁴ Chandler knew when he hired Bessie Taylor that he had obtained the services of a talented and loyal subordinate who would never overstep the

limitations he placed on her office. He refused to accept her resignation. Nor did he follow through with hiring a new dean that year.

Chandler Hires Two Deans of Women

By 1925 Chandler and the Board of Visitors decided that the College should have a dean of women. Coeducational colleges without deans of women were already coming under criticism from the American Association of University Women. A special committee of board members, which included Mary Munford, reported in 1925 that since the College had greatly increased its enrollment of female students, and since almost all coeducational colleges and universities in the United States had a dean of women, the College should hire one too. The committee also suggested that Bessie Taylor be retained and that she coordinate her duties with those of the new dean.⁵⁵ That year Chandler hired Annie Powell, who held a bachelor's degree from Sweet Briar College and a master's degree from Columbia University, as the second dean of women.

According to a 1929 report by the dean of women at Goucher College, job descriptions of deans of women varied greatly across colleges. Most deans of women represented women students both "officially and socially." Most deans supervised women students' living conditions on campus, their extracurricular activities, their financial needs, and their personal problems. At some colleges and universities, deans of women directed the academic lives as well as the social lives of the women students. At other colleges and universities, deans of women had no responsibility for the academic supervision of women students. In the early 1920s, there was no recognized

standardization for the duties or the qualifications of the office of dean of women. Only in 1929 did the National Association of Deans of Women, formed in 1916, set a bachelor's degree as the recommended minimum requirement for deans of women. Deans of women often did not have the same academic qualifications as academic deans. While most colleges expected academic deans to teach courses, serve as faculty, and hold doctorates, many colleges did not expect such service from a dean of women. The growth of the number of women students on college campuses and the demands for more academic training in the 1920s led some colleges to hire deans of women for academic supervision and social directors for supervision of daily women students' lives.⁵⁶ Chandler followed this path at William and Mary.

A dean of women from Indiana University concurred that at coeducational universities the predominance of both men faculty and men students made it a necessity to have a woman in charge on campus who could understand the needs of women. She lamented, however, that with the growth in the number of women students coming to campuses, the dean of women often had too many responsibilities, including the supervision of campus life, housing and sororities, serving on student affairs' committees, and answering "thousands of letters" inquiring about facilities and the student lives of women. She also expressed the importance of hiring good social directors to supervise the dormitories.⁵⁷

When Chandler hired Annie Powell in 1925, she was principal of Chatham Hall, a private girl's school in Chatham, Virginia. Powell worried about the heavy teaching duties coupled with her administrative duties as dean. Chandler assigned her to teach three classes of freshman English, containing the 100 new freshman girls that Fall. He

wanted her sections to include only these freshman girls so she could become “intimately acquainted with every freshman girl” who entered the College that semester. Thus, Powell would be in a better position to act as an “educational advisor.” Powell agreed that this would be a helpful way to meet the girls, but had reservations concerning the “enormous number of papers” that she would have to grade from the 100 girls in these composition classes while also administering the responsibilities of dean. Powell agreed, however, that she could probably handle the work, hoping that her duties as dean would be somewhat light during her first semester.⁵⁸ The teaching load must have been a great strain for Powell. Chandler wrote to President Frederick Boatwright at the University of Richmond and President Meta Glass at Powell’s alma mater, Sweet Briar College, in May 1926 to ask what were the teaching loads of their deans. Boatwright said that his dean of women taught nine hours a week while the dean of men taught only six hours per week. Glass said her dean taught 11 hours a week.⁵⁹ Powell’s load remained at nine hours. During her first year, Powell made several requests of Chandler. She asked to teach upper level courses on Shakespeare, Tennyson and Browning. Powell requested more quietude for both her academic work and her personal living arrangements. She asked that the Kappa Kappa Gamma Sorority be removed from the upper floors of the deanery where she lived because the noise level made her living arrangements very difficult.⁶⁰

One of Dean Powell’s duties during her first year was to spearhead the College’s successful bid over a two year period to obtain full membership in the American Association of University Women (AAUW). The College had been denied full membership in the early 1920s. Chandler gave Powell the responsibility of helping him secure the College’s membership. To do this she corresponded with the chairman of the

AAUW Committee on Recognition of Colleges, Dr. Ella Lonn of Goucher College. She reported that there would be two more women's dormitories in the next ten years plus dining facilities for the women in each dormitory. She reported all the College female faculty and their degrees, but in Bessie Taylor's case the lack thereof, although Taylor was listed as teaching in the English department.⁶¹ Membership in the AAUW was important to Chandler for the prestige of the College. He had previously secured membership for the College with the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (1921), and had received accreditation by both the Association of American Colleges (1922) and the Association of American Universities (1922). Membership in the AAUW would bring additional prestige to William and Mary as it acknowledged the College's commitment to full coeducation.⁶²

In 1926 Bessie Taylor became ill and took a leave of absence for a semester. Chandler hired a substitute social director, Adele Clark of Richmond, the president of the state League of Women Voters. Once again Taylor offered to resign. Again Chandler refused. He reminded her that she had been with him for six years at the College and for several additional years in Richmond. He was "very well satisfied" with her work at the College, and told her that she "worked to my way of thinking better than anyone that I have had." He even offered to give her a year of leave if her health required such.⁶³ Taylor's second offer to resign may indicate friction with Dean Powell. Taylor informed the president that she had taken criticism for several years because she did not have a complete college education. She believed that some unnamed people saw her as an impediment to the College's academic standing due to her "lack of learning." Chandler replied that it would not matter who might be dean. He would always have a social

director, and again he expressed his pleasure with her work.⁶⁴

Taylor stayed, but Powell stepped down in 1927 after she married William Hodges, the first dean of men at the College. Powell continued on the faculty for the 1928-1929 academic year. Although she had held the rank of professor while dean, Chandler demoted her to associate professor when she taught as a regular faculty member. It is unclear, however, whether she carried a full teaching load that year.⁶⁵

Chandler replaced Powell with Grace Warren Landrum, professor of English at Westhampton College. Landrum held a bachelor's degree and a doctorate from Radcliffe College and a master's degree from the University of Chicago. She became one of the leading women on the William and Mary faculty in terms of publications. Her works included Chaucer's Use of the Vulgate (1924), and More Concerning Chapman's Homer and Keats (1927). She also published articles on Sir Walter Scott (1930) and readings of the Old South (1931). She continued to publish, especially on Edmund Spenser (1936), in the 1930s and early 1940s.⁶⁶ The daughter of a Baptist minister, Landrum took religion as seriously as Chandler did. A relative remembered her as a woman whose "strong spiritual quality permeated the very air about her." Landrum was a "loyal Baptist" as was Chandler, but also a "liberal one with complete tolerance towards all devotions and faiths."⁶⁷

When Landrum considered the position of dean, she told Chandler that she wanted a post that included teaching. Chandler obliged with teaching duties as heavy as those Powell had shouldered. Landrum received a salary of \$2,500 at Westhampton College in 1927, had turned down an offer of \$3,000 to be dean at Baylor University, and would not accept less than that for a position at William and Mary. Chandler hired her for

\$3,000 as a professor of English teaching nine hours a week. Her teaching duties initially included one class of freshman English plus two sections of the English literature survey. He promised to increase her salary to \$3,300 for her second year, and \$3,600 for her third year. He explained that she would receive an additional \$600 as dean of women or the choice of two rooms and board at the deanery. Chandler expected her to remain on campus from September until July, plus answer all correspondence in July and August related to her work as dean. She would be the academic advisor to the women students, and would register them for classes while the men deans and professors registered the men students.⁶⁸ Chandler must have been quite pleased to hire the new dean at a salary of \$3,000. He had paid his former dean of women, Annie Powell, \$4,200.⁶⁹ Landrum did not question Chandler's authority. She was dean of women for the next 20 years.

In addition to her teaching duties, Landrum supervised the academic progress of all the women students. The women students were faring better than the men. During her first year as dean, there were 88 senior women ready to graduate but only 42 senior men expected to complete their undergraduate studies. Landrum's duties included making sure that the women continued to maintain their academic work, and supervising those women students in academic trouble.⁷⁰ She would send out letters notifying girls whose grades dropped below an acceptable level that they were being removed from the College. She would, however, first report those students to the president.⁷¹ Landrum worked with the dean of men, William Hodges, to enforce rules pertaining to class attendance. The deans would drop any students from a course if they earned five unexcused absences. The deans, with the president's approval, could remove any students from the College who had been dropped from two courses for unexcused absences. Landrum also

monitored students' academic progress on a monthly basis and placed on probation those women who did not pass nine hours of course work each month. Probation included depriving students of social privileges for the following month.⁷²

English department faculty member Althea Hunt remembered the petite Landrum, "the Little Dean," for her "scholarship, high standards, sincere friendship, kindness, love of life and people, family ties, dainty femininity, and good fellowship."⁷³ Hunt described her as "firm but fair in dealing with students." Her disciplinary approach apparently helped to sustain her successful working relationship with Chandler. Professor Hunt noted that Landrum was "at heart essentially a teacher" who "knew the usefulness to teaching of research and publication" and "communicated to her own classes her own excitement over literature" as she "established common ground between herself and her students." She possessed "high ideals of taste and conduct without prudery," and was "dignified without rigidity."⁷⁴ Those high standards made Landrum the standard bearer for academic leadership among women at the College of William and Mary for twenty years.

By careful selection Chandler created a small group of women in leadership positions at the College with whom he worked harmoniously for many years. The key to that harmony, however, was that women like Grace Landrum were willing to abide by his authority. Indeed, Chandler expected these women to be loyal while carrying a heavy work load. Given her demanding responsibilities, it is perhaps surprising that Annie Powell found time for a romance with William Hodges during her brief tenure as dean of women.

Chandler as Taskmaster: Assignment of Faculty Duties

Just as Chandler labored untiringly to build his institution, he expected his faculty and staff to work constantly on many fronts. He gave them heavy teaching and administrative loads, required numerous reports, and demanded that they endlessly monitor their students' progress and behavior. He then added additional duties outside the classroom to their demanding schedules, and carefully scrutinized their efforts.

When the president of Washington and Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania asked Chandler in 1923 if he used written contracts and what were the faculty teaching loads at William and Mary, Chandler replied that the College did not use written contracts. He also explained that the teaching loads were 15 hours per week.⁷⁵ Teaching duties were fairly uniform throughout the College. In 1921, for example, many professors carried 16-17 hours. Dr. Richard Morton in the history department taught 17 hours in history and political science, plus one two-hour extension class. Dr. W. A. Montgomery in the Department of Ancient Languages taught 16 hours. Dr. D. W. Davis in biology taught 18 hours including labs, while Mr. E. J. Grimes taught 20 hours including biology labs. That year Hazel Gallagher and Fannie Lou Gill taught 16-17 hours of classes and home economics labs. Heavy faculty loads such as these continued throughout the Chandler presidency.⁷⁶

Teaching loads changed little over the course of Chandler's presidency. In Fall 1932 Emily Hall taught five classes of freshman English, and Althea Hunt taught five English classes, four of which were freshman courses. Agnes Melgaard taught four art classes including three labs; Lillian Cummings taught four home economics classes

including 12 hours of labs; and Catherine Pierce taught two classes of library science, seven hours of library labs, plus added work in the College Library. Eleanor Calkins and Beulah Russell each taught five classes of mathematics. Calkins' classes were all freshman classes, while Russell taught two upper level courses in addition to her freshman classes. These loads were fairly typical in terms of the number of hours for both men and women, but women tended to continue to teach mostly in the lower level courses.⁷⁷

The women faculty tended to teach more freshmen and sophomore classes. In the mathematics department, for example, Lucy Berger and Elizabeth Mercer, both recent graduates of the College, each taught three freshman-level courses. Beulah Russell and Eleanor Calkins, who had much more teaching experience than Berger and Mercer, also taught mostly freshman courses. Upper level courses were taught predominantly by the men faculty.⁷⁸ On the other hand, one of the women faculty supplied by the Methodists for the religion department, Lois Hatcher, who held a master's degree, taught both freshman and senior classes in Bible literature. When Olive Downing replaced her, Downing taught freshman, sophomore, and junior level classes.⁷⁹

There was a mixture of teaching duties in the English Department. Caroline Tupper taught at least two upper level courses listed as "Higher Group" before she left the College. Annie Powell taught a senior-level course one semester, while Althea Hunt taught more sophomore-level classes than freshman classes. Emily Hall taught mostly freshman and sophomore courses while her father as the senior professor taught sophomore, junior, and senior level courses.⁸⁰

In departments designed specifically for women students, the women faculty

without doctorates taught at all levels. Fannie Lou Gill and Jesse Coles taught courses from the freshman level through the senior level in the home economics department.⁸¹ In physical education for women, Madeline Wales and Martha Barksdale taught junior and senior level courses in the health and physical education department.⁸²

In the departments teaching both men and women students, women faculty with doctorates stood a better chance of offering upper division classes. For example, Dr. Helen Weeks taught junior and senior level courses in the Department of Education. On the other hand, an established scholar like Dr. Kathleen Bruce taught four classes of freshman history during her first year at the College and continued the same teaching load plus one extension class in Richmond during her second year, 1928. By comparison, Dr. Richard Morton, the senior professor in the history department, offered two senior level classes, one freshman level class, one extension class in Norfolk and one extension class in Newport News.⁸³ Although Chandler facilitated several years of research leaves for Bruce, she left the College after only six years. Teaching predominantly freshman classes may have been a disappointment for her. In general, while some women faculty with doctorates did teach upper level courses in classes for both men and women students, most of the women, regardless of their degrees, taught the lower level courses.

Most men and women faculty taught classes Monday through Saturday. Helen Weeks is an example of a few faculty whose work required different teaching schedules. She asked Chandler to schedule her classes on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays with the other three days free to permit her to visit high schools for her supervised teaching duties. Chandler told her that he believed this could be done. Weeks's duties in supervising teaching required traveling. She worked with the Williamsburg schools, but

also assisted with supervising in Whaleyville, Virginia and gave talks on education and teaching in Norfolk and Newport News. Chandler rehired Weeks for the next year at a salary of \$3,000 and cited her "splendid service" in 1925.⁸⁴

Adding travel time to their already busy schedules, both men and women faculty regularly taught extension classes in Norfolk, Richmond, Newport News, and elsewhere. Between 1926 and 1928, several women taught classes in Richmond: Kathleen Bruce taught United States history; Lillian Cummings taught advanced dressmaking and design; Kathleen Hipp directed glee club and taught music appreciation; and Leone Reaves taught child care training in Richmond and child study in Norfolk. Also teaching in Norfolk during that time, Gertrude Carey offered fine arts, while Althea Hunt taught English literature in Newport News; and Merrill Proctor Ball taught piano and voice in Gloucester.⁸⁵

College committee work was also demanding. By 1928-1929 there were 16 standing committees. As dean of women, Grace Landrum served on five committees: the Degree Committee, Special Events, Convocation, YMCA and YWCA, and Student Activities. Beulah Russell served on the Scholarships Committee; Lydia Sherritt served on the Examination Schedule Committee; Althea Hunt joined the Student Publications Committee; and both Bessie Taylor and Beulah Russell joined Landrum on the Student Activities Committee.⁸⁶ Women faculty served on committees that focused almost exclusively on students rather than policy where more men served.

Paperwork also occupied much faculty time. Chandler required faculty to turn in monthly reports on their classes and students including monthly student grades and absences. Faculty submitted them to the office of Kramer Hoke, dean of the College.⁸⁷

During his early years as president, Chandler kept close personal watch over student absences. He requested, for example, that all faculty send a list of any students with two unexcused absences to the dean's office.⁸⁸ Student absences were a priority for the president, and Chandler consistently required faculty to monitor them. As the number of students increased, Chandler spread out the duties of monitoring the students. By 1929 the Dean of Men and the Social Director could excuse students from a class. To ensure that students took their absences seriously, Chandler permitted faculty to lower a student's grades for class absences if deemed necessary.⁸⁹

The president oversaw policy changes involving the faculty. When the Faculty Committee on Standards, Grades, and Modes asked the faculty to consider a grading plan based on the proportion of A's, B's, C's, or failures to be given, the committee needed the president's approval before submitting the concept to the entire faculty for evaluation. The committee asked whether a plan should be used, and what grading standards each faculty member used. The memo asked how the "present requirement of 50% A and B grades" affected faculty grading. If that grading policy controlled the number of grades awarded in a class, then such a significant consideration of policy necessarily included an "Approved: J. A. C. Chandler, President" along with committee signatures. All such policy questions crossed Chandler's desk.⁹⁰

Chandler maintained uniform daily schedules for his faculty. The College rang bells for the start of class and for class dismissal, and Chandler required faculty to comply with dismissal bells rung five minutes before the hour ending 60 minute lecture periods.⁹¹ Chandler also required faculty to supervise required Chapel assembly exercises each week. The assemblies met four days a week, one day for each student class. Faculty

members supervised at least one day per week. Fannie Gill in home economics supervised Monday assemblies, while Jessie Coles in Home Economics attended the Tuesday meetings. Martha Barksdale in physical education supervised on Thursdays, and Bessie Taylor, the Social Director, served on Fridays. When some faculty missed assemblies in 1924, Chandler reminded them that the College had required assemblies every day when he was a student, and asked his faculty to help him with this duty.⁹² Indeed Chandler demanded so much of his faculty during the week, that he sometimes found that he could only schedule faculty meetings on Saturday evenings.⁹³

Chandler sought to regulate every area of his faculty's professional life. President Chandler personally supervised his faculty just as he did all other aspects of the College. He oversaw their work, much in the same way he required them to supervise their students. He established uniform rules and regulations that all faculty should follow, and maintained a careful watch for transgressions. No member of Chandler's faculty, for example, could leave the College or miss classes without permission from the president. This was a regulation for the entire College, applying to all faculty and all staff as well as students. He reminded his faculty that, according to Virginia law, everyone leaving the College was required to complete a card which explained the absence, its reason, and the length of time of the absence.⁹⁴ Chandler also expected his faculty to be on campus on time for all classes and events. When Helen Weeks did not return promptly after Christmas vacation in 1926, for example, Chandler wrote her that it was "always bad to require the students to be back at a certain time and then not have the professors in place," but added that he hoped she had enjoyed her vacation.⁹⁵

Academic processions and regalia were an important part of Chandler's college

atmosphere, and he expected faculty to attend ceremonies in academic robes. During the 1923-1924 academic year, for example, Chandler required his faculty be in the Jamestown Day procession in May, Sir Christopher Wren Day in October, Monroe Doctrine ceremonies in December, Bellini Tablet ceremonies in January, Charter Day in February, Monroe Day and Jefferson Day both in April, plus June baccalaureate and graduation ceremonies.⁹⁶

Chandler even used his faculty to help with fund raising. When he brought members of the Virginia legislature to campus in 1924, he asked his faculty to be available to welcome the members. He instructed faculty not to go “begging the General Assembly to give more money,” but if the chance presented itself, they could mention the need for “more money for instruction and equipment” as well as for “capital outlay” for buildings, and for “repairs.”⁹⁷ The faculty could certainly appreciate budget problems. They were often on the receiving end of funding cuts. As budget problems continued, Chandler passed them on to his faculty. In 1926 the president informed the faculty that he could no longer provide stationery, stencils, or mimeograph paper for tests, but could assist faculty with regular examinations.⁹⁸

Chandler controlled his faculty’s lives in other ways as well. Once he even sent a memo to his faculty with a membership card for the National Education Association. He asked not only that his faculty join, but that they return to him the membership cards with a \$2.00 membership check that he would then forward to the association.⁹⁹ Thus Chandler would know who complied with his request.

The duties of two women department heads, Anne Smith in the physical education department and Hazel Gallagher in the home economics department, illustrate the

arduous work loads Chandler imposed. In 1921 Chandler hired Richmonder Anne Smith to be the director of physical education for women. Smith would put in many hours during her one year at the College trying to establish a strong department that Chandler would approve. After earning a bachelor's degree from Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin, Smith had taught history in the Wisconsin public high schools. She was also a graduate of the recreation department in the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, soon renamed the Recreation Training School of Chicago. The School of Civics eventually became the graduate school of social work at the University of Chicago. With that background, Smith had taken a position as the director of the Department of Recreation in the Richmond School of Social Work in 1919. Chandler had hired her as an instructor in the College's Summer School in 1920 before she assumed her duties at the College the following year.¹⁰⁰ Smith wrote to Chandler that she was pleased to work with him "for one year in your plan to make it [William and Mary] of great value to the South." Smith then made a very illuminating statement. She obviously knew Chandler's methods of administration, for she assured him that he would never find her "consciously undermining your authority in the slightest."¹⁰¹ No doubt, this statement pleased the president greatly.

During the 1921-1922 academic year, Smith provided Chandler with a list of her goals, including the establishment of a "real department of physical education" for women, furthering interest among the women students in physical education, offering more activities, and hiring additional instructors. She believed that young women should be trained according to their "natural instincts for social and cooperative experience" rather than just as a copy of men's athletic training. She thought the College should

provide activities to train the mind and soul as well as the body.¹⁰² Smith articulated even the smallest needs of her department, extending to such tiny details as the addition of water wings, pool railings, and electric hair dryers to improve the swimming facilities and locker rooms. More importantly, she urged Chandler to hire an expert to teach swimming to the women students.¹⁰³

Smith's teaching schedule ran Monday through Saturday, and included three freshmen and sophomore classes each day.¹⁰⁴ When she was not in the classroom, Smith coordinated demonstrations of the women's physical education work to highlight the College's new offerings including basketball, swimming, folk dance, hiking, Health Week, and the May Festival with its May Pole dance. She reported to Chandler on all the required and volunteer sports activities for the academic year, the instructors in charge of each, the number of student participants, and the wealth of activities offered in her department.¹⁰⁵ Although Smith worked arduously to substantially reorganize the physical education department for Chandler, she left after one year. Details are lacking, but she may have pursued her interests in social work, for when she gave Chandler her summer addresses, she included both her home in River Falls, Wisconsin, and Jane Adams' Hull House on Halstead Street in Chicago.¹⁰⁶

Hazel Gallagher's short career at William and Mary offers an even fuller illustration of Chandler's demands on his faculty. Her work load assignments included two major responsibilities: serving as head of the home economics department, while at the same time, being in charge of the Dining Hall. In 1920-1921 Chandler hired Gallagher to replace Edith Baer as the home economics professor. He made Gallagher a professor, even though she held only a bachelor's degree from Columbia University, with

additional work at the University of Chicago. Like Bessie Taylor, Gallagher had previously served on Chandler's public school faculty in Richmond. She had been the supervisor of home economics in the Richmond Night Schools from 1915-1920, head of the home economics department at John Marshall High School from 1916-1920, and supervisor of vocational education in the Richmond public schools from 1916-1920.¹⁰⁷ Chandler also gave Gallagher the responsibility of supervising the College's Dining Hall. In return for her duties, he provided her with room and board in addition to her salary and thus solved for her a problem that other women faculty also encountered – a lack of local living facilities for single women.¹⁰⁸ Gallagher's teaching duties included a two hour class in foods and cookery, plus its corresponding four hour labs twice a week; a two hour class in dressmaking and its four hour lab; a two hour class in millinery and design with its four hour lab, and a two hour class in home economics education.¹⁰⁹ It was her responsibility to set up courses to meet the requirements for the Vocational Home Economics Certificate Bachelor of Science degree. Chandler directed her to allot 15% of the four-year program to educational subjects, with one third of the students' time devoted to "observation work and practice teaching." Seniors were to devote four weeks of study to "practice house-keeping and household management" under her supervision. Chandler explained that these were "based upon the requirements of the State Board of Education."¹¹⁰

Gallagher had many duties in addition to teaching. For example, she represented the College at meetings of the Federal Agents of Vocational Education and Teacher Training, and served in its Southern Home Economics Association. Part of her duties for the federal board was to keep up with all Virginia legislation relating to home

economics.¹¹¹ She quite literally moved into the Home Economics Practice House to supervise and chaperone several home economics students living there and to make sure the students followed the girls' dormitory rules. If she went out of town, Gallagher or Bessie Taylor had to provide a substitute chaperone for the practice house.¹¹²

Chandler even used Gallagher's expertise in her field to curry favor with the governor. When she planned a reception given by the home economics department for William and Mary students, Chandler and Gallagher invited Governor and Mrs. Westmoreland Davis to attend. The governor thanked Chandler for his invitation and noted that "Mrs. Davis has also a letter from Miss Gallagher of whom she is very fond." The governor arranged his schedule to attend the reception, and Gallagher coordinated her reception to conform to Davis's trip, while corresponding directly with Mrs. Davis on details.¹¹³ The following October the College newspaper reported that Gallagher would be the guest of Governor and Mrs. Davis at the Executive Mansion and would attend the Virginia State Fair "as their guest." The story noted that Gallagher had "a wide circle of friends in Richmond."¹¹⁴

In addition to teaching, chaperoning, representing the College, attending association meetings, and keeping in touch with political leaders, Gallagher even supervised the operations of the Dining Hall. She traveled to Richmond to purchase food and supplies for the Dining Hall, carefully comparing prices, quantities, and qualities of foods including, veal, lamb, hens, and ox tongue. At Thanksgiving she ordered "100 lbs. of turkeys live," plus chocolate mints, mixed nuts, prunes, turnips, cabbage, and eggs. She journeyed to Richmond almost weekly to purchase such bulk items as 500 lbs. of sugar, 10 doz. cocktail glasses, 6 cases of corn flakes, 6 cases of puffed rice, 100 lbs. of

lima beans, plus crates of oranges, lettuce, and grapefruits.¹¹⁵ Even Gallagher's smallest purchases came under the scrutiny of the president. When she bought a carving set at half price in Richmond, she reported to Chandler that the handle of the fork was "slightly marked," but she could return it if Chandler found it "objectionable." She reported errors in an order of coats, caps and aprons from Thalhimers Department Store in Richmond, assuring Chandler that the mistakes would be corrected. She reported all purchases from a waffle iron, frying kettle, coffee percolator, to a quart of olive oil as well as the grocery and merchant suppliers, for Chandler supervised the tiniest details.¹¹⁶

Hazel Gallagher offered a variety of home economics classes and labs, kept up with federal and state legislation concerning home economics, lived with and chaperoned students, and helped Chandler court a governor. In addition to all these duties, she directed the food services for the entire campus, which took her to Richmond almost weekly. Gallagher left the College after two years. There is no explanation for Gallagher's resignation, but the work load certainly may have been a consideration. She later married, becoming Hazel Parisi of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.¹¹⁷ The schedules that women like Hazel Gallagher, Anne Smith, and other women faculty followed week in and week out was nothing short of exhausting. Unsurprisingly, a high rate of turnover among both women and men faculty pervaded the Chandler years.

Chandler as Paymaster: The Salary Structure

By 1923 President Chandler had applied to the American Association of University Women for full corporate membership on behalf of the College. The AAUW

was initially willing to grant only associate membership in part because the College had fired Dean of Women Caroline Tupper and had refused to replace her with another dean of women, and in part because the College did not pay men and women faculty equally.¹¹⁸ After Chandler remedied the first objection by hiring Annie Powell as the second dean of women in 1925, he handed her the task of securing full AAUW membership. When the AAUW required Chandler to defend his assignments of rank and salary to women, he responded in 1925 that the College had “an unusually large representation” of women faculty for “an institution that has been co-educational only seven years,” and “as many women teaching in the College now as the total faculty of William and Mary in 1919.” He emphatically stated that there was “no discrimination at William and Mary against women as to salary or as to rank.”¹¹⁹ The salary data from 1920 through 1934 demonstrates that, in general, Chandler did compensate men and women relatively equitably by rank. (See Table 12.)

It is possible to compare salaries for men and women at the College in specific ranks during most of the Chandler years. Table 12 below is based on 122 salaries for women and 434 salaries for men recorded in the annual minutes of the Board of Visitors or noted in the Chandler papers between 1920 and 1934. The most obvious gender gap is that among full professors where the mean salary for women is only 86 percent of the mean salary for men. On the other hand, the mean salary paid to women deans and directors was 95 percent of the mean salary for their male counterparts; the mean salary for women at the associate rank was actually slightly higher than for men; and the mean for women assistant professors was 98 percent of the mean for men. Both men and women at the instructor level received very low salaries. At that rank, the mean salary for

women was 89 percent of the mean for men. Some of the discrepancies between men's and women's salaries may well have been related to experience or degrees.

TABLE 12: The Salary Structure at William & Mary, 1920-1934^a

		Deans & Program Directors			
	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	N Cases	
Men	\$3,980	\$3,000	\$4,200	45	
Women	\$3,771	\$3,000	\$4,200	7	
		Full Professors			
	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	N Cases	
Men	\$3,400	\$2,200	\$4,200	189	
Women	\$2,933	\$2,250	\$3,600	18	
		Associate Professors			
	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	N Cases	
Men	\$2,592	\$1,500	\$3,300	129	
Women	\$2,619	\$2,200	\$3,100	21	
		Assistant Professors			
	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	N Cases	
Men	\$2,300	\$1,900	\$2,700	30	
Women	\$2,250	\$1,800	\$2,700	33	
		Instructors			
	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	N Cases	
Men	\$1,605	\$900	\$2,400	41	
Women	\$1,426	\$900	\$2,250	43	

^aBased on 556 instances of salaries recorded in the Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, 1920-1934; Faculty files, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

Almost all the men deans and many of the male professors held doctorates; some served long tenures on the faculty during the Chandler administration. The few women deans and female professors were a mixture of those with doctorates and those who held less than the terminal degrees, but who headed departments such as home economics. Their length of service tended to be shorter in duration than that of the men professors during the Chandler years. Given the differences in degrees and length of service, it is

perhaps surprising that the gap between the salaries paid to the men and women full professors and deans was not greater.

Sample comparisons of salaries paid to men and women deans and full professors in 1925-1926 and 1926-1927 support Chandler's claim that he did not discriminate against women. Most deans earned \$4,200. The senior faculty received \$3,600. Annie Powell, however, was hired that year to be the second dean of women at \$3,300.¹²⁰ On the 1926-1927 salary schedule, all professors with the title of dean continued to be paid \$4,200. There were five deans. All held doctorates except Dean of Women Powell. Nonetheless, Powell had received a raise in pay for that year that placed her on the same salary level as Dean of the College Kramer Hoke, and Dean of the Faculty J. Lesslie Hall. Their pay continued to be \$3,600 as professors with an additional \$600 for service as deans. Salaries for full professors varied from \$2,500 to \$3,600. That year, of the 13 professors, two were women. Dr. Kathleen Bruce, just hired in the history department, was paid only \$2,500, the same salary as Leone Reaves, who headed the home economics department on the strength of a master's degree. Chandler promised both women raises for the next year. Bruce was scheduled to receive \$2,700, and Reaves, as a department head, would receive a raise to \$3,000. By comparison, Dr. Richard Morton, head of the history department, earned \$3,600. Dr. Richard Gwathmey, professor of English, was the only male professor who earned less than \$3,000. He earned \$2,800, but would also receive a raise to \$3,000 the following year.¹²¹

At the associate professor level in 1926-1927, Chandler sometimes paid women better than men. There were 14 associate professors on the 1926-1927 salary schedule, including four with doctorates. The two highest paid associate professors were women:

Lillian Cummings in home economics and Helen Weeks in education. Neither woman held a doctoral degree. They both earned \$3,000. Beulah Russell, associate professor of mathematics, did not hold a doctorate. Still she earned \$2,400, the same salary paid to Dr. E. C. Branchi in modern languages. Although Cummings and Branchi were not scheduled to receive a raise for the following year, both Weeks and Russell received \$100 increases.¹²²

The overall pattern of equity continued at the lower ranks. The number of assistant professors and instructors reported in Table 12 is small. The turnover at the lower ranks was especially high throughout the Chandler years, often leaving him no option but to hire replacements during the summer, too late for inclusion in the spring reports to the Board of Visitors in which he recommended salaries for the following fall. Of the 63 observations for assistant professors, the mean salaries for men and women were quite similar, differing only by \$50. The sample of faculty at the instructor rank is also small for the same reason. Of the 84 observations of salaries paid to instructors, the mean salaries for the women averaged \$150 less than for those of the men.

Of the nine assistant professors on the 1926-1927 list, three were women. Salaries ranged from \$2,700 down to \$1,900. Gertrude Carey in art earned \$2,400; Althea Hunt in English earned \$2,300; and Martha Barksdale earned \$1,900. Only two men earned more than Carey, but Barksdale was the lowest paid of the assistant professors. In the group of 12 instructors, six were women. Salaries ranged from \$2,100 down to \$1,350. Kathleen Hipp in music earned \$1,800, the highest salary paid to a woman in this group. Only two men instructors earned more than Hipp.¹²³

The overall pattern of salaries reported in the Board of Visitors' minutes supports

Chandler's 1925 assertion to the AAUW that he did not discriminate against women in terms of pay. One must temper this conclusion with the knowledge that, especially at the higher ranks, most of the men faculty held doctorates and most of the women did not. The men with doctorates held the majority of the highest ranks and highest salaries. There were a few women, however, in the ranks of associate professors who earned greater salaries than men with more advanced degrees. Chandler hired a great many men and women as assistant professors and instructors who commanded very low salaries. They were by far the cheapest part of his labor force. The majority of his women faculty were in this rank every year throughout his administration. Since many of the women did not earn advanced degrees, they remained in the lowest ranks, or they left. This was true also of men hired at the bottom of the academic ladder, but Chandler hired a great many more men than women at the higher ranks. It could be argued that Chandler did not make a valiant effort to hire women with doctorates and therefore kept the number of women in the highest levels very low. However, he depended primarily on placement offices at major schools such as Columbia University to recommend women candidates for his faculty openings. The best colleges and universities, like Teachers College, typically recommended women with masters degrees to him. Apparently the AAUW accepted Chandler's claim of non-discrimination, for the organization granted William and Mary full corporate membership in 1927.¹²⁴

Chandler as Pragmatist: His Use of Visiting Women Faculty

Chandler had a small staff and an even smaller budget throughout his presidency.

Clearly his women faculty were overburdened by heavy work loads in and out of the classroom, and he bogged them down in lower-level courses. To enhance the standard curriculum for women students, Chandler used visiting women faculty, including several noted progressive activists in the struggle for women's rights. In this approach, Chandler was very pragmatic. These temporary arrangements cost him little from his salary pool but promised high returns in terms of increasing the College's profile as the state's leading public coeducational institution for women. For example, during the very time that Chandler was trying to win full membership for his school in the AAUW, he arranged for well-known women activists Ella Lonn, Adele Clark, Orie Latham Hatcher and Iva Peters to serve as visiting faculty or administrators at the College. Through networking with these women, Chandler enhanced William and Mary's state and perhaps national reputation as a place where women were important.

In the summer of 1925, Dr. Ella Lonn, associate professor at Goucher College, taught history at the College of William and Mary. Lonn was known throughout the United States for her work in women's rights on college campuses and her leadership in the American Association of University Women.¹²⁵ Chandler may have become acquainted with Lonn when William and Mary first applied for membership in the AAUW in the early 1920s. Later a president of the Southern Historical Association, Lonn delivered a keynote address at the AAUW national conference in Portland, Oregon in 1923.¹²⁶ Lonn had been a member of the influential AAUP Committee W to study the "Status of Women in College and University Faculties" that decried the dearth of women faculty in higher education. She summarized the report in her 1923 address to the AAUW, raising the critical question: "What are we, as individuals, and as an association,

able to do to improve this situation?" Lonn worked for a "fair proportion" of women in faculty appointments and urged that women be hired "not merely in the instructors' rank to do the drudgery." She came to the Williamsburg campus after the publication of her ground-breaking report on the status of women faculty in the United States.¹²⁷

Chandler invited Lonn to visit campus several times as a visiting professor and guest lecturer. Equally important, Lonn accepted his invitations. While at the College, Lonn focused her teaching and speaking engagements on history and international affairs. After teaching a summer class at the College in 1925, she returned to campus to deliver five lectures under the auspices of the AAUW. She spoke on contemporary international problems.¹²⁸ She returned to campus again in 1928 as a guest of the College's History Club to speak on "The Policy of the United States and the Philippines."¹²⁹

Lonn continued the work of Committee W and the American Association of University Women on college hiring practices in the late 1920s.¹³⁰ Her 1927 essay on "Recognition of Colleges and Universities" continued her support of women faculty.¹³¹ That year she and Dean of Women Annie Powell corresponded on the status of the College of William and Mary pertaining to the AAUW. Powell reported to Lonn that the College had hired Dr. Kathleen Bruce as a professor in the history department and Althea Hunt as an assistant professor in the English department. Powell called Lonn's "attention to the number of professors, associate professors, assistant professors, and instructors who were women [at the College]."¹³² The presence of Ella Lonn, albeit briefly, lent credibility to Chandler's claims that William and Mary was a place where women academics could expect fair treatment.

Ella Lonn was only one of several women's rights activists whom Chandler

brought to campus in a visiting capacity. In 1926 Chandler reported to the Board of Visitors that he had granted a six-month leave of absence for health reasons to Social Director of Women Bessie Taylor. He had hired Adele Clark of Richmond to be acting social director at a salary of \$175 per month.¹³³ Adele Clark was a leader in the politics of women's suffrage in Richmond, the state, and the nation. While serving as president of the Virginia League of Women Voters, she was selected as second vice president of the National League of Women Voters in 1925.¹³⁴ As was so often the case, Chandler knew her from his Richmond days.

Born in Montgomery, Alabama in 1882, Clark graduated from Miss Virginia Randolph Ellett's School (now St. Catherine's School), in Richmond in 1901. She studied at the Art Club in Richmond and the Chase School in New York City before returning to Richmond to serve as board member and art teacher at the Richmond Art Club. She eventually became a member of the Academy of Science and Fine Arts.¹³⁵ While Chandler was superintendent of schools in Richmond, Clark offered art classes in Richmond, and served as an associate editor for the Art Club's monthly column in the Virginia Journal of Education, which Chandler twice edited.¹³⁶

Clark became one of the founders of the Equal Suffrage League along with leading Virginia suffragists. Dr. Kate Waller Barrett, the second woman to join the William and Mary Board of Visitors, was another leader in the league. After becoming the league's first secretary in 1909, Clark delivered speeches throughout the state and the South in support of votes for women for a decade before women won the right to vote in 1920. She even spoke to Virginia's General Assembly and governors for suffrage for women.¹³⁷ After the Nineteenth Amendment passed, the Equal Suffrage League changed

its name to the Virginia League of Women Voters, and Adele Clark became its first state president. Under her leadership, the league successfully prevailed upon Governor Westmoreland Davis to call a "Conference on Governmental Efficiency" in 1921. One of the speakers at that conference was J. A. C. Chandler who spoke on "The Teaching of Government."¹³⁸

During her six month stay in Williamsburg, Clark represented the College and the League of Women Voters at Randolph-Macon Woman's College at a league conference in May 1926. Clark spoke on national legislation that had been passed during the past year. Cornelia Adair, who had formerly taught for Chandler in Richmond and had earned a William and Mary degree by this time, also spoke. Elizabeth DuVal, a current student at the College, was a new voter and a representative of the College at the convention. Three days after the convention the Flat Hat printed an invitation to all William and Mary women students to come to the gymnasium in Jefferson Hall, the women's dormitory, to organize a William and Mary New Voters' League.¹³⁹ When the William and Mary League of Women Voters met on campus in the summer 1926, Clark, a vice-president of the National League of Women Voters, spoke on "An Experiment in Adult Education," and invited all students to attend.¹⁴⁰

Chandler was well aware of Clark's local, state, and national leadership in the struggle to obtain voting rights for women. As a direct result of Clark's brief tenure at the College, the New Voters League took root in Williamsburg. Affiliations with women like Ella Lonn and Adele Clark enhanced William and Mary's reputation among liberal women, especially in the state capital. Simply by working at William and Mary, activists like Lonn and Clark seemed to put their stamp of approval on the school and its president.

The most fully documented and probably the most successful use of leading progressive women as visiting faculty was Orië Latham Hatcher's innovative vocational orientation class for women in 1925. Once again, the Richmond connection was very obvious. Hatcher had first worked with Julian Chandler when they had served together as faculty members at the Richmond Woman's College in the 1890s. Born in Petersburg, Virginia in 1868, she grew up in Richmond among family members who were leaders in higher education. Her father, William Eldridge Hatcher, was the minister of the Grace Street Baptist Church that Chandler attended in Richmond. Rev. Hatcher served on the boards of trustees of both Richmond College and Richmond Woman's College while Chandler taught at these schools. A leader in the Southern Baptist Association, Rev. Hatcher served on the Board of Trustees of Richmond College for 42 years. Orië Latham's mother, Oranie Virginia Snead Hatcher, was a trustee of Hartshorn College for Negro Girls in Richmond; and Orië's sister, Edith Hatcher Harcum, became co-founder and president of the Harcum Junior College at Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Orië Hatcher graduated from Richmond Female Institute in Richmond at the age of fifteen in 1884, entered Vassar College in 1885, studied Renaissance literature, and earned her bachelor's degree in 1888.¹⁴¹

After teaching at Miss Belle Peers' School in Louisville Kentucky, she returned to the Richmond Female Institute to teach for Chandler's mentor, Dr. James H. Nelson, as he transformed the school into the Woman's College of Richmond. There she taught history, English language, and literature with colleague J. A. C. Chandler before earning her doctorate in English literature in 1903 from the University of Chicago. She then taught at Bryn Mawr College from 1904 until 1915, and rose to the rank of associate

professor of comparative literature and chairman of the department of comparative literature.¹⁴²

In 1914 Hatcher attended a meeting at the Richmond home of educational reformer Mary Munford, a future member of the William and Mary Board of Visitors, to discuss occupational and vocational education. The following year, she left Bryn Mawr, returned to Richmond, and soon became the first president of the Virginia Association of Colleges and Schools for Girls. She then organized the Virginia Bureau of Vocations for Women to establish better educational opportunities for professional and business women, provide vocational counseling services at southern women's colleges, and prepare women for managerial positions.¹⁴³ Hatcher's work in vocational education for women became nationally known, and in 1918 Hatcher and her bureau sponsored a Professional Conference in Richmond, bringing women from around the country to speak on vocations and professions for women. That same year, Hatcher published an article criticizing southern men for opposing the professional career development of southern women.¹⁴⁴

In 1920 Hatcher renamed her organization the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance. Headquartered in Richmond, it soon opened branches in New York City and Chicago. Securing funding from both the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Carnegie Corporation, Hatcher focused on expanding educational and vocational opportunities for Southern women. Her alliance helped in the founding of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health in 1917, in opening the Medical College of Virginia to women students in 1920, and in the establishment of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs for which she served as vice president in

the 1920s.¹⁴⁵ The alliance sought to open professional training to women at southern colleges and universities.¹⁴⁶ Her work also brought her back into contact with Chandler. In 1922-1923 she worked with Chandler and Mary Munford on the Board of Trustees for the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health.¹⁴⁷ In the early 1920s Hatcher was also active, alongside Chandler, in the Virginia Association of Women's Colleges and Schools before it disbanded.¹⁴⁸

In 1924 Hatcher told Chandler that she and Dr. Iva Lowther Peters, the vocational guidance adviser at Goucher College, wanted to create "a college course which would be a direct attack on professional problems confronting educated women in the South." She acknowledged Chandler as a "leader in progressive attitude toward student vocational problems in our Southern colleges," and argued that William and Mary was the right place for the "thoroughly up-to-date-experiment" they were "planning in guidance for women undergraduates." She proposed to offer an elective course for juniors and seniors during the second semester of the 1924-1925 academic year. She suggested that it be offered "cooperatively" with such departments as economics, psychology, and education. She asked Chandler to permit William and Mary to become "the main college or as one of two for this experiment."¹⁴⁹

Chandler met with Hatcher and Peters in September 1924.¹⁵⁰ Peters held a bachelor's degree from Syracuse University, a master's degree from Columbia University, and a doctor of philosophy degree from Clark University. She was a professor of economics and sociology and head of the Bureau of Vocational Guidance at Goucher College, a vocational counselor for the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance, and chairman of the Educational Committee of the National Federation of Businesses and

Professional Women's Clubs.¹⁵¹

By November Chandler and Peters had arranged the course.¹⁵² Peters and Hatcher planned to publish and sell "both the bibliography and the full syllabus of her vocational orientation course" to promote the course idea and help with Peters' salary.¹⁵³ Chandler listed the innovative course as Sociology 304: Social and Vocational Orientation for three credits. According to the course description, this was a study of "social changes in the family, in industry, and in education, laying especial stress on the changing position of women," presented as a survey from ancient times through the Industrial Revolution. Its purpose was to teach the past to women students to help them better understand their "place in modern society and make a wise choice of a life work."¹⁵⁴

In March 1926, a year after the first class ended, Iva Peters and the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance published Social and Vocational Orientation for College Women. The booklet detailed their work at the College of William and Mary and praised the courtesy and "cordial co-operation" of President Chandler.¹⁵⁵ This booklet recorded the activities and responses of some of the 25 women students. One student wrote that her "knowledge of why women have a right and natural tendency to enter those [new vocational] fields has been extended." Another student discovered "so many fascinating and interesting jobs," that she could "see no reason for ever having to hear again that miserable lamentation: 'I reckon I'll have to teach.'" A third student had discovered that women were just now "coming back to where they were thousands of years ago." Students learned that women were not inferior to men, and that it was their duty to secure legislation to help women and children. One student discovered that "women needn't get married or teach school if they don't want to do either." She added, "It has made me feel

proud to be a woman.”¹⁵⁶

Upon completion of the course in March 1925, Hatcher reported to Chandler that Peters had “greatly enjoyed her experience” and would remain a “very warm friend and a permanent one” to the College. Peters especially praised the support she had received from Chandler. Peters “had many pleasant things to say, too, of [Chandler’s] cooperation with her in making the course effective.”¹⁵⁷ In April Chandler sent Hatcher a \$400 check made payable to the Southern Woman’s Educational Alliance to cover Peters’ expenses coming to the College.¹⁵⁸

In November 1925 Peters returned to the College as a guest. The Flat Hat reported that the course on social and vocational orientation might become a permanent part of the William and Mary curriculum under the joint direction of Dr. Peters, the William and Mary new dean of women, Annie Powell, and the dean of the College, Kramer Hoke.¹⁵⁹ Chandler supported Peters’ request to continue the course and asked Dean Powell to join with Helen Weeks in the education department to “get to work on this course” for the following semester.¹⁶⁰

In December 1925, Chandler received a confidential inquiry from Chancellor Charles Flint of Syracuse University asking him to evaluate Peters’ work at the College. Chandler gave Peters a glowing recommendation, and in 1926 Peters became dean of women and personnel director at Syracuse University where she had graduated summa cum laude in 1901.¹⁶¹ Peters was not the only one considered for a deanship. Orie Hatcher had been considered for the post of the first dean of women at Westhampton College in 1914, but she was more interested in the professional training of young women.¹⁶²

In 1927 Hatcher’s national Executive Board of the Southern Woman’s

Educational Alliance held its annual meeting in Washington D.C. Members of the board included presidents of some of the leading women's colleges in the nation. The secretary of the association was none other than Kramer J. Hoke, dean of the College of William and Mary.¹⁶³ When Hoke was unable to attend the Executive Board meeting, Grace Warren Landrum, the College's new dean of women, substituted. Landrum attended several sessions including discussions concerning whether deans of men and deans of women were meeting the vocational and professional needs of their students.¹⁶⁴

Chandler's sponsorship of the vocational course designed by Hatcher and Peters paid off handsomely in terms of national recognition. At an annual conference (probably in 1926) of the Southern Women's Educational Conference, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, the New York and Richmond socialite and original "Gibson girl," arranged a New York opera benefit for conference support. The conference heard reports that the new "find yourself course" was being offered at the College of William and Mary, as well as at Duke University, and other southern institutions.¹⁶⁵ Chandler must have been pleased to find Duke associated with the College in a newspaper story.

Chandler rarely missed an opportunity, however small, to embellish William and Mary's reputation as a place where women activists were welcome. When Iva Peters had to miss classes in late February, 1925, her replacement turned out to be Lucy Randolph Mason, General Secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association in Richmond, and Virginia chairman of the American Federation of Labor's Committee of Women in Industry.¹⁶⁶ Mason also delivered an address on "Industrial Conditions for Women in Virginia," in the William and Mary Chapel. The Flat Hat reported that Mason had "probably done more work towards getting better working conditions for women and

children in the State than any other woman."¹⁶⁷ She returned to campus that April to participate in the Y. W. C. A. conference of the Student Associations of Virginia which met at William and Mary.¹⁶⁸ Mason subsequently became a public relations representative for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to help the CIO organize laborers throughout the South.¹⁶⁹

Chandler even attempted to use his Richmond connections to reach Lady Nancy Astor, the first woman to ever hold a seat in the British Parliament and a champion of women's political rights both in the United States and Britain.¹⁷⁰ She and her sister, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, were friends of board member Mary Munford. They became friends to the College during the Chandler administration.¹⁷¹ In hopes of more publicity and possibly a financial gift, Chandler praised the College's leadership in providing education for women to Lady Astor, and then attempted unsuccessfully to bring her to campus in 1922 to speak during her trip to the United States to address the Pan American League of Women Voters Conference in Baltimore.¹⁷² In 1924, however, William and Mary did award her an honorary doctorate.¹⁷³ In 1928 Lady Astor came to William and Mary and received the honorary doctor of laws.¹⁷⁴

Conclusions

J.A.C. Chandler's vision for the College of William and Mary required a bold, aggressive presidential style. This he supplied in abundance. The down side to his decisiveness was that it could degenerate into the arbitrary exercise of authority, as in the case of Caroline Tupper, or pettiness, as in the case of the rebuke he issued to Edith Baer

even after she had resigned. He replaced the assertive Tupper and independent Baer with women like Bessie Taylor or Grace Landrum who apparently accepted the limits he placed on their roles at William and Mary. The overall pattern of Chandler's relationships with his deans, social directors, and department heads clearly indicates that while he valued hard work, he insisted upon unswerving personal allegiance and unquestioning acquiescence to his own rules and regulations.

Chandler exacted from his faculty the sort of tireless effort that he demanded of himself. Teaching loads were heavy; duties beyond the classroom were onerous; and for many the work week lasted from Monday through Saturday. While no faculty members were getting rich, Chandler's claim to pay men and women equitably is born out by a comparison of their salaries. Despite equitable pay within academic ranks, however, the fact remains that the majority of women resided at the low end of the William and Mary faculty spectrum.

President Chandler may have been overbearing and exacting with his administrators and faculty, but the evidence validates his claims of equitable treatment in teaching loads and compensation. His bold, executive style also translated into the creative use of prominent women activists as visiting faculty. The presence of women such as Ella Lonn and Orie Latham Hatcher both supplemented his overworked women faculty and increased William and Mary's visibility among women progressives. Visionary or autocrat, Chandler was above all a success. Whether they served with him for a few months or many years, the women faculty at William and Mary would all have to agree that life with Chandler was never dull.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions

Between 1890 and World War I, the Progressive Movement swept the country, producing wide-ranging reforms in virtually every area of American life. Progressives believed in an activist state that would intervene to solve the problems of society. Progressive leaders in education adopted the concept that public schools should support a more democratic society, and should strive to provide the best education possible to help all individuals reap the best opportunities to live their lives to the fullest. Women were among the most effective Progressives, mounting major reform movements aimed at bringing them equality with men. Chief among their objectives was suffrage for women, a goal they attained with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Progressive women also crusaded for equality in higher education. Nationally, those university presidents who were open to the reformist ideas played leadership roles in bringing about social, political, and economic change. Prior to 1910, the New South movement intensified demands to dramatically upgrade public education and correct social ills. Some Progressive presidents of the region's major universities chose to make public service a hallmark of their educational policy. J. A. C. Chandler came of age professionally and his world view came into focus during this great era of reform. Chandler drew from the Progressive movement around him a set of ideals about social justice, especially the view that the state bore a responsibility to extend public education to everyone.

John Dewey had argued that progressive education was an effort to adapt the

schools to the needs of society. This utilitarianism was a central feature of Progressive thought on higher education. Teacher education became a high priority nationally as the demand for public school teachers soared under the pressure of rapidly increasing student populations. Vocational training, including home economics for women, became major projects for both educators and governmental leaders. As Virginia responded to the Progressive Movement by opening public education to many more students, the need for teachers mushroomed, making teacher training a key issue for the Commonwealth. Organizations such as the National Education Association (NEA) promoted the role of the school in producing social change, including the support for vocational education, health education, and the great expansion of schools. Early in his career, Chandler joined the NEA and other organizations such as the Virginia Teachers Association. These organizations grounded him in the importance of vocational education and state-supported teacher education. During the time that Chandler served as editor of the Journal of Virginia Education, the publication became the voice of teachers in the state, functioned as a clearinghouse for progressive ideas, and offered innovative teaching methods.

While national and state issues certainly affected the way Chandler thought about education as a tool for reforming society, the Progressive environment in Richmond during his twenty-year career there influenced him as much if not more. In Richmond, Chandler came to know a forceful set of women activists such as suffragist Adele Clark and Mary Munford, the state's leading woman in education reform. These women and their colleagues campaigned for equal rights for women including equality in higher education and sought Chandler's endorsement.

Chandler's twenty year apprenticeship as a college educator and as superintendent of public schools in Richmond seems in many ways as a dress rehearsal for his presidency of William and Mary. He was a professor and administrator at two progressive colleges seeking to expand their educational offerings for women. At the all-female Woman's College, Chandler's first colleagues included the women who made up more than one-third of the faculty. At Richmond College, Chandler participated in an early experiment in coeducation. While superintendent of Richmond schools, he undertook wide-ranging Progressive reforms, learned the techniques of a successful administrator, and supervised a large number of women teachers. Chandler's long history as both colleague and supervisor of women faculty on both the college and K-12 levels, provided him with an unparalleled experience and prepared him to bring women to the faculty at William and Mary. Just as the Richmond colleges and public school system both hired and educated women, so did Chandler's William and Mary, and it was to Richmond that he turned for many of his first faculty at the College.

The rapid growth of the student population in the Richmond schools also required Chandler to plan for and supervise the expansion of the system's physical plant, the overhaul of the curriculum to include vocational education, and the recruitment of many more teachers. At William and Mary, he depended upon these same management skills to build a new physical plant on the main college campus, to increase the vocational orientation of the curriculum, to develop extension work, and to integrate women into a faculty, that had until recently been entirely male. As the College of William and Mary became a much larger academic community, Chandler's management of both the main campus and the many extension campuses gradually evolved from the autocratic style that

he used in Richmond towards greater reliance upon trusted subordinates at the College.

Whether he was in Richmond, New York, or Williamsburg, Chandler worked hard to hone his networking skills. Chandler developed overlapping networks of contacts with both men and women based on connections to colleges and universities, governmental bureaucracies, political organizations, professional educational associations, public school systems, and philanthropic foundations. He carefully cultivated and expanded these networks throughout his career and made effective use of them at William and Mary, especially to raise funds. Always a force in state politics, Chandler had learned while in Richmond the art of manipulating the governmental bureaucracy in the service of public education. As president, he lobbied constantly and with great success to increase state appropriations to the College, but also employed contacts with organizations such as the General Education Board, the Carnegie Foundation, the Methodist Church, and with individuals including John D. Rockefeller to raise supplemental funds.

Chandler's administrative skills included the development of a culture of access, academic quality, and fairness at the College of William and Mary. Just as Charles Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin, had proclaimed in 1904 that the democratic role of the university was to provide the education necessary to meet the needs of the "sons and daughters of the state,"¹ so did Chandler take this as a mission to insure that "the sons and daughters of our farmers, merchants, and artisans who heretofore have not gone to college to any extent to have the benefits of a college education." To this thought Chandler added, "In the democracy of William and Mary all students (men and women) are honored for what they are."² At the same time he remained

committed to high academic standards. Responding to critics of coeducation, he defended his acceptance of women students by asserting that he would not sacrifice quality for gender. If he had enlarged the enrollment without women, he believed the standards would have dipped. Admitting talented women students would strengthen, not weaken, academics at William and Mary.

Chandler's emphasis on quality and fairness was equally apparent in his recruitment of women faculty. After relying initially on alumnae and former Richmond school teachers, Chandler quickly turned to the national market for women educators. He hired women from the leading colleges and universities that granted graduate degrees to women at the time, especially Teachers College in New York City. The equitable treatment of women on his faculty was evident in his assignments of teaching duties and distribution of rewards. Chandler knew that organizations such as the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the American Association of University Women (AAUW) had investigated the bleak situation of university women faculty in the early twentieth century. He was determined that William and Mary would acquire a reputation as a place where women were treated well. To enhance that reputation, he sought full institutional membership in the AAUW, and he was willing to make the changes necessary to win their stamp of approval.

Under the leadership of J. A. C. Chandler, the College of William and Mary made major contributions to public education both at the college level and the K-12 level in the state of Virginia. As superintendent of a rapidly expanding school system, Chandler had fully recognized the dire need for additional teachers. He was also fully cognizant of the fact that most of the teachers in the Richmond public schools during his superintendency

were women. In his mind, teacher training and higher education for women were closely linked. While superintendent, he lobbied for teacher education and even served on the board of trustees of Fredericksburg Normal School. He brought that dedication to teacher training with him when he became president of William and Mary. Through the development of a School of Education out of what had formerly been only a department, Chandler produced a steady stream of teachers for the public school systems of the Commonwealth. More importantly, he insured higher quality in teacher training through a four-year course of study under the supervision of a carefully selected faculty which included women. His membership on the State Board of Education while president both reflected and amplified his commitment to quality teacher education as a service that the College rightly provided to the state.

Chandler took a decidedly pro-active tact by taking college-level education to the people of Virginia. He opened large extension campuses in Richmond and Norfolk, and assigned both men and women faculty to teach classes there and at other off campus sites. Both at the extension campuses and on the main campus in Williamsburg, he championed the Progressive agenda on education for vocational preparation including the development of home economics for women.

Chandler's contributions to public education for women at the college level were even more important to the state. Enlarging upon the foothold that Lyon G. Tyler had established by admitting the first women students in 1918, Chandler moved rapidly to make William and Mary fully coeducational. In fact, William and Mary was the only public school in the state where more than a handful of white women students could receive a four-year liberal arts education during the Chandler years. Previously the only

options for Virginia's white women were private liberal arts colleges or state normal schools.³ Chandler also made it possible for women to earn master's degrees at William and Mary and urged the University of Virginia to open its graduate programs to women.

The private women's colleges and state normals were the only employers of women faculty in the state until Chandler began to hire women at William and Mary. Chandler personally recruited a large number of accomplished women trained in the best American graduate programs in the country that admitted women. In turn, they fostered a culture of academic excellence and civic responsibility that matched the standards for men. William and Mary became a beacon to Progressive women throughout the Commonwealth. During Chandler's administration, the College was the only public four-year institution of higher learning in Virginia in which a large cadre of women faculty taught both men and women students alongside male colleagues.

On a national and regional level, Chandler's William and Mary became a model for public coeducation and especially the employment of women faculty. Compared to other public coeducational institutions of higher education in the South, the College consistently ranked at or near the top in terms of the percentage of faculty who were women. Chandler's commitment to the inclusion of women in the William and Mary community was even deeper than the number of women faculty suggests. He made a conscious decision to foster a culture in which women faculty were treated as professionals. Across the nation, as the AAUP complained, women faculty at coeducational colleges and universities were often limited to home economics and physical education. Chandler mainstreamed women by hiring them for most of the standard liberal arts disciplines, including mathematics and science.

As a college president, Chandler's contributions to the state and the region were directly related to his twenty-year apprenticeship as an educator and administrator in Richmond prior to 1919 and to the Progressive environment in the capital, in the state, and in the nation. In Richmond, Chandler acquired a distinct set of skills as an educational administrator that served him well after he returned to his alma mater in 1919. More importantly, his ideas about the role of a public institution of higher learning as an instrument for improving the lives of the people of the state flowed from his practical experiences and especially from the reformist zeal of Progressivism in a New South city. He put these precepts into rigorous practice when he became president at William and Mary. In the process, Chandler transformed the College from a tiny school where men faculty taught men students into a large public institution of higher learning where women and men taught as colleagues in a fully coeducational environment.

Recommendations for Further Research

Although there is a literature on higher education for women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, few scholars have focused specifically on women faculty. Lucille Pollard, Amy Thompson McCandless, Patricia Palmieri, Geraldine Clifford, and Lynn Gordon are pioneers in this research area, but a great deal more work must be undertaken before we have a clear understanding of how women faculty were hired, what they taught, how they were compensated, and in general how they lived their lives. Beyond the work of Patricia Hummer and Mabel Newcomer, little historical scholarship has explored the levels of employment of women faculty, the ranks they held, and the

wages they earned. The need is especially acute for Southern women academics. A general multi-campus study of women faculty in Virginia for any period would be a very welcome addition.

Scholarship on the history of higher education in the state of Virginia is exceedingly thin. No one has followed up in a comprehensive way on Cornelius Heatwole's 1916 historical survey of higher education in the Commonwealth. We badly need an analysis of publically supported higher education in Virginia in the twentieth century. We also lack specialized studies of women in higher education, higher education for non-whites, college extension, and the role of state government in higher education.

While some biographies of college presidents exist, Michael Dennis has written the only study that covers more than one Southern college president. Dennis analyzes the careers of four college presidents in the context of Progressivism and the New South but ends his study in 1920. We need additional comparative work on college presidents that pays close attention to their backgrounds and training. A historical study of networking among college presidents, for example, would be fascinating.

Someone needs to do careful research on the patterns by which college presidents recruited faculty members. The role that major graduate schools like Teachers College played as distributing centers for women faculty was unsuspected when this research began. Someone needs to pursue this topic on a regional or even national basis.

We need a clearer understanding of the involvement by early twentieth century political activists in the drive to open higher education to women, and of their on-going participation in campus life. The research for this dissertation points to the possibility of a particularly meaningful study of the ways in which presidents like J. A. C. Chandler

enriched their curricula through the use of women activists as visiting and adjunct faculty.

The influence of cities like Richmond generally on the development of higher education, especially in southern states like Virginia, should be examined. The degree to which both public and private funding determined the course of educational reform at schools like William and Mary is little known.

Overall, the role of women in higher education, especially as faculty and particularly in the South, is not well understood. In part this is because the documentary evidence from the women themselves is so thin. It is important for future researchers to sift carefully through the papers of college presidents such as J. A. C. Chandler to illuminate the incorporation of women into college faculties in the first part of the twentieth century. Scholars are unlikely to find a plethora of either public or private statements of motives. They must pay careful attention to seemingly mundane bits of evidence such as correspondence with placement officers at the graduate schools that trained the women to become faculty.

Chapter 1 Endnotes

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2. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education, 6-7.
3. Lucille Addison Pollard, Women on College and University Faculties: A Historical Survey and a Study of Their Present Academic Status (New York: Arno Press, 1977). See listings of women's colleges and faculty: 69, 74-76, 80-90, 94-98, 100, 106. See listings of coeducational institutions and faculty: 108-118; 120- 129; 130-149.
4. McCandless, The Past in the Present, 84.
5. Pollard, Women on Faculties, 69, 74, 76, 80, 84-88.
6. Geraldine Clifford, Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Universities, 1870-1937 (New York: Feminist Press at City University of New York, 1989), 10-11.
7. United States, Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1920-1922 (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1924), 342, 335-336, 345-346.
8. Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women, 133; Patricia Alberg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society (Summer 1978), vol. 3, no.4, 759-773; see chart, p. 766.
9. Patricia M. Hummer, The Decade of Elusive Promise: Professional Women in the United States, 1920-1930 (University of Michigan: Research Press, 1979), 73, 76, 77.
10. "Preliminary Report of Committee W, on Status of Women in College and University Faculties," Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, vol. 7, no. 6, Oct. 1921, 20-32.
11. Clifford, Lone Voyagers, 7-9.
12. McCandless, The Past in the Present, 89-91.

13. Cornelius Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916), 280-281, 287, 293, 297, 300, 333-334, 337-340.
14. Michael Dennis, Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 219-224, 236-237.
15. Anne Hobson Freeman, "Mary Munford's Fight for a College for Women Co-Ordinate with the University of Virginia," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 78, no. 4 (October 1970), 481-491.
16. Laura Parrish, When Mary Entered with her Brother William: Women Students at the College of William and Mary, 1918-1945 (Unpublished Master's Thesis, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA); Susan H. Godson, Ludwell H. Johnson, Richard B. Sherman, Thad W. Tate, Helen C. Walker, The College of William and Mary: A History, vol. 2 (Williamsburg, VA: King and Queen Press, 1993), 508-511.
17. Dennis, Lessons in Progress, 1, 11; Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 179-181, 215-218.
18. U. S. Office of Education, Biennial Survey, 1920-22, p. 354; The College of William and Mary, 1921-1922, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary, vol. 16, no.1, April 1922, 7-20..

Chapter 2 Endnotes

1. Kenneth W. Rose, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," American National Biography, 4, edited by John A. Garraty & Mark C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 662-663; Virginius Dabney, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," Dictionary of American Biography, 21, Supplement One to Dec. 31, 1935 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 164-165; "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," Virginia Biography, vol. 6 of History of Virginia (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1924), 629-630; T. E. Campbell, Colonial Caroline: A History of Caroline County, Virginia (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1954), 46; Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion, compiled by the Virginia Writers Project (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 363.
2. Rose, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," 662-663; Dabney, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," 164-165; "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," Virginia Biography, vol. 6 of History of Virginia, 629-630; Campbell, Colonial Caroline, 46.
3. Application for Admission for J.A. C. Chandler to Johns Hopkins University, Sept. 29, 1893, in Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
4. Letter from John Lesslie Hall to President Daniel Coit Gilman, May 27, 1893, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
5. Letter of recommendation from L.B. Wharton to Whom It May Concern, May 19, 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
6. Letter of recommendation from T. J. Stubbs, to Whom It May Concern, May 30, 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
7. Letter of recommendation from Van F. Garrett [to no specified person], July 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
8. Letter of recommendation from Lyon G. Tyler [to no specified person], July 14, 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

Chapter 2 Endnotes

1. Kenneth W. Rose, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," American National Biography, 4, edited by John A. Garraty & Mark C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 662-663; Virginius Dabney, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," Dictionary of American Biography, 21, Supplement One to Dec. 31, 1935 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 164-165; "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," Virginia Biography, vol. 6 of History of Virginia (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1924), 629-630; T. E. Campbell, Colonial Caroline: A History of Caroline County, Virginia (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1954), 46; Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion, compiled by the Virginia Writers Project (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 363.
2. Rose, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," 662-663; Dabney, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," 164-165; "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," Virginia Biography, vol. 6 of History of Virginia, 629-630; Campbell, Colonial Caroline, 46.
3. Application for Admission for J.A. C. Chandler to Johns Hopkins University, Sept. 29, 1893, in Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
4. Letter from John Lesslie Hall to President Daniel Coit Gilman, May 27, 1893, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
5. Letter of recommendation from L.B. Wharton to Whom It May Concern, May 19, 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
6. Letter of recommendation from T. J. Stubbs, to Whom It May Concern, May 30, 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
7. Letter of recommendation from Van F. Garrett [to no specified person], July 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
8. Letter of recommendation from Lyon G. Tyler [to no specified person], July 14, 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

9. Letter of recommendation from E. C. Moncure to Whom It May Concern, July 15, 1892, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
10. C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951, reprinted 1971), 440-442.
11. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to T. R. Ball, June 22, 1895, Record Group 13.010, Office of the Registrar, Student Files, Chandler, J. A. C., The Ferdinand Hamburger Jr. Archives, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
12. Chandler appears to have registered for a vast number of courses according to Johns Hopkins University Circulars, 1893-1896, Arts and Sciences Archives, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; Dabney, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," 164.
13. The dates for Chandler's employment at the Woman's College and Richmond College come from a letter of application that Chandler submitted to the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, June 15, 1909 as part of his application for the position of superintendent of Richmond's public schools. These dates differ just slightly from those in the biographical sketches in footnote 1. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, June 15, 1909, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library Archives, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. NOTE: Subsequent endnotes will cite Special Collections, Swem Library Archives, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. as W&M Archives.
14. Margaret Meagher, "Richmond Female Institute, 1854-1916," History of Education in Richmond (Richmond: City School Board, 1939), 73-75.
15. "The Woman's College," [advertisement], The Virginia Journal of Education, 1, no. 4 (January, 1907), 46.
16. Miss Frances de Vane wrote to Chandler March 4, 1922 to ask him to evaluate the credits and semester hours that she had earned twenty years earlier while a student at Woman's College. His reply explained the value of credits. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Miss Frances Murphy de Vane, March 6, 1922, Folder: V-General-July 1, 1921-June 30, 1924, Box 34 of 38, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
17. Chandler listed his credentials in: Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to The Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, June 15, 1909, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
18. "The Woman's College Faculty," Richmond Dispatch, Aug. 1, 1897, 3.

19. Douglas Southall Freeman, "The Dreamer Cometh," William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, 14, no. 4 (October, 1934), 260.
20. Freeman, "The Dreamer Cometh," 260.
21. Douglas Southall Freeman is most famous for his three works, Robert E. Lee, Lee's Lieutenants, and the six-volume biography, George Washington. He won the Pulitzer Prize for the biographies on Lee and Washington. See: John A. Cutchins, Memories of Old Richmond, 1881-1944 (Verona: Va: McClure Press, 1973), 101,103. Also Virginius Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 323, 349, 354.
22. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. James Nelson, Dec. 22, 1904, Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
23. "Woman's College: Development of this Richmond Educational Institution," Richmond Dispatch, May 31, 1896, 9.
24. Tupper Family File, 30-04, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, SC.
25. "Henry Allen Tupper," in George Braxton Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, Fifth Series, 1902-1914 (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Co., 1915), 29; Tupper Family File, 30-04, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, SC.
26. W. W. Landrum was one of the ministers who had conducted the Richmond funeral services of Jefferson Davis in 1893. W. Asbury Christian, Richmond: Her Past and Present (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1912), 431; Grace Warren Landrum Papers, Box 1, Swem Library Archives, College of William and Mary.
27. "Preaches to Girls," Richmond Dispatch, June 2, 1896, 5; "William Eldridge Hatcher," Men of Mark: Ideals of American Life, A Collection of Biographies of the Leading Men of the State, 5, edited by Lyon G. Tyler (Washington DC: Men of Mark Publishing Company, 1909), 197-199; "William Eldridge Hatcher" in George Braxton Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, Fifth Series, 1902-1914 (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Co, 1915), 358; "Chair Still Vacant," Richmond Dispatch, Aug.6, 1897, 6.
28. "Woman's College Awards Honors," Richmond Dispatch, June 2, 1905, 3.
29. "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," Virginia Biography, vol. 6 of History of Virginia, 629-630.
30. "William Eldridge Hatcher" in Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 353, 357-358. Dr. Hatcher continued his work in education as he helped establish Fork Union Military Academy, which came under the control of the Baptist Education Commission in 1914. "William Eldridge Hatcher," Men of Mark, 198; Garnett Ryland, The Baptists of Virginia (Richmond: The Virginia Baptist Board of Missions, 1955), 334; "William Eldridge

Hatcher," in Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 358.

31. "The Woman's College Faculty," Richmond Times Dispatch, August 1, 1897, 3.

32. "Ladies as Orators: Alumnae of the Woman's College Speak at their Initial Luncheon," Richmond Dispatch, June 6, 1897, 2.

33. Ibid.

34. Meagher, "University of Richmond-1832", History of Education in Richmond, 63, 64.

35. Chandler listed his credentials in: Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to The Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, June 15, 1909, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] papers, W&M Archives.

36. Reuben E. Alley, History of the University of Richmond, 1830-1971 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 114.

37. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Warner Peattross, Sept. 29, 1904, in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

38. Richmond, VA. City Council, Joint Committee of City Council and Board of Aldermen, Minute Book, 1912, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, p. 965. Presented to Chandler, this report had as its title page, "Stenographic Report of the Public Schools of the City of Richmond by a Special Committee of the City Council and Board of Aldermen, Gilbert K. Pollack, Chairman."

39. "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," Who's Who in America, vol.15: 1928-1929, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Co., 1928), 472.

40. Letter from F. W. Boatwright to J. A. C. Chandler, September 14, 1904; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to W.L. Foushee, Sept, 15, 1904; both in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

41. Letter from J. A.C. Chandler to W. L. Foushee, Sept. 19, 1904, Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

42. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to [W. A.] Shepherd, Sept. 23, 1905, in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Aug-Dec, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

43. Cutchins, Memories of Old Richmond, 99, 104, 106.

44. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. James Nelson, Dec. 22, 1904, in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives; "Byrne, James," Who Was Who in America, vol. 2: 1943-1950 (Chicago: A. N. Marquis

Company, 1950), 96; dates of Charles W. Eliot's presidency at Harvard in Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 447.

45. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, June 15, 1909, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

46. Alley, History of the University of Richmond, 115, 117-118, 119.

47. "Richmond College" a sub-section of "Among the Colleges," The Virginia Journal of Education, 1, no. 6 (March 1908), 36.

48. Meagher, "Richmond Female Institute," 75; Claire M. Rosenbaum, A Gem of a College: The History of Westhampton College, 1914-1989 (Richmond: William Byrd Press, 1989), 14; Alley, History of the University of Richmond, 122-124.

49. Alley, History of the University of Richmond, 141.

50. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, Williamsburg, VA, Oct. 30, 1897 is the only source in which Chandler explains that he taught analytics and calculus at Morgan College. Folder: Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll, Box 2 of 15, Lyon G. Tyler Presidential Papers, WM Archives. Chandler noted his other teaching credentials in: Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, June 15, 1909; Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

51. Letter from James Curtis Ballagh to A. H. Twitchell, President, Board of Trustees, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC, Feb. 26, 1902, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

52. Letter from J. H. Hooker to A. H. Twitchell, President of the Board of Trustees, Converse College, Feb. 12, 1902, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

53. Letter from Ernest J. Becker to A. H. Twitchell, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC, Feb. 24, 1902, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

54. Letter from James Curtis Ballagh to A. H. Twitchell, Feb. 26, 1902, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

55. Letter from J. M. McBryde to President B. F. Wilson, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC, Feb. 17, 1902, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

56. Letter from James Curtis Ballagh to A. H. Twitchell, Feb. 26, 1902, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
57. Letter from J. H. Hooker to A. H. Twitchell, Feb. 12, 1902, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
58. Letter from Ernest J. Becker to A. H. Twitchell, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC, Feb. 24, 1902, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
59. Letter from Robert Frazer to Dr. B. F. Wilson, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC, Feb. 18, 1902, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives.
60. Letter from E. E. Worrell to J. A. C. Chandler, Oct. 26, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. E. Worrell, Oct. 30, 1905. Both letters are in Folder: Correspondence 1905, Aug-Dec, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives; Cornelius J. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916), 368-373.
61. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Lenore Chandler, June 27, 1902. A second letter from JAC Chandler to Lenore Chandler, June 23, 1902, noted her health problems. Both letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1895-1902, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
62. Cutchins, Memories of Old Richmond, 164.
63. *Ibid.*, 163, 168.
64. Letter from Ernest J. Becker to A. H. Twitchell, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC, Feb. 24, 1902, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
65. Letter from Katherine S. Jones to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 19, 1905; Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Katherine S. Jones, Jan. 27, 1905, in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
66. Letter from Katherine S. Jones to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 27, 1905; Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. M. McBryde, March 8, 1905; both letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives. In McBryde's entry in Who's Who, it states he declined the position at Sweet Briar and remained at VPI until 1907. He also declined the presidency of the University of Virginia in 1904. "McBryde, John McLaren," Who's Who in America, vol. 11: 1920-1921, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1920), 1875.

67. Letter from Julia Tyler Otey to J. A. C. Chandler, October 16, 1904; Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Mrs. James Otey, Oct. 22, 1904; both letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives. "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," Virginia Biography, vol. 6 of History of Virginia, 630.
68. Letter from S. C. Mitchell to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan.3, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M, Archives.
69. This is in a letter from Chandler to his friend, J. C. Martin at the Westmoreland Club in Richmond. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. C. Martin, Oct. 8, 1904, Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
70. Letter from Emily Cosby to J. A. C. Chandler, [no date—but the letter was answered Dec. 22, 1904]; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Hon. W. A. Jones, Washington D. C., Dec. 22, 1904, in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives; "Jones, William Atkinson," Who's Who in America, vol. 9:1916-1917, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1916), 1328.
71. Letter from S. B. Dickinson to J. A. C. Chandler, March 5, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. J. P. Thomas, March 24, 1905, in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
72. Caroline County, VA, Jamestown Festival Observance Committee, Caroline County Historical Guide Book, ([Bowling Green ?], VA, [1957?]), p. 67.
73. Letter from Cassie Moncure Lyne to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 10, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Cassie Moncure Lyne, March 31, 1905, in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives.
74. Letter from Dr. James Nelson to J. A. C. Chandler, March 10, 1905; reply from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. James Nelson, March 15, 1905; both letters in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
75. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to F. W. Boatwright, March 15, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives.
76. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to C. B. Garnett, May 12, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to W. H. Jones, May 12, 1905; both letters in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April-July, Box 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
77. Letter from W. H. Jones to Lyon G. Tyler, Feb. 22, 1902, in Folder: Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll, Box 2 of 15, Lyon G. Tyler Presidential Papers, WM Archives; letter from Paul de Launay to J. A. C. Chandler, May 16, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to

Helen W. Chamberlain, June 22, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Eleanor Frey Cochran, June 22, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to C. B. Garnett, June 22, 1905; all letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April–July, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives; Jones later published a book on how to secure a teaching job in George W. Cox and W. H. Jones, How to Get a Position in School or College (Columbia, SC: Southern Teachers' Agency, 1932), 1.

78. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to A. Ruggles Nelson, Jan. 6, 1906. Although the date says 1906 this is filed in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan–March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

79. All of the letters in the hiring process which are detailed below are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan–March; Folder: Correspondence 1905, April–July; and Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Aug–Dec; all three folders are in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

80. Dr. Thomas W. Lingle to J. A. C. Chandler, March 17, 1905 asking Chandler to help him fill three faculty vacancies; J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. W. L. Foushee, March 20, 1905, to ask if Robert Stuart would be interested in the modern languages position at Blackburn; J. A. C. Chandler to T. W. Lingle, in two letters dated March 23, 1905 and March 27, 1905, to suggest Dr. Robert Loving and Dr. Robert A. Stuart; Robert Loving to J. A. C. Chandler on March 25, 1905 to request that Chandler write a letter of recommendation for him to Blackburn College; Chandler's recommendation of Loving in J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. T. W. Lingle on March 27, 1905. All of these letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan–March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

81. Letter from Thomas W. Lingle to J. A. C. Chandler on May 8, 1905, to announce securing Loving, Folder: Correspondence, April–July; Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

82. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. C. F. Woods, March 24, 1905 to ask if he would be interested in the modern languages position, in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan–March; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to T. W. Lingle, April 11, 1905 to recommend Woods, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April–July; both folders are in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

83. "The Woman's College Faculty," Richmond Dispatch, Aug. 1, 1897, 3.

84. Letter from W. H. Jones to J. A. C. Chandler, April 29, 1905, suggesting a Mr. Lake, and Mr. G. H. Triplett apply for positions; letter from G. Hampton Triplett, to J. A. C. Chandler, May 6, 1905 to ask for Chandler's recommendation; both letters in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April–July, Box 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

85. Letter from Thomas W. Lingle to J. A. C. Chandler, May 8, 1905; reply, from J. A. C. Chandler to Thomas W. Lingle, May 12, 1905; Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April–July, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
86. Letter from W. H. Jones to J. A. C. Chandler, April 29, 1905, suggesting W. L. Brooker, apply for position; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to W. L. Brooker on May 9, 1905 identified Brooker as the superintendent of Aiken Institute; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to F. W. Boatwright, May 2, 1905, recommending Brooker; letter from F. W. Boatwright to J. A. C. Chandler May 6, 1905, to offer position to Harris Hart or H. L. MacBain; letter from Chandler to F. W. Boatwright May 9, 1905, acknowledged Hart as good man; all of these letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April–July; Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
87. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to F. W. Boatwright, July 27, 1905 to recommend Dr. W. A. Shepherd; Folder: Correspondence, April–July; Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
88. Letter from Dr. W. A. Shepherd to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 20, 1905 on securing offices in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Aug–Dec, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
89. Letter from Thomas W. Lingle to J. A. C. Chandler, May 8, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April–July, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
90. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to F. W. Boatwright, August 10, 1905; and F. W. Boatwright's reply to J. A. C. Chandler, August 26, 1905; Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Aug–Dec, in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
91. Letter from F. W. Boatwright to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 24, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to F. W. Boatwright, Feb. 24, 1905; both letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan–March, 1905; letter from O. P. Chitwood to J. A. C. Chandler, April 11, 1905, in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April–July; both folders are in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
92. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, March 24, 1905; letter from Wallace Buttrick to J. A. C. Chandler, March 25, 1905; both letters in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan–March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
93. Alley, History of the University of Richmond, 120-122.
94. Abraham Flexner, Funds and Foundations: Their Policies Past and Present (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), 21-23.
95. Flexner, Funds and Foundations, 30.

96. Alley, History of the University of Richmond, 121-122.

97. Chandler wrote Buttrick to ask for an opportunity to speak to him concerning Peabody Funds for both Richmond College and the College of William and Mary. Buttrick replied that he would be glad to see Chandler, but Chandler would have to put all requests for Peabody Funds in writing before such requests could be submitted to the Committee of Trustees. Letter from William C. L. Taliaferro to J. A. C. Chandler, March 17, 1905; unsigned letter from J. A. C. Chandler to William Taliaferro, March 21, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, March 24, 1905; letter from Wallace Buttrick to J. A. C. Chandler, March 25, 1905; all four letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

98. Godson et al, History of the College of William and Mary, 501.

99. Even though most of his publications were for public schools, Chandler always maintained his associations with college professors. Travis Butler Thames, a Baptist minister, had received his doctor of divinity from Richmond College. Franklin Lafayette Riley, history professor at the University of Mississippi, had received his doctorate from Johns Hopkins University as did Chandler in 1896. Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, had received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1906 while Chandler was in New York. "Thames, Travis Butler," Who's Who in America, vol.8:1914-1915, edited by Albert Nelson Marguis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1914), 2321; "Riley, Franklin Lafayette," Who's Who in America, vol.11:1920-1921, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1920), 2393; "Hamilton, Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac" Who's Who in America, vol.11:1920-1921, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1920), 1213. C. Vann Woodward identified Hamilton as a student of William A. Dunning at Columbia, in Origins of the New South, 442.

100. Julian A.C. Chandler, History of the States, vol.1 of The South in the Building of the Nation, ed. by Julian A. C. Chandler et al., (Richmond: The Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909-1913), v, vii-x.

101. Mary C. B. Munford, "Woman's Part in the Educational Progress of the South," in Samuel Chiles Mitchell, editor, History of the Social Life of the Southern States, vol. 10 of The South in the Building of the Nation, ed. by Julian A. C. Chandler et al., (Richmond: The Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909-1913), 638-645.

Chapter 3 Endnotes

1. "Table 3: Pupils Enrolled in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools at Different Dates," in "Statistics of School Systems, 1933-1934," United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934, Bulletin 1935, No. 2 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 49.
2. "Table 14: Percentage of Men Teachers" in "Statistics of State School Systems, 1933-34," Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934, p.68.
3. J. L. Blair Buck, The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1942), 109-110.
4. William Larsen, Montague of Virginia (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 151; Cornelius Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916), 305, 308, 312-314. Heatwole used the term "educational renaissance" to describe the major transformation that began in Virginia after the turn of the century.(p. 305)
5. Richmond, Va. City Council. Joint Committee of City Council and Board of Aldermen, Richmond City Council Joint Committee Minute Book, 1912, Manuscripts and Rare Books Departments, W&M Archives, p. 963-964. This is a bound report of 1,142 pages of testimony including testimony by Chandler. The cover page of the report is entitled, "Stenographic Report of the Investigation of the Public Schools of the City of Richmond by a Special Committee of the City Council and Board of Aldermen, Gilbert K. Pollack, Chairman."
6. Kenneth Rose, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," American National Biography, vol. 4, edited by John A. Garraty & Mark C. Carnes, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 662-663.
7. Julian A. C. Chandler and William L. Foushee, Virginia, Supplementary Volume, Tarr and McMurry Geographies Series, (New York: MacMillan Company, 1902); J. A. C. Chandler, O. P. Chitwood, Makers of American History (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1904), 5; J. A. C. Chandler, Makers of Virginia History (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1904), 339, 343, 345; "Chitwood, Oliver Perry," Who Was Who in America, vol. 5:1969-1973 (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1973), 130.
8. Chandler, Chitwood, Makers of American History, 5; Chandler, Makers of Virginia History, 339, 343, 345.
9. Richmond City Council Minutebook, 965.
10. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Sallie Dickinson, Feb, 18, 1905 in Folder: Correspondence 1905, Jan-March; J. A. C. Chandler to Frank Duke, Dec. 22, 1904 in Folder: Correspondence 1904; both folders are in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal]

Papers, W&M Archives.

11. Bruce R. Payne to Dudley Cowles, Oct. 25, 1904, Folder: Correspondence 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

12. Bruce Payne to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov. 30, 1904; unsigned letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bruce Payne, Dec. 6, 1904; both in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

13. Richmond City Council Minutebook, 1912, 966-967.

14. Philip A. Bruce, History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919, vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1922), 201.

15. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. P. Kennedy, Oct. 8, 1904, Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives. Chandler also tried to use his connections to put his friend, Dr. F. L. Foushee of Richmond College on the State Library Board. He wrote Foushee that those in charge of making the appointment were "seeking a man better known to the politicians of Virginia than yourself." Apparently Chandler had earlier met those requirements, since he had served on the State Library Board. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to F. L. Foushee, Oct. 4, 1904, Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

16. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Franklin L. Riley, Feb. 11, 1905 in Folder: 1905, Jan.-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

17. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Franklin L. Riley, May 13, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April-July, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

18. Letter from J. C. Martin to J. A. C. Chandler, June 11, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April-July, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

19. "The Summer Normal," The Richmond Dispatch, May 23, 1897, 2; "The Public Schools," The Richmond Dispatch, Aug. 29, 1897, 10.

20. It is unclear in which Summer Normals Chandler worked originally. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, June 15, 1909, Folder: Recommendations written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

21. E. C. "Ned" Glass was a brother of Congressman Carter Glass. Henry C. Ferrell, Jr., "Claude Augustus Swanson," The Governors of Virginia, 1860-1978, edited by Edward Younger and James Tice Moore (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 175; Allen W. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925 (Charlottesville:

University Press of Virginia, 1968), 252.

22. Letter from E. C. Glass to J. A. C. Chandler, no specific date—probably the last week of August, 1904, in Folder: Correspondence, 1904 in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

23. “Balliett, Dr. Thomas Minard,” Leaders in Education: A Biographical Directory, first edition, edited by J. McKeen Cattrell (New York: The Science Press, 1932), 46.

24. Unsigned letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, Oct. 1, 1904; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, October 27, 1904, both in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

25. Letter from E. C. Glass to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov. 13, 1904; unsigned letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, Nov. 19, 1904; both in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives; “Mabie, Hamilton Wright,” Who’s Who in America, 1908-1909, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis, 1908), 1179.

26. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, Nov. 28, 1904; letter from E. C. Glass to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 7, 1904; both letters in Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

27. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to H. W. Mabie, Jan. 28, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Woodrow Wilson, Jan. 28, 1905; both letters in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March; in Box 2 of 2; JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives. According to Johns Hopkins University archival records, Wilson served as a lecturer, probably part-time, at that university from 1887 until 1898 while Chandler was working on his doctorate. This work overlapped with the full-time position Wilson held as professor at Princeton. Johns Hopkins Half-Century Directory, Arts and Sciences Archives, Special Collections and Archives, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.

28. Letter from H. W. Mabie to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 1, 1905; letter from E. C. Glass to J. A. C. Chandler, March 9, 1905; both letters in Folder: Correspondence 1905, Jan-March; Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

29. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, June 16, 1905, Folder: Correspondence 1905, April-June; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, March 24, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan.-March; both folders are in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives.

30. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, March 8, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, March 11, 1905; both letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives. MacBain, formerly an assistant principal at Richmond High School with both a bachelor’s and

master's degree from Richmond College, was working on a doctorate at Columbia University. He would receive the degree from Columbia in 1907, eventually join its faculty, and continue his work in history, political science, and constitutional law. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, Dec. 21, 1904, Folder: Correspondence, 1904, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives; "McBain, Prof. Howard Lee," Leaders in Education: A Biographical Directory, first edition, edited by J. McKeen Cattrell (New York: The Science Press, 1932), 586.

31. "Summer School at University," Richmond Times Dispatch, June 25, 1905, 3B.

32. Ibid.

33. "The Virginia Summer School," Richmond Times Dispatch, June 29, 1905, 3.

34. "Hall, Granville Stanley," Who's Who in America, 1908-1909, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Co., 1908), 795.

35. The Richmond Times Dispatch reported Dr. Hall's lecture, "How to Educate Girls," and described his "peculiar ideas" which he delivered to a large audience during the first week of the summer school. According to the newspaper account, Hall stated that the "question how to raise girls is delicate and complicated." He articulated the views of some educators that the health of young high school girls should be considered more than their intellectual training." His greatest concern was the ill effects of higher education on marriage. Citing Vassar graduates, he lamented that of the school's ten classes in ten years, only 30% of the women graduates had married. Similarly only 41% of the graduates at Smith College during a ten year period had wed; only 24% of women graduates at Cornell had tied the marriage knot; and only 15% of women who had graduated from Bryn Mawr had married. Hall stated that out of 10,000 girls who had graduated from female colleges in ten years, only 23% had married, while 50% of male graduates had walked down the aisle. Stating this to be a serious effect upon the population, Hall believed that every young woman should be educated for marriage and motherhood. He believed they should study poetry, nature, the world's great leaders, sentiment, pedagogy, modern languages, and especially domesticity. Women's education should include religion rather than theology, and should not extend to Latin, physics, and chemistry. "Education Blow to Matrimony," Richmond Times Dispatch, June 30, 1905, 9.

36. Letter from S. C. Mitchell to a Dr. Hunter [no first name], April 17, 1907, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

37. Letter from President F. W. Boatwright to the Virginia State Board of Education, June 15, 1909, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

38. Correspondence with Jocelyn K. Wilk, Assistant Archivist, Columbia University Archives, Oct. 1, 2001; correspondence with Betty Weneck, Manuscript Curator, Special Collections, Teachers College Library, Nov. 13, 2001; Columbia University, New York, NY.
39. Lawrence A. Cremin, David A. Shannon, Mary Ellen Townsend, A History of Teachers College, Columbia University (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 43, 45.
40. Ibid., 27, 32, 115.
41. Ibid., 34, 38-39.
42. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, Dec. 18, 1905 in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Aug.-Dec.; J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, Jan. 13, 1906 in Folder: Correspondence, 1906, Jan-March; both folders in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives. For Dean Russell as presiding officer, see Cremin, Shannon, Townsend, A History of Teachers College, 26, 35.
43. J. A. C. Chandler to Clyde Furst, May 4, 1906, and an unsigned letter from J. A. C. Chandler to E. C. Glass, May 5, 1906, both letters in Folder: Correspondence, 1906, April-July in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, WM Archives. (Furst later published a book in 1926 as part of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching on retirement allowances for teachers in the Virginia public schools. See Furst, Clyde B, Mattocks, Raymond L., Savage, Howard J., Retiring Allowances for Officers and Teachers in Virginia Public Schools; A Study Made at the Request of the Virginia State Association and the State Board of Education (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching), 1926.
44. 1932 Alumni Register, Columbia University Alumni Register, 1754-1932, Columbia University Archives and Columbiana Library, Columbia University.
45. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to William Taliaferro, March 21, 1905; Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
46. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Andrew Jackson Montague, Jan 8, 1906; letter from A. J. Montague to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan.12, 1906; letter from Edwin A. Alderman to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan.30, 1906; all three letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1906, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
47. William Larsen, "Andrew Jackson Montague, Virginia's First Progressive," in The Governors of Virginia, 1860-1978, edited by Edward Younger (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 159-160; Larsen, Montague of Virginia, 160.
48. Larsen, Montague of Virginia, 160.

49. Larsen, "Andrew Jackson Montague: Virginia's First Progressive," 158-160, 162-164; Larsen, Montague of Virginia, 150-151.

50. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, viii.

51. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to his brother, Campbell Chandler, Feb. 23, 1905; Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

52. Chandler and Foushee, Virginia, 58; Buck, The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 103.

53. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Governor Andrew Jackson Montague, March 8, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

54. Buck, The Development of Public Schools, 103.

55. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. W. Southall, March 8, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Attorney General William A. Anderson, March 10, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Charles W. Kent of the University of Virginia, March 10, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Lyon G. Tyler at the College of William and Mary, March 10, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to John Washington, Feb. 23, 1905. All these letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

56. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to John Washington, Feb. 23, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

57. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. Charles W. Kent, April 12, 1905; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Governor A. J. Montague, April 12, 1905. Both letters are in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, April-July, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

58. Unsigned letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. Boyd Washington, April 11, 1905; Folder: Correspondence 1905, April-July, Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives. Also Thomas E. Gay, Jr., "James Hoge Tyler," The Governors of Virginia, 1860-1978, edited by Edward Younger and James Tice Moore (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 147, 151, 152.

59. In the newspaper article, "None Chosen for Newport News," the article included a complete listing of the appointments of all the county superintendents in the state, Richmond Times Dispatch, May 26, 1905, 10; "Are Much Chagrined: Friends of Superintendent Smith Deeply Disappointed," Richmond Times Dispatch, May 26, 1905, 3.

60. "Probing Book Matter Deeply," Richmond Times Dispatch, May 25, 1905, 1; "Thomas and McGilvray Make Startling Confessions before Board of Education," Richmond Times Dispatch, June 23, 1905, 1; J. A. C. Chandler to J. P. Thomas, March 24, 1905, Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan.-March, in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
61. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 212.
62. Receipt of \$2.00 dues for Mr. and Mrs. J. A. C. Chandler as members of the Association of the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities for 1905, in Folder: Correspondence, 1905, Jan-March, in Box 2 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
63. Telegram from J. A.C. Chandler to J. Taylor Ellyson, May 17, 1906; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. Taylor Ellyson, June 1, 1906; both are in Folder: Correspondence, 1906, April-July, Box 2 of 2 JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
64. "Our State Chairman: A Sketch of Mr. J. Taylor Ellyson," Richmond Dispatch, Aug. 12, 1897, 3.
65. Telegram from J. A.C. Chandler to J. Taylor Ellyson, May 17, 1906; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. Taylor Ellyson, June 2, 1906, both in Folder: Correspondence, 1906, April-July, Box 2 of 2 JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
66. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 965.
67. "The Model School of the Jamestown Exposition," The Virginia Journal of Education, 1, no. 2, Nov. 1907, 33.
68. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, June 15, 1909, Folder: Recommendations written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
69. "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," History of Virginia , vol.6 of Virginia Biography, 630; "The Board of Managers of the Virginia Journal of Education," The Virginia Journal of Education, vol.1, no. 1, Oct. 1907, 17-18.
70. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, June 15, 1909. When Chandler applied for the position of Richmond superintendent of schools, he listed his former positions, and explained that he did not take the Raleigh position due to salary. In Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
71. Letter from R. E. Gaines to Dr. J. R. Hunter, Raleigh, NC, April 17, 1907, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.

72. Letter from James K. Patterson, president, to J. A. C. Chandler, April 6, 1909, Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
73. Letter from President F. W. Boatwright to The Virginia State Board of Education, June 15, 1909, in Folder: Recommendations Written about Chandler, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives.
74. "Table 85: Personnel and number of kindergarten and elementary schools, 1917-1918," Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-1918, Vol. III, Bulletin 1919, No. 90 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), 536-537.
75. "Table 86: Personnel and number of secondary, normal, vocational and special schools, 1917-1918," Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-1918, Vol. III, 554-555.
76. Minutes of the Richmond City School Board, June 30, 1910, and Jan. 9, 1911, as cited in Solomon Butler, Charles Walters, The Life of Dr. Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia (Hampton, VA: Hampton Institute Press, 1973), 13-14. Chapter 2 of this book provides a survey of Chandler's years as Richmond school superintendent based on Minutes of the Richmond City School Board.
77. Butler and Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 15.
78. Minutes of the Richmond City School Board, Jan. 11, 1911, as cited in Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 14.
79. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 234, 334, 335, 336; Butler and Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 12-15.
80. Richmond City Superintendent's Annual Report, June 30, 1911, as cited in Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 15.
81. Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 15.
82. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 1126.
83. "Hostile Spirit Clearly Shown by Committee," Richmond Times Dispatch, March 30, 1912, 1, 2; Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, preface; Minutes of the Richmond City School Board, March 28, 1912, as cited in Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 16.
84. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, preface.
85. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 74.
86. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 145.

87. "Ask Teacher How to Run Schools," Richmond Times Dispatch, April 2, 1912, 1, 2.
88. "Hostile Spirit Clearly Shown by Committee," Richmond Times Dispatch, March 30, 1912, 1, 2.
89. "Tells How Schools Ought to be Run," Richmond Times Dispatch, April 4, 1912, 1, 3.
90. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 207, 234; "Tell How Schools Ought to be Run," Richmond Times Dispatch, April 4, 1912, 1, 3.
91. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 994.
92. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 326-336.
93. Cornelia Adair attended the College of William and Mary from 1921-1923, and earned a bachelor's degree while Chandler was president. She later served as president of the Richmond League of Teachers Association, national treasurer of the NEA, and in 1927 became the first classroom teacher ever elected president of the National Education Association. Adair Gymnasium at the College of William and Mary would be named for her in 1963. John Carroll Presley, "Adair, Cornelia Storrs," Dictionary of Virginia Biography, vol.1, (Richmond: The Library of Virginia, 1998), 15-16.
94. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 443.
95. "Hostile Spirit Clearly Shown by Committee," Richmond Times Dispatch, March 30, 1912, 1, 2.
96. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 994, 995.
97. Richmond City Council Minute Book, 1912, 996.
98. Minutes of the Richmond City School Board, May 15, 1912 as cited in Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 16-17.
99. Minutes of the Richmond City School Board, May 15, 1912 as cited in Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 16-17.
100. "The School Situation," Richmond Times Dispatch, May 23, 1912, 4.
101. Solomon Butler reported that, according to his interview with Alvin H. Thomas, a former elementary principal who had worked under Chandler, many of Chandler's teachers considered him to be their friend. Butler also reported having conversations with W.C. Locker the former writing supervisor; Cornelia Adair, a former teacher and national leader in the National Educational Association; and Alyse L. Bates, clerk. From these conversations, Butler concluded that some teachers were afraid of Chandler. Butler did not, however, give the dates or locations for these interviews. See Butler, Walters,

Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 22, and footnotes 39, 40, p. 24.

102. "The Elementary Teachers Association of Richmond," The Virginia Journal of Education, 8, no. 8 (April 1915), 418-419.

103. Oral History Collection, Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, June 12, 1975, Williamsburg, Virginia.

104. Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 20, 21, 22, 23.

105. Minutes of the Richmond City School Board meeting, Feb. 19, 1918, as cited in Butler, Walters, Chandler and his Influence on Education in Virginia, 23.

106. "Teachers of City Urge Chandler Not to Quit," Richmond Times Dispatch, March 21, 1919, 8, in Folder: President of the College--Appointments--Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll, in Subject File, W&M Archives.

107. See for example the scheduled program for the Educational Conference in "Annual Conference at Roanoke," to be held November 27-30, 1917, Virginia Journal of Education, 11, no. 3 (Nov. 1917), 101-104. According to the program, Chandler was scheduled to present the report of the Committee on Legislation at the Superintendents' Meeting, 102.

108. "State Board of Education," The Virginia Journal of Education, 10, no. 7 (March 1917), 297; "State Board of Education Members," The Virginia Journal of Education, 11, no. 10 (June 1918), 405.

109. "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler, 1872-1934," Folder: Biographical Material, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, Box 1 of 2, W&M Archives; "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," History of Virginia, vol. 6 of Virginia Biography, 630; "State Board of Education," Supplement 2: Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, School Year 1927-1928 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1928), 7. This is part of the series of the Bulletin of Virginia State Board of Education, 11, no. 2 (Nov. 1928).

110. J. A. C. Chandler, "Virginia State Teachers' Association: What Can It Do?" The Virginia Journal of Education, 12, no. 7 (March 1919), 251-253. Also in a letter from J. W. Cook to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 6, 1919, Cook writes on letterhead stationery of the Virginia State Teachers' Association which identifies Metz and Taylor as vice presidents. Folder: Virginia State Teachers Association, 1919-1920, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. The Virginia State Teachers' Association had gradually emerged between 1900 and 1905. Rather than having a direct membership, it maintained members through its local associations in counties and cities. Much of the business of the organization was conducted by the Executive Committee consisting of ten or more vice presidents representing large districts throughout the state as their "ex-officio presidents." "General Meeting of the State Teachers Association," The Virginia

Journal of Education, 9, no.3 (Nov.1915), 110-111; "Constitution and By-Laws of the Virginia State Teachers Association, Adopted 1916," Folder: Virginia State Teachers Association, 1919-1920, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. Both Lulu Metz of Manassas and Bessie Taylor of Richmond served as vice presidents. Lulu Metz represented District H, including the counties of Alexandria, Fairfax, Fauquier, Loudoun, Prince William, Rappahannock, Culpepper, and the city of Alexandria. Bessie Taylor represented District C, including the counties of James City, New Kent, Charles City, Chesterfield, Goochland Hanover, Henrico, King William, King and Queen, and the city of Richmond. State Teachers Association: Treasurer's Report, Dec. 31, 1919; in Folder: Virginia State Teachers' Association, 1919-1920, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

111. "Letter from Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, May 21, 1918," The Virginia Journal of Education, 11, no.10 (June 1918), 409; "The Status of the Journal," The Virginia Journal of Education, 13, no. 1 (Sept. 1919): 12-14; "Letter from Superintendent Harris Hart, May 27, 1918," The Virginia Journal of Education, 11, no. 10 (June 1918), 408-409.

112. "Art Department," The Virginia Journal of Education, 9, no. 5 (Jan. 1916), 263.

113. "Directory of Officers of the Departments of Virginia Educational Conference, 1921," The Virginia Journal of Education 14, no. 5 (Jan.1921), 172; "State Teachers Association," The Virginia Journal of Education 14, no. 5 (Jan.1921), 173.

114. "Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association Will Meet Here in February," The Virginia Journal of Education, 7, no. 5 (Feb.1914), 209.

115. J. A. C. Chandler, "The Richmond Meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association," The Virginia Journal of Education, 7, no. 7 (April 1914), 336-337.

116. "Educational Notes and News," The Virginia Journal of Education, 15, no.1 (Sept. 1921), 21.

117. "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," History of Virginia, vol. 6 of Virginia Biography, 630.

118. "Dr. Chandler Returns," Richmond Times Dispatch, March 3, 1918, 12; Cremin, Shannon, & Townsend, A History of Teachers College, 75.

119. J. A. C. Chandler, "The Richmond Vocational Survey," The Virginia Journal of Education, 8, no. 6 (Feb. 1915), 310-311.

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Chapter 4 Endnotes

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22. Ibid.
23. "Resolution Passed by a Vote of 42 to 5 in Favor of the Establishment of a Co-ordinate College for Women at the University of Virginia at a Meeting of the General Faculty held May 11, 1911," in Women's Committee Interested in the Establishment of a State College for Women at the University of Virginia, The Co-ordinate College at Charlottesville Affiliated with the University of Virginia, Strode Bill 1910, Early-Rison Bill 1912, Proposed Bill 1914, Expert Evidence as to the Social and Educational Efficiency of This Type of Institution and its Need by the People of Virginia (Charlottesville, VA: n. p., 1913], 79.
24. Dennis, Lessons in Progress, 217.
25. Extracts from the Letter from Edwin A. Alderman to the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, December 11, 1913 in Co-ordinate College at Charlottesville, 80-83.
26. Jennings L. Wagoner, "Alderman, Edwin Anderson." Biographical Dictionary of American Educators, vol. 1, edited by John F. Ohles (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 23-24; "Edwin Anderson Alderman," Virginia Biography, vol. 5, of Bruce, History of Virginia, 7-8.

27. McCandless, The Past in the Present, 31.
28. Extract from Alderman letter to Rector and Visitors, Co-ordinate College at Charlottesville, 80-83.
29. Letter from Rosewell Page to the Editor of the Times-Dispatch, February 5, 1912, in Co-ordinate College at Charlottesville, 92-95.
30. Letter from Woodrow Wilson to ----[blank], Oct. 17, 1913, in Co-ordinate College at Charlottesville, 9. Note: The forward by the Women's Committee, listed seventeen women members including Mary Munford as chairman. This was dated Christmas eve, 1913.
31. Letter from P. P. Claxton to the Central Committee Interested in the Establishment of a State College for Women at the University of Virginia, Jan. 24, 1912, in Co-ordinate College at Charlottesville, 12,13.
32. Letter from Charles W. Eliot, to ----[blank], Nov. 4, 1913, in Co-ordinate College at Charlottesville, 35, 36.
33. Freeman, "Mary Munford's Fight," 485,486, 487.
34. By 1919 Mary-Cooke, doubting that a coordinate college would be established at the University, expressed her support for women's admittance into the University's graduate courses. In 1920-1921 women were finally accepted into some graduate and professional departments at the University. Freeman, "Mary Munford's Fight," 488, 489; Newell, "Mary Munford and Higher Education,"37.
35. Form letter from Mary-Cooke Branch Munford addressed to "My dear Friend," March 14, 1916, in Folder: Co-Education, Box 2, Lyon G. Tyler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
36. Godson et al., The College, 542.
37. Godson et al., The College, 508. The Senate vote is recorded in "Coeducation for William and Mary," Richmond Times Dispatch, Feb. 20, 1918, p.1; The House of Delegates vote is provided in "Workmen's Bill Passed by House," Richmond Times Dispatch, March 8, 1918, p.1, 5.
38. The movement for a public co-ordinate college for women at the University of Virginia revived in 1928. That year a new bill came before the General Assembly to transform the State Teachers College at Farmville into a women's liberal arts college associated with the University. Mary Munford and Rosewell Page again supported the measure, as did Adele Clark, a Richmond liberal who had just recently served as temporary social director of women at the College of William and Mary. Clark served as secretary of a commission to conduct a feasibility study of the best location for a co-

ordinate college. The commission issued a 1932 report recommending the State Teachers College in Fredericksburg. Clark expressed reservations, believing a co-ordinate college should be located in close proximity to the University campus. Neither Munford nor Clark ever succeeded in establishing a co-ordinate college in Charlottesville. In 1944 the General Assembly finally made Mary Washington College, formerly the State Normal School for Women in Fredericksburg, the co-ordinate college of the University of Virginia.. Freeman, "Mary Munford's Fight," 489- 490.

39. Newell, "Mary Munford and Higher Education," 38; Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919, vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1922), 93. Bruce was the uncle of historian Kathleen Bruce whom Chandler hired as the first woman faculty member in the History Department at William and Mary.

40. Godson, et al., The College, 542-543; Colonial Echo, 1919, 12-14.

41. Godson, et al., The College, 541.

42. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Hon. School Board, City of Richmond, April 25, 1919, in Folder: R-General-1919-1920, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

43. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Rector James H. Dillard, March 20, 1919, in Folder: Dillard, James H -Jan.1, 1919-- June 30, 1921, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Meeting of the Board of Visitors, April 14, 1919, p. 405, W&M Board of Visitors Minutes, W&M Archives.

44. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to W. T. Hodges, State Board of Education in Richmond, Aug. 13, 1919, Folder: Hodges, W. T. -1919-1922, Box 18, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

45. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, Sept. 25, 1919; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, Oct. 3, 1919; both letters are in Folder: James H. Dillard-Jan. 1, 1919- June 30, 1921, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

46. The College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, June 8, 1920, p.12, W&M Archives.

47. Mrs. W. L. Goodwin to J. A.C. Chandler, Jan.12, 1920; J. A.C. Chandler to Mrs. W. L. Goodwin, Jan.16, 1920; both letters in Folder: G-General 1919-1920, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

48. Colonial Echo, 1918, 36.

49. President's Report for 1921-1922, College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, June 7, 1922, p. 35, W&M Archives.

50. College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, October 19, 1922, p. 45, W&M Archives.
51. "Enrollment Women W. & M. Complete," The Straw Hat, July 14, 1922, p. 1.
52. President's Report, College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, Oct. 19, 1922, p. 45, W&M Archives.
53. College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, June 8, 1926, p. 136, W&M Archives.
54. Godson et al., The College, 593-594.
55. Snyder, 120 Years of American Education, 76.
56. "W&M Board to Consider Coed: Numerical Superiority Came After Rapid Gains in Few Years of Change," Roanoke Times, Dec. 8, 1933. This newspaper article was included in a letter from John Archer Wilson to J. A.C. Chandler, Dec.9,1933; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to John Archer Wilson, Dec. 14, 1933; Degrees Awarded; both in Folder: Students, Enrollment,1924-1934, Box 31, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
57. "Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler," Special Staff of Writers, Virginia Biography, vol.6 of Philip Alexander Bruce, History of Virginia, (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1924), 630.
58. Colonial Echo, 1921, pp. 39-43.
59. Colonial Echo, 1924, pp. 26-30; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1923-1924, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 18, no. 1, April 1924, 7-20.
60. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1926-1927, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 21, no.1, April 1927, 7-23.
61. The College yearbook, however, listed 68 faculty plus the dean of men, the librarian, and the social director of women, all of whom taught classes during some years, for a total of 71, which included 20 women. These faculty lists varied slightly depending on the listings of administrators. With either list, the women composed between one-third and one-fourth of the entire faculty. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1931-1932, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 26, no. 1, April 1932; Colonial Echo, 1932, pp. 21-22.
62. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1933-1934, Bulletin of The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 28, no. 1, April 1934, 6-29.

63. Letter from Edwin A. Alderman to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 1, 1919; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Edwin Alderman, Dec. 31, 1919; both in Folder: University of Virginia, Box 34 of 38, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. John Stewart Bryan would be Chandler's future successor as president of the College of William and Mary.
64. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Mrs. Anna T. Heck, Registrar, University of Virginia, Jan. 14, 1920, Folder: University of Virginia, Box 34 of 38, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
65. Letter from Mrs. C. W. Richardson, secretary at the University of Virginia to Director K. J. Hoke, July 5, 1921, Folder: University of Virginia, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
66. Dennis, Lessons in Progress, 237.
67. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Aurelia H. Reinhardt, president of Mills College, Oct. 27, 1923, Folder: R-General, August 1, 1923–August 1, 1924, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers.
68. "State Meeting A. A. U. W. Begins Here Today," The Flat Hat, March 27, 1925, p.1.
69. Letter from Mary S. Gammon to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 1920; letter from H. G. Noffsinger to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 11, 1921; Virginia Association of Women's Colleges and Schools Program, Feb. 17, 1921; all in Folder: Virginia Association of Women's Colleges and Schools, 1920-1921, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
70. College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, Jan. 12, 1920, p. 1.
71. Godson et al., The College, 546-547, 552-554; Vital Facts: A Chronology of the College of William and Mary, 1997 edition, 16-19.
72. Godson et al., The College, 552-555; Vital Facts, 16-19.
73. Vital Facts, 19.
74. College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, Feb. 1931, 273; Chandler Hall, W&M Building File; both in W&M Archives.
75. Godson et al., The College, 551, 667; Vital Facts, 20; College of William and Mary, The Romance and Renaissance of the College of William and Mary in Virginia (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1924 [?]), 30.
76. "Mrs. George Preston Blow Makes Gift of \$100,000 to W. & M.," The Flat Hat, April 20, 1923, p.1, 8; "Address Delivered at William and Mary College, June 8, 1925 by Thomas J. McCormack, of LaSalle, Illinois, on the Occasion of the Dedication of the George Preston Blow Memorial Gymnasium, Gift of Mrs. Adele Matthiessen Blow and

92. Percentage of College of William and Mary Graduates Entering Teaching; Folder: Students, 1923-1931, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Godson et al., The College, 565-571.
93. Letter from Josephine Halloran to J. A. C. Chandler, March 20, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Josephine Halloran March 30, 1920; both letters in Folder: Students-H-July 1, 1919-July 1, 1925, Box 31, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
94. Letter from Amanda Evans Hamlet to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 11, 1919; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Mrs. W. N. Hamlet, Dec. 23, 1919; both letters in Folder: Students-H-July 1, 1919-July 1, 1925, Box 31, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
95. Kramer J. Hoke, professor of education, summarized the developments in the School of Education in: Kramer J. Hoke, "Education at William and Mary," The Alumni Gazette of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 8, no.1 (October 1940), 8-9, 35,36; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to M. V. O'Shea, Oct. 26, 1927, Folder: Summer Session, 1926-1931, Box 32, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
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97. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, School Year 1934-1935, Bulletin of the State Board of Education, vol. 18, no. 3, Sept 1935, 90.
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99. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to George B. Zehmer, March 11, 1922, in Folder: Zehmer, George B., 1921-1922, Box 37 of 38, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
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103. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to M. V. O'Shea, Oct, 26, 1927, Folder: Summer Session, 1926-1931, Box 32, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
104. Romance and Renaissance, 1-48.
105. Romance and Renaissance, 2.
106. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to W. T. Hodges, Aug. 13, 1919; brochure, "Improvement Fund for the College of William and Mary, Office of the Committee of the Alumni Appointed to Raise Funds," [filed with Dec. 23, 1919 correspondence]; both in Folder: W. T. Hodges-1919-1922, Box 18, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
107. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, Sept. 25, 1919, Folder: Dillard, James H.-Jan. 1, 1919-June 30, 1921, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
108. Senate Doc. No. 5: Communication from the Governor, August 26, 1919; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Westmoreland Davis, Sept. 6, 1919; both in Folder: Davis, Westmoreland, Gov., 1919-1922, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
109. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Gov. Westmoreland Davis, Nov. 13, 1919; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Col. LeRoy Hodges, Aide to the Governor, March 22, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Miss Frances Woodson at the Virginia Journal of Education, Feb.3,1920 with the enclosed editorial, "The Budget Bill of Governor Davis"; letter from Mrs. Marguerite Davis to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 5, 1922; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Marguerite Davis Jan. 7, 1922, all in Folder: Davis, Westmoreland, Gov., 1919-1922, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
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111. Letter from J. A.C. Chandler to Trevor Arnett at the General Education Board, Nov. 18, 1920; College of William and Mary: Memorandum of Interview, Nov. 27, 1920; both items in Folder 1609: College of William and Mary, 1902-1926, Microfilm Reel 142, General Education Board Archives, Series 1, Appropriations, Sub Series 1, The Early Southern Program: Virginia.
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115. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, Feb. 14, 1923, Folder: Dillard, James H.–July 1, 1922-June 30, 1925, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

116. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James Dillard, Sept. 29, 1921; Western Union Telegram from James H. Dillard to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 21, 1921; both items in Folder: Dillard, James H.–July 1, 1921–June 30, 1922, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

117. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, March 10, 1922, Folder: Dillard, James H.–July 1, 1921- June 30, 1922; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, Sept. 27, 1922, Folder: Dillard, James H. –July 1, 1922–June 30, 1925; both folders in Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

118. Letter from J. H. Dillard to J. A. C. Chandler, June 2, 1922, Folder: Dillard, H.–July 1, 1921–June 30, 1922; letter from James H. Dillard to J. A. C. Chandler, Oct. 3, 1922, Folder: Dillard, James H.–July1, 1922–June 30, 1925; both folders in Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

119. Letter from Robert M. Hughes to Henry Cabot Lodge, Feb. 16, 1921, Folder: Dillard, James H.–Jan. 1, 1919–June 30,1921, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

120. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, Feb. 12, 1923, Folder; Dillard, James H.-July 1, 1922–June 30, 1925, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

121. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to James H. Dillard, April 30, 1920, Folder: Dillard, James H.–Jan. 1, 1919–June 30, 1921; Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

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Wednesday, May 9, 1923; both in Folder: 1609: College of William and Mary, 1902-1926, Microfilm Reel 142, General Education Board Archives, Series 1, Appropriations, Sub Series 1, The Early Southern Program: Virginia.

123. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Trevor Arnett, Oct. 16, 1923; letter from W. W. Brierley of the General Education Board to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 1, 1923, Folder: 1609: College of William and Mary, 1902-1926, Microfilm Reel 142, General Education Board Archives, Series 1, Appropriations, Sub Series 1, The Early Southern Program: Virginia.

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126. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the General Education Board, Aug. 5, 1926; letter from H. J. Thorkelson of the General Education Board to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 9, 1926, Folder: 1609: College of William and Mary, 1902-1926, Microfilm Reel 142, General Education Board Archives, Series 1, Appropriations, Sub Series 1, The Early Southern Program: Virginia.

127. Letter from Kramer J. Hoke, W&M Department of Education, to Dr Frank Bachman, General Education Board, March 14, 1927; College of William and Mary in Virginia: Proposed Reorganization and Expansion of Teacher-Training Work, [1927, 4 page report]; letter from J. A. C. Chandler and James H. Dillard to General Education Board, May 1, 1928; Agreement, General Education Board and the College of William and Mary in Virginia [March 12, 1929, signed by Trevor Arnett, President and W. W. Brierley, Secretary]; all in Folder: 1609: College of William and Mary, 1902-1926, Microfilm Reel 142, General Education Board Archives, Series 1, Appropriations, Sub Series 1, The Early Southern Program: Virginia.

128. Letter from Westmoreland Davis to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 11, 1922, Folder: Davis, Westmoreland, Gov., 1919-1922, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

129. Letter from E. R. Fuller to J. A. C. Chandler, June 1, 1925; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Edward R. Fuller, June 4, 1925; both letters in Folder: F-General-Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box, 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

130. Letter from Harry F. Byrd to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov. 29, 1924, Folder: B-General–Sept. 1, 1924–June 30, 1925, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
131. Bulletin of Virginia State Board of Education, vol. 11, No. 2, Nov. 1928: Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1927-1928, (Richmond: Division of Purchase and printing, 1928), 7.
132. “Chandler Installed as President: Harding Makes the Principal Address,” The Flat Hat, Oct. 19, 1921, p. 1; “Guests Who Registered at the College October 19, 1921”, The Flat Hat, Oct. 28, 1921, p. 10. Chandler’s installation took place in 1921 after the death of his wife in 1920.
133. “William and Mary Celebrates 150th Anniversary Adoption of Virginia Resolutions Here Tomorrow,” The Flat Hat, May 14, 1926, p.1, 5.
134. Letter from Frank Pierpont Graves to John Archer Wilson, June 18, 1934, in Folder: Biographical Materials, Box 1 of 2, JAC Chandler [Personal] Papers, W&M Archives; “Graves, Frank Pierpont,” Who’s Who in America, Vol. 18, 1934-1935 (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1934), 1002.

Chapter 5 Endnotes

1. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, The Biennial Survey of Education, 1920-1922, Bulletin 1924, No. 14, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 297-298; United States Department of the Interior, "Statistics of Higher Education, 1933-1934," The Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934, Bulletin 1935, No. 2 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1937), 31-32; United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Interior, The Biennial Survey of Education, 1928-1930, Bulletin 1931, No. 20 (Washington D.C., 1932), 339; Patricia M. Hummer, The Decade of Elusive Promise: Professional Women in the United States, 1920-1930 (UMI: Research Press, 1979), 75.
2. Once the Depression began to affect campus enrollments, the percentage of women faculty decreased, not to reach 26 percent until 1979. The Biennial Survey of Education, 1920-1922, 297-298; "Statistics of Higher Education, 1933-1934" The Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934, 31-32. Barbara Solomon and Patricia Graham report that 26% of all college faculty in 1920 were women. Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 133; Patricia A. Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, vol.3 (Summer 1978), 766; "Statistics of Higher Education, 1933-1934," Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934, 31-32.
3. Michael Dennis, Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 219-224; The university would not establish its coordinate college, Mary Washington College, until 1944, nor accept women as undergraduates until 1970. Amy Thompson McCandless, The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth-Century American South (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 83, 94-95.
4. "Statistics of Higher Education, 1933-1934," Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934, 31-32.
5. "Preliminary Report of Committee W, on Status of Women in College and University Faculties," Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, vol. 8, no., 6, Oct. 1921, 22-27.
6. "Preliminary Report of Committee W," Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, 22-27; Hummer, The Decade of Elusive Promise, 99-101; 102-103.
7. McCandless, The Past in the Present, 84.
8. The *Biennial Survey of Education*, published by the United States Department of the Interior, proved to be the best comprehensive source for the sizes and composition of both faculty and student bodies. However, the numbers from that source differ slightly from data developed independently from William and Mary college catalogs. In what was

probably a typographical or printing error, the *Biennial Survey* reported that there were 84 men and 84 women on the William and Mary faculty in 1931-32. It is likely that 84 was intended as the total size of the faculty in that year. According to the catalog, there were 78 faculty at the Williamsburg campus in 1931-32, of whom 27 percent were women. That percentage appears in the table.

9. "Statistics of Higher Education, 1933-1934," Biennial Survey of Education, 1932-1934, 52.

10. Colonial Echo, 1911, 13; Colonial Echo, 1912, 10-14; Colonial Echo, 1916, 116-18; Colonial Echo, 1918, 18-20; Colonial Echo, 1919, 12-14. Neither the College catalog for 1918-1919 nor the minutes of the Board of Visitors identifies Tupper's rank in the English department. Only the yearbook in 1919 lists her rank as associate professor.

11. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Special Collections, Swem Library.

12. College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1927-1928, 7-25. This catalogue provides information that is representative of faculty ranks during the Chandler administration.

13. Letter from Eva Smock to J. A. C. Chandler, March 23, 1926; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Eva Smock, April 9, 1926; letter from S. C. Coe to J. A. C. Chandler, March 31, 1926; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to S. C. Coe, April 12, 1926; letter from Stella Camden to J. A. C. Chandler, April 11, 1926; letter from Stella Camden to J. A. C. Chandler April 19, 1926; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Stella Camden, April 19, 1926; letter from Hunter Farish to J. A. C. Chandler, March 29, 1926; Western Union Telegram from J. A. C. Chandler to Hunter Farish, April 17, 1926; all letters in Folder: Employment-Academic-Govt., History, Pol. Sc.-1926-1927, Box 9, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

14. "Bruce, Kathleen Eveleth," American Women Historians, 1700s-1990s: A Biographical Dictionary, edited by Jennifer Scanlon and Shaaron [sic] Cosner (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 33-34; "Bruce, Kathleen [Eveleth]," The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 42 (New York: James T. White and Co., 1958), 224-225; "Kathleen Bruce, Educator, Is Dead," New York Times, April 30, 1950, p. 102; "Dr. Bruce Succumbs to Illness," Richmond Times Dispatch, April 27, 1950. 8.

15. "Bruce, Kathleen [Eveleth,]" The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 42 (New York: James T. White and Co., 1958), 224-225; "Genealogy: Bruce Family," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol 12, no. 1, July 1904, 93-96, in The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 12, 1904-1905, reprinted by Kraus Reprint Corporation, New York, 1968.

16. Letter from Richard Morton to J. A. C. Chandler, April 14, 1926, Folder: Morton, R. L., Sept. 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 24, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

17. Thomas P. Abernethy, "Bruce, Philip Alexander," Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 21, Supplement One to Dec. 1935, edited by Harris E. Starr (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944) 128-129; "Philip Alexander Bruce," History of Virginia, Vol. 5: Virginia Biography by Special Staff of Writers (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1924), 51-52; "Dr. Morton to Rewrite History of Virginia," The Flat Hat, March 6, 1925, 2; "History Club Elects New Members," The Flat Hat, Jan. 9, 1925, 4.
18. "Philip Alexander Bruce," History of Virginia, 51-52; "Virginia Poetry Society Meets Here Tomorrow," The Flat Hat, May 1, 1925, 1, 7.
19. See Kathleen Bruce, "Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry," William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, vol. 6, no. 4, Series 2, Oct. 1926, 289-302; Kathleen Bruce, "Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry," William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, vol. 7, no. 1, Series 2, Jan. 1927, 21-31; Kathleen Bruce, "Cabell, William," Dictionary of American Biography, edited by Allen Johnson, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 389-390; Kathleen Bruce, "Cary, Archibald," Dictionary of American Biography, edited by Allen Johnson, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 554; Kathleen Bruce, "Economic Factors in the Manufacture of Confederate Ordnance," Army Ordnance, vol. 6, no. 33, Nov-Dec. 1925 and vol. 6, no. 34, Jan-Feb. 1926, in Kathleen Bruce— Faculty/Alumni File, W&M Archives; "Kathleen Bruce, "The Manufacture of Ordnance in Virginia during the American Revolution," Army Ordnance, Nov. 1926 and March 1927, as cited in "Bruce, Kathleen [Eveleth]," National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 224-225; "Massachusetts Women of the Revolution (1761-1789) in The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Colony, Province, and State, edited by Albert B. Hart (1927-1930) as also cited in "Bruce, Kathleen [Eveleth]" National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 224-225.
20. Kathleen Bruce, Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era (New York: The Century Company, 1931), ix.
21. On Grace Landrum's career, see "Dean Landrum to Retire in June," Alumni Gazette of the College of William and Mary, vol. 14, no. 4, May 1947, 5, 12.
22. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1928-29, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 23, no. 1, April 1929, 17.
23. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34, Swem Library, W&M Archives.
24. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34.
25. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34. Because Margaret Bomar was Director of Women's Physical Education for less than one month in 1920, she was not included here or in any other tables in this chapter. On Barksdale's remarkable career, see Martha Barksdale File, Alumni Records, Society of the Alumni, Special

Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. For Marguerite Wynne-Roberts assistant dean of women in 1934, see "Oral History of Marguerite Wynne-Roberts, 1975," Special Collections, Swem Library Archives, College of William and Mary.

26. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1933-34, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 28, no. 1, April 1934, 30, 20; Colonial Echo, 1925, 74; Colonial Echo, 1927, 47; Kathleen Alsop, Faculty/Alumni File, William and Mary Archives, Swem Library.
27. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Joseph M. Hurt, July 7, 1924, Folder: H-General-August 1, 1923-September 1, 1924, Box 17, J. A. C. Chandler Presidential Papers, W & M Archives; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1924-25, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 19, no. 1, April 1925, William and Mary Archives, Swem Library.
28. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34; information on Eleanor Craighill in letter from Rosa Nelson Mason to Rosewell Page, [n.d.], Folder: Students-C-1924-1934, Box 31, J. A. C. Chandler Presidential Papers, W & M Archives; "Miss Michaels Sculptor of Note Here and Abroad," The Flat Hat, January 16, 1925, 8.
29. "Twenty-Two are Added to W&M List of Faculty," The Flat Hat, Oct. 7, 1927, 1, 8.
30. "Permanency of Professors," The Flat Hat, Nov. 4, 1927, 4; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1926-27, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol.21,7-23; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary,1927-28, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol.22, 7-26.
31. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1920-21 through 1933-34. Faculty already on staff when Chandler began his presidency in 1919-1920 had been hired by Lyon Tyler and are therefore absent from the calculations. Faculty hired in the school years 1930-31, 1931-32, and 1933-34 could not have served more than three years prior to Chandler's death in 1934. They, also, are not included in the calculations.
32. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34; Faculty Index Card Catalog, Special Collections, W&M Archives.
33. Emilie J. Hutchinson, "Women and the Ph.D.," Journal of American Association of University Women, vol. 22, no. 1 (Oct. 1928), 19-22.
34. Letter from Margaret Bomar to J. A. C. Chandler, May 9, 1920; letter from Principal A. B. Taylor To Whom It May Concern, April 9, 1918; letter from Superintendent George Bradshaw, June 21, 1919; all three letters in Folder: Bomar, Margaret E., 1920, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

35. Letter from Margaret Bomar to J. A. C. Chandler, May 9, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Margaret Bomar, May 21, 1920; both letters in Folder: Bomar, Margaret, 1920, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
36. Letter from Margaret Bomar to J. A. C. Chandler, June 8, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Margaret Bomar, June 12, 1920; letter from Margaret Bomar to J. A. C. Chandler, June 26, 1920; all letters in Folder: Bomar, Margaret, 1920, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
37. Letter from Margaret Bomar to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 9, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Margaret Bomar, Sept. 10, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Margaret Bomar, Sept. 15, 1920; all letters in Folder: Bomar, Margaret, 1920, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
38. "The Coeds," The Flat Hat, Oct. 8, 1920, 1.
39. Letter from Margaret Bomar to J. A. C. Chandler, dated Wednesday morning; Margaret Bomar W&M Registration Card, Oct. 26, 1920; Letter from Kramer Hoke, Acting President to Margaret Bomar, Oct. 28, 1920; all three in Folder: Bomar, Margaret, 1920, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
40. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Margaret Bomar, Nov. 3, 1920; letter from E. E. Bomar to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov. 18, 1920; both letters in Folder: Bomar, Margaret, 1920, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
41. "Permanency of Professors," The Flat Hat, Nov. 4, 1927, 4.

Chapter 6 Endnotes

1. Letter from J. D. Eggleston to J. A. C. Chandler, May 19, 1931; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. J. D. Eggleston, May 21, 1931, Folder: Faculty, 1930-1934, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
2. William and Mary College Catalogs, 1919-20 through 1933-34.
3. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1923-1924, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary, vol.18, no.1, April 1924, 18; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1925-1926, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary, vol. 20, no. 1, April 1926, 8, 17; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1924-1925, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary, vol. 19, no. 1, April 1925, 20; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1930-1931, Bulletin of The College of William and Mary, vol.25, no. 1, 15.
4. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1923-1924, 17, 18; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1924-1925, 16; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1925-1926, 22.
5. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1922-1923, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary, vol. 17, no. 1, April 1923, 17; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1925-1926, 16, 22; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1926-1927, Bulletin of The College of William and Mary, vol.21, no.1, April 1927, 7, 19, 22; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1930-1931, 25.
6. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1921-1922, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary, vol. 16, no. 1, April 1922, 20; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1924-1925, 19; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1926-1927, 17, 18, 19; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1928-1929, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary, vol. 23, no.1, April 1929, 19, 20, 21.
7. Colonial Echo, 1920, 14-15; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1919-1920, Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, vol. 14, no.1, April 1920, 12.
8. Bessie Taylor's sister, Frances, wrote a brief biographical sketch of her life and family in Frances Lankford Taylor, "Frances Lankford Taylor," in Delta Kappa Gamma Society, Adventures in Teaching: Pioneer Women Educators and Influential Teachers (Richmond: Virginia Iota State Organization, Delta Kappa Gamma, Society, 1963), 265-269.
9. The letterhead stationery identifies all the officers of the Virginia State Teachers Association in J. W. Cook to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 6, 1919; the State Teachers Association Treasurer's Report, Dec. 31, 1919, identified Taylor as representing eight counties around Richmond plus the two localities of Richmond and Williamsburg; both items in Folder: Virginia State Teachers Association, 1919-1920, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

10. "Legislation for Education," The Virginia Journal of Education, 12, no.1 (Sept. 1918), 17.
11. Letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler , Nov. 17, 1925, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.– July 1,1925--July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Suzanne Lebson, Virginia Women 1600-1945: "A Share of Honour," (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1987), 118-119.
12. Letterhead stationery of the Virginia League of Women Voters identified prominent members including Taylor in a letter from Mrs. John Lewis, president, to J. A. C. Chandler, April 29, 1926, Folder: V-General-July 1, 1925-June 30, 1926, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers; Taylor said she was going to Richmond to work with Mrs. Lewis. Taylor believed Lewis wanted her to go with Lewis to speak to Virginia Governor Lee Trinkle; in letter from Bessie Taylor to Kathleen Alsop, Jan.11, 1926, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.–July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
13. Colonial Echo, 1921, 41-43; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1920-1921, 12, 16.
14. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary,1920-1921, 16.
15. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary,1921-1922, 19; Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935 (New York: Oxford University Press,1991), 66, 79, 81.
16. Letter from Anne Smith to J. A. C. Chandler, Oct. 1, 1921, Folder: Smith, Anne-1921-1922, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
17. Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, June 12, 1975, introductory page, W&M Archives; "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1922, 33; "Administration", Colonial Echo, 1923, 28; "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1924, 28.
18. Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, 14-16.
19. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Thelma Brown, Jan.12, 1922, Folder: Brown, Thelma, 1920-1922, Box 3, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
20. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1922-1923, 140-141; Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview.
21. Althea Hunt, Editor, W&M Theater: A Chronicle (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1968), 9,10,11; College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1933-1934, Bulletin The College of William and Mary, vol. 27, no.1, April 1933, 18.
22. "Dean Landrum to Retire in June," Alumni Gazette of the College of William and Mary, vol. 14, no. 4, May 1947, 5, 12.

23. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to John Daniel, March 29, 1934 concerning the Music Department at the College, in Folder: Faculty, 1930-1934, Box, 15, JAC Chandler Presidential papers, W&M Archives; "Mrs. Brockenbrough is Dead; Well Known Music Teacher," Richmond Times-Dispatch, Dec. 8, 1938, p.1.
24. "Funeral Held for Martha Barksdale, Leading W&M Figure," Virginia Gazette, Oct. 18, 1974, 9; "Miss Barksdale: Senior Professor," Fiftieth Anniversary of the Flat Hat, 1961, 43, xerox in Vital Files: Barksdale, Martha, Society of the Alumni, College of William and Mary; Martha Barksdale, "Amusements in Colonial Virginia" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1929).
25. Colonial Echo, 1921, 54; Colonial Echo, 1920, 51.
26. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Martha Barksdale, Aug. 1, 1919, Folder: Students-B-1919-1925, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
27. "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1922, 33; "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1923, 28; letter from Martha Barksdale to Col. L. W. Lane, Treasurer, June 17, 1923, Folder: B-General-July 1, 1922-July 31, 1923 ; letter from JAC Chandler to Martha Barksdale, May 11, 1925, Folder: Barksdale, Martha, Sept. 1, 1924-July 1, 1925; both folders in Box 2 in JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
28. "Barksdale, Martha Elizabeth," Richard Morton, Virginia Lives: The Old Dominion Who's Who (Hopkinsville, KY: Historical Record Association, 1964), 49-50.
29. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1924-1925, 18.
30. Colonial Echo, 1922, 49.
31. Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, Bulletin The College of William and Mary in Virginia , vol. 26, no. 2 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1941), 177.
32. "Death Ends Career of J. Lesslie Hall, Professor of English Here Since 1888," The Flat Hat, Feb. 24, 1928, 1, 5; Colonial Echo, 1919, 12; Colonial Echo, 1927, 13.
33. Colonial Echo, 1927, 60; "E. Eleanor Calkins," Virginia Gazette, Aug. 17, 1991, 5B; Faculty-Alumni File: Emily Eleanor Calkins, W&M Archives.
34. Robert D. Calkins, held a successive number of impressive positions in education. After receiving his doctorate in Economics at Stanford University, he became chairman of the Economics Department at the University of California at Berkeley. He later became dean of the Business School at Berkeley, dean of the Business School at Columbia University, vice president of the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, president of the Brookings Institution in Washington DC, and vice chancellor of the University of California at Santa Cruz. "Robert D. Calkins Dies at 89; Brookings

Institution President," Washington Post, July 8, 1992, D4.

35. Colonial Echo, 1925, 74; Colonial Echo, 1927, 47; "Hold Funeral Rites for Retired Teacher," Virginia Gazette, July 10, 1959, 24; Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 109, 177.

36. Letter from Kathleen Alsop to The H. M. Rowe Company, Nov. 21, 1923, Folder: R-General-Aug. 1923-Aug. 1924, Box 26; letter from Kathleen Alsop to Eleanor Glasgow, June 27, 1924, Folder: G-General-Aug. 1, 1923-Sept. 1, 1924, Box 16; both boxes in JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

37. Like Emily Hall, Alsop also had a special family connection at the College. It appears that she was related to President Chandler. After President Chandler died, Alsop became the guardian of Carroll Chandler, one of the president's four sons, who was suffering from a mental disorder. J. A. C. Chandler's father, Joseph Alsop Chandler, apparently provided the family connection between Alsop and the president. Godson et al, College of William and Mary, A History, 580; letter from First Assistant Physician to J. A. C. Chandler, May 29, 1934; letter from Samuel A. Silk, Clinical Director, to Kathleen Alsop, Nov. 25, 1940; both letters in Folder: Chandler, Carroll Coleman, 1930-1946, Box 1, JAC Chandler Personal Papers; Kenneth W. Rose, "Chandler, Julian Alvin Carroll," American National Biography, vol. 4, edited by John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 662.

38. Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 177.

39. Colonial Echo, 1920, 14-15; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1919-1920, 12.

40. Letter from Edith Baer to J. A. C. Chandler, May 26, 1919; Report of Home Economics Department; both in Folder: Baer, Edith, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

41. Fannie Lou Gill Stryker, Faculty-Alumni File, W&M Archives; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Fannie L. Gill, June 12, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Fannie Lou Gill, June 21, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Fannie L. Gill, June 21, 1920; all three letters in Folder: G-General--1919-1920, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

42. Letter from Fannie Lou Gill to J. A. C. Chandler, June 19, 1920, Folder: G-General-1919-1920, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1921-1922, p. 16.

43. "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1922, 31; "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1923, 25.

44. Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 85; Parke Rouse, Cows on the Campus (Richmond: Deitz Press, 1973), 197; letter from Fannie Lou Stryker to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 22, 1923, Folder: Budget, 1923-1924, Box 3, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
45. "The Faculty," The Colonial Echo, 1925, 25; The College of William and Mary Development Records, Biographical File: Mrs. Fannie Lou Stryker, Society of the Alumni, College of William and Mary.
46. Colonial Echo, 1922, 44; Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 91.
47. Earnest Jackson Oglesby, Faculty File, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1924-1925, 17.
48. Colonial Echo, 1924, 64.
49. Letter from Elizabeth Mercer to J. A. C. Chandler, June 7, 1923, Folder: Williamsburg School Board, 1922-1923, Box 35, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
50. Contract between the School Board of the City of Williamsburg and the President and Professor of Education of the College of William and Mary, 1919, Folder: Williamsburg School Board, 1919-1921, Box 35, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
51. Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 104; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Elizabeth Mercer, May 11, 1925, Folder: Mercer, Elizabeth, 1925-1926, Box 24, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
52. Lecture Schedule, Autumn Quarter, 1922; Lecture Schedule, Winter Quarter, 1923; lecture Schedule, Winter Quarter, 1924; Lecture Schedule, Autumn, 1924; Lecture Schedule, Winter, 1925; Lecture Schedule, Spring 1925; all in Folder: Faculty lecture Schedules, 1922-1925, Box 38, Oversize, J. A. C. Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
53. "White Stone Bride," Richmond Times-Dispatch, Aug. 30, 1927, 14.
54. Letter from Elizabeth Siersema to W. T. Hodges, Feb. 23, 1930, Folder: Hodges, W. T.-1930, Box 18, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
55. Colonial Echo, 1927, 97; Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 123; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1927-1928, 24; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1929-1930, 30.
56. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1930-1931, 25; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1932-1933, 25.

57. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1930-31, 25 ; Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 168, 169; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1933-1934, 22, 23, 24.

58. Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866-1932, 177.

59. "Teachers College," Columbia University Catalogue, 1930-1931, 188-191, Special Collections, Columbia University Archives and Columbian Library, Low Memorial Library, Columbia University.

60. Table 3: "Institutions conferring the Ph.D. Degree on Examination in 1922", Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1924, No. 14: Biennial Survey of Education, 1920-1922, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 305.

61. Columbia University Alumni Register, 1734-1931, 34, 668, 318, 593, Special Collections, Columbia University Archives and Columbian Library, Low Memorial Library, Columbia University; Educational career sketches of these faculty are provided in the Officers of Instruction sections throughout all the catalogues of the College of William and Mary, from 1919-1920 to 1933-1934, W&M Archives.

62. Columbia University Alumni Register, 1734-1931, 845, 187, 830, Special Collections, Columbia University Archives and Columbian Library, Low Memorial Library, Columbia University; Educational career sketches of these faculty are provided in the Officers of Instruction sections of the catalogues of the College of William and Mary, from 1919-1920 to 1933-1934. See especially faculty listings in Officers of Instruction in the catalogues of the College of William and Mary for years 1928-29, 1931-32, 1933-34, W&M Archives:

Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1928-1929, Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, vol. 23, no.1, 19, 21; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1931-32, 14, 18; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1933-1934, 17.

63. Columbia University Alumni Register, 1734-1931, 169, 403, 932, 386; Columbia University Commencement Exercises, June 2, 1931, Columbia University Commencement Exercises, June 1, 1926; both in Special Collections, Columbia University Archives and Columbian Library, Low Memorial Library, Columbia University; Educational career sketches of these faculty are provided in the Officers of Instruction sections of the catalogues of the College of William and Mary, from 1919-1920 to 1933-1934, especially Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1923-1924; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1927-28; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1928-1929; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1933-1934; all in W&M Archives; also "Suggested Extension Organization for Education Courses, 1929-1930," Folder: Newport News Extension, Box 24, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

64. Educational career sketches of these faculty are provided in the Officers of Instruction sections of the catalogues of the College of William and Mary, from 1919-1920 to 1933-1934, especially in Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1926-1927; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1929-30; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1930-31; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1933-1934; all in W&M Archives.

65. Between 1877 and 1900 the University of Chicago had awarded 29 doctorates to women, and was second only to Yale, and followed by Cornell and New York University. Chicago had actually become known for its liberal admittance of women until President Harper had instituted the "segregation" of the sexes to try to solve the problem of too many women coming to the college around the turn of the century. This action led to a growing negative atmosphere against coeducation at other major universities at the beginning of the century as institutions feared the loss of educational opportunities for young men Margaret W. Rossiter, "Doctorates for American Women, 1868-1907," History of Women in the United States, Vol.12: Education, edited by Nancy F. Cott (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1993), 295-297; Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 58-59.

66. Students Official Transcripts, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, University of Chicago.

67. College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1920-1921, Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, vol. 15, no.1, April 1921, 16; College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1928-1929, 19.

68. Solomon, Educated Women, 55, 134.

69. "Request for Information" form, March 26, 1926, in Staff Appointments File: Caroline Tupper, University Archives, University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

70. "Landrum, Prof. Grace Warren," Directory of American Scholars: A Biographical Directory, edited by Jacques Cattell (Lancaster, PA: The Science Press, 1942), 474; "Landrum, Grace Warren," Who's Who in Education, vol. 5: 1933-1934, edited by Robert C. Cook (New York: Robert C. Cook Company, 1934), 446.

71. Margaret Weatherall, "Grace Warren Landrum," Grace Warren Landrum Papers, Box 1, College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

72. "Bruce, Kathleen Eveleth," American Women Historians, 1700s-1990s: A Biographical Dictionary, edited by Jennifer Scanlon and Shaaron Cosner (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 33-34.

73. "Hunt, Althea," Who's Who of American Women, vol. 1: 1958-1959 (Chicago, IL: A.N. Marquis Company, 1958), 622; "Hunt, Althea," Virginia Lives: The Old Dominion

Who's Who, edited by Richard L. Morton (Hopkinsville, KY: Historical Record Assoc, 1964), 490; Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Eva A. Mooar, Radcliffe College, Sept, 1, 1924, Folder: H-General-Aug.1, 1923- Sept.1, 1924, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1933-1934, Bulletin The College of William and Mary, Vol. 27, April 1933, 18.

74. Faculty Identification Cards, in Card Catalogue: Faculty, Swem Archives, College of William and Mary.

75. Ibid.

76. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1922-1923, 17, 21.

77. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1923-1924, 17, 20.

78. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1925-1926, 8, 13, 17,19; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1926-1927, 13, 16; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary Catalogue, 1927-1928, Bulletin of The College of William and Mary, vol. 22, no. 1, April 1928, 8.

79. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1929-1930, Bulletin of The College of William and Mary, vol. 24, no. 1, April 1930, 20,24; Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1930-1931, 15.

80. Noreen Tatum, A Crown of Service: A Story of Woman's Work in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, From 1878-1940 (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1960), 236-239.

81. Ibid.

82. Letter from Henry Pfeiffer, Presiding Elder to J. A. C. Chandler, April 25, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Henry Pfeiffer, April 27, 1923; both in Folder: P-General-July 1, 1922-Aug.1, 1923, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

83. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary 1923-1924, 70-73; Lecture Schedule-Winter Quarter, 1924, and Lecture Schedule-Winter,1925, both in Folder: Faculty-Lecture Schedules, 1922-1925-Oversize, Box 38, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

84. "Department of Biblical Literature and Religious Education, Olive Willard Downing, A.B., A.M."; letter from Olive Downing to J. A. C. Chandler, [no date] ; both in Folder: Downing, Olive W.- Sept.1, 1925-July1, 1926, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

85. "Brown Hall is Name of Methodist Dormitory," The Flat Hat, Oct. 1, 1926, 8.

86. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Mrs. J. W. Downs, April 16, 1934,Folder: Faculty, 1930-1934, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

87. Letter from Mrs. J. W. Downs to J. A. C. Chandler, April 18, 1934; letter from Kathleen Alsop to Mrs. J. W. Downs, Board of Missions, M. E. Church, South, April 28, 1934; both letters in Folder: Faculty, 1930-1934; Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Tatum, A Crown of Service, 303-307.
88. Patricia Baldwin, Covering the Campus: The History of the Chronicle of Higher Education 1966-1993 (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 1995), 4.
89. Letter from Cornelia Cooper to J. A. C. Chandler, June 21, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Cornelia Cooper, June 25, 1923; all in Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
90. Letter from Elizabeth Moseley to J. A. C. Chandler, April 10, 1923; Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
91. Letter from Carmen Rogers to J. A. C. Chandler, March 17, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Carmen Rogers, March 22, 1923; Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
92. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Cornelia Cooper, Aug. 17, 1923; Western Union Telegram to J. A. C. Chandler from Cornelia Cooper, Aug. 18, 1923; all in Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
93. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Elizabeth Moseley, Aug. 18, 1923; letter from Elizabeth Moseley to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 19, 1923; letter from Kathleen Alsop to Elizabeth Moseley, Aug. 20, 1923; letter from Elizabeth Moseley to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 22, 1923; all letters in Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
94. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Carmen Rogers, Aug. 18, 1923; Western Union Telegram from Carmen Rogers to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 20, 1923; both in Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
95. Letter from Emma Dintruff to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 30, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Emma Dintruff, Sept. 5, 1923; letter from Pearl Willoughby to J. A. C. Chandler, Oct. 1, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Pearl Willoughby, Oct. 10, 1923; all letters in Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
96. Letter from J. W. Crabtree to J. A. C. Chandler, April 10, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. W. Crabtree, April 13, 1923; letter from Kathleen Alsop to J. W. Crabtree, Aug. 18, 1923; letter from Eunice Crabtree to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 24, 1923; all letters

in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

97. Letter from Albert Bond to J. A. C. Chandler, March 14, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Albert Bond, March 16, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Albert Bond, Aug. 17, 1923; Western Union Telegram to J. A. C. Chandler from A. R. Bond, Aug. 18, 1923; all in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

98. Letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, May 20, 1922, Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1922; letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 2, 1922 [should be 1923]; letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 13, 1923; letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 11, 1923; all letters in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923; both folders in Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

99. Harvard Appointment Office Report: Albert Robert Halley, 1923; letter from Albert Halley to J. A. C. Chandler, June 6, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to A. R. Halley, June 11, 1923; letter from A. R. Halley to J. A. C. Chandler, June 15, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to A. R. Halley, June 20, 1923; all in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

100. Letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 2, 1922 [should be 1923]; letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 13, 1923; letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 11, 1923; letter from Sandford Salyer to Kathleen Alsop, Aug. 23, 1923; all letters in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923; both folders in Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

101. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to A. R. Halley, June 20, 1923; Western Union telegram to J. A. C. Chandler from Western Union, Aug. 18, 1923; all in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

102. Letter from Rev. C. J. D. Parker to J. A. C. Chandler, [Feb. 1925]; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Rev. C. J. D. Parker, Feb. 20, 1925; letter from Clark Slover, to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 21, 1929; Western Union Telegram from J. A. C. Chandler to Clark Slover, Aug. 28, 1929; Western Union Telegram from Clark Slover to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 2, 1929; Western Union Telegram from J. A. C. Chandler to Clark Slover, Sept. 3, 1929; all in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1929, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

103. Untitled teacher agency list, [n.d.] in Folder: Teachers' Agencies, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

104. Letter from Sandford Salyer to J. A. C. Chandler, May 20, 1922; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Sandford Salyer, May 29, 1922; Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1922, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

105. Letter from Willard Bonner to Dean K. J. Hoke, March 20, 1922; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Willard Bonner, March 31, 1922; letter from Willard Bonner to J. A. C. Chandler, April 5, 1922; all letters in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1922, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

106. Letter from L. J. Davisdon to Dean K. J. Hoke, March 18, 1922; letter from J. O. Faulkner to Dean K. J. Hoke, March 13, 1922; both in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1922, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

107. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-1918, vol.1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 359, 370-373, 389.

108. Letter from Jessie Coles to Dean K. J. Hoke, Feb. 24, 1922; letter from J. A. C. Chandler, March 27, 1922; second letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Jessie Coles, March 27, 1922; all letters in Folder: Employment–Academic–Home Economics-1920-1924, Box 9, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

109. Letter from Jessie Coles to J. A. C. Chandler, March 31, 1922; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Jessie Coles, April 17, 1922; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to I. L. Pratt, May 10, 1922; all letters in Folder: Employment–Academic–Home Economics–1920-1924, Box 9, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

110. Letter from I. L. Pratt, to J. A. C. Chandler, March 24, 1924, Folder: Employment–Academic–Home Economics–1920-1924, Box 9, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

111. Letter from Mrs. Anna Grimes to J. A. C. Chandler, April 9, 1924; Credentials for Alice Zollman, Bureau of Educational Services, Teachers College; letter from Louise Jordan, March 27, 1924; letter from Clare Henser, April 12, 1924; letter from Margaret Coffin, March 24, 1924; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Margaret Coffin, March ?, 1924 [date illegible]; letter from Margaret Coffin to J. A. C. Chandler, March 31, 1924; all letters in Folder: Employment–Academic–Home Economics–1920-1924, Box 9, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

112. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1924-1925, 11,17; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1925-1926, 19.

113. Letter from Bess P. Hodges to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 1, 1924; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bess Hodges, May 11, 1925; both letters in Folder: Hodges, Bess P.–Sept.1,1924–July 1, 1926, Box 18, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M

Archives.

114. Letter from Edith Nind to J. A. C. Chandler, March 21, 1924; letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, March 22, 1924; Folder: Employment–Academic–Home Economics–1920-1924, Box 9, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1925-1926, 13, W&M Archives; Columbia University Alumni Register, 1754-1931, 830, Columbia University Archives.

115. Letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, March 22, 1924; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, March 24, 1924; both letters in Folder: Employment–Academic–Home Economics–1920-1924, Box 9, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. In some correspondence, Reaves is spelled Reeves.

116. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, Sept. 10, 1924; letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 12, 1924; letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 24, 1924; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, Oct. 4, 1924; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, Oct. 20, 1924; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, Nov. 17, 1924; letter from Edith Thomas, Federal Agent for Home Economics Education, to Leone Reaves, Nov. 25, 1924; all letters in Folder: Reeves, Leone, July 1, 1924- July 1, 1926, Box 27, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Columbia University Alumni Register, 1754-1931, 830, Columbia University Archives.

117. Letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 17, 1924; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, Dec. 22, 1924; both letters in Folder: Reaves, Leone, July 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 27, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

118. Colorado Agricultural College, North Dakota State University, Oregon Agricultural College, Oklahoma Agricultural College, and the University of Arizona had all established child care studies in which they brought one or two children to the practice houses to benefit training in actual child care. Henrietta Calvin, "Home Economics Education," U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 1920-1922, Bulletin 1924, No. 13 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924) 379.

119. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, March 25, 1925; letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, April 1, 1925; Child Study Association of America Conference, Oct. 26-28, 1925, brochure with letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, Oct. 1, 1925; all in Folder: Reaves, Leone, July 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 27, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

120. Letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, March 1, 1925; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, March 10, 1925; letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, April 30, 1925; all three letters in Folder: Reaves, Leone, July 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 27, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

121. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, May 4, 1925; letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, May 6, 1925; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, May 12, 1925; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, June 6, 1925; all letters in Folder: Reaves, Leone, July 1, 1924- July 1, 1926, Box 27, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

122. Letter from Leone Reaves to J. A. C. Chandler, June 12, 1925 in Folder: Reaves, Leone, July 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 27; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Martha Holliday, July 3, 1925, Folder: Holliday, Martha-1925-1926, Box 19; both boxes in JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. In correspondence, Holladay is sometimes spelled as Holliday.

123. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Leone Reaves, June 3, 1926, Folder: Reaves, Leone-July 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 27, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

124. Lillian Cummings, Faculty/Alumni File, W&M Archives; Louise Apperson, "Lillian Ann Cummings," Adventures in Teaching: Pioneer Women Educators and Influential Teachers, edited by Delta Kappa Gamma Society (Richmond, VA: Virginia Iota State Organization, The Delta Kappa Gamma Society, 1963) 48-52; letter from Emma H. Gunther to J. A. C. Chandler, March 18, 1926, Folder: G-General-July 1, 1925-June 30, 1926, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

125. Louise P. Apperson, "Lillian Ann Cummings," Adventures in Teaching, 50.

126. Catalogue of The College of William and Mary, 1928-1929, 19, 23; "Faculty: Retirement Takes One," The Alumni Gazette of the College of William and Mary, vol. 20, no. 3, March 1953, 6.

127. Calvin, "Home Economics Education," Biennial Survey of Education, 1920-1922, 379.

128. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Appointments Office, Harvard University, Aug. 28, 1923; letter from Luella Breed, Harvard Appointments Office to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 31, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Harvard University Appointments Bureau, Sept. 1, 1923; Harvard Appointment Office Report on Carl Loraine Withers, August 1923; Western Union telegram from Harvard Appointment Office to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 1, 1923; Harvard Appointment Office Report on Joseph Hutchinson Smith, August 1923; letter from George Cram to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 10, 1923; all letters in Folder: Employment-Academic-English-1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

129. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Appointments Office, Teachers College, Aug. 28, 1923; letter from Edith Nind, Bureau of Educational Service, Teachers College, Aug. 29, 1923; Teachers College Bureau of Educational Service Report: Grace Elizabeth Squires, March 17, 1923; Teachers College Bureau of Educational Service Report: Vance

Nell Garner, May 1, 1923; Teachers College Bureau of Educational Service Report: Catherine Mary Shea, Jan.3, 1923; Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

130. Letter from J.A.C. Chandler to Vance Nell Garner, Aug.30, 1923; Western Union Telegram from Vance Nell Garner, Aug.30, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Catherine Shea, Aug.30, 1923; Western Union Telegram from Catherine Shea to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug.30, 1923; letter from Grace Squires to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug.30, 1923; all letters and telegrams in Folder: Employment–Academic–English–1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

131. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Harvard University Appointment Bureau, Sept.1,1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Joseph Hutchinson Smith, Sept.8, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to George W. Gram, Harvard Appointments Office, Sept.13, 1923; Folder: Employment– Academic–English–1923, Box 8, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

Chapter 7 Endnotes

1. "Faculty," Colonial Echo, 1919, 12-15; "Faculty," Colonial Echo, 1920, 10-15.
2. The colleges Tyler visited included Drexel Institute, Bryn Mawr College, Swarthmore College, Teachers College at Columbia University, Radcliffe College, Wellesley College, Goucher College, Randolph Macon Woman's College, and Sweet Briar Institute. President Lyon G. Tyler's Annual Report to the Board of Visitors for 1917-1918, Folder: Board of Visitors, 1906-1919, Box 2, Lyon Gardiner Tyler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
3. Letter from Beetles Boody to Professor James Wilson, May 3, 1918, Folder: Faculty Applications, 1914-1919, Box 3, Lyon Gardiner Tyler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
4. Tupper Family File 30-04, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina; "Tupper, Henry Allen," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, vol.2, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), 1432-1433
5. Alumni and Faculty Morgue File: Caroline Tupper; Staff Appointments File: Caroline Tupper; both at University Archives, University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
6. President's Annual Report of Lyon G. Tyler to the Board of Visitors for 1917-1918, Folder: Board of Visitors, 1906-1919, Box 2, Lyon Gardiner Tyler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Godson, et al, The College: History, 476.
7. "Faculty," Colonial Echo, 1919, 12-15.
8. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to J. L. Hall, Aug.4, 1919, Folder: Hall, J. L., 1919-1922, Box 18, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
9. Report to the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary by Caroline Tupper, Feb. 11, 1919, Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
10. "School News: William and Mary College," The Virginia Journal of Education, vol. 12, no, 10, June 1919, 413; "School News: William and Mary," The Virginia Journal of Education, vol.12, no. 9, May 1919, 366.
11. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline F. Tupper, April 24, 1919; letter from Caroline Tupper to J. A. C. Chandler, May 2, 1919; both in Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
12. Letter from Caroline Tupper to Elizabeth Perkins, July 21, 1919; letter from Caroline Tupper to Virginia Kirby, July 22, 1919; both in Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

13. Godson, et al, History of the College, vol. 2, 600.
14. Student Government Rules; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline Tupper, Oct. 31, 1919; Permissions Granted, Dec 9-17, [1919]; all three in Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
15. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline Tupper, [#1], Nov. 24, 1919, Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
16. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline Tupper, #2, Nov. 24, 1919. Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
17. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline Tupper, #2, Nov. 24, 1919; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline Tupper, Nov. 24, 1919; both in Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
18. Oral History Collection—Janet Coleman Kimbrough, 28-31, W&M Archives.
19. Letter from Caroline Tupper to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 10, 1919, Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
20. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline Tupper, Dec. 13, 1919; letter from Caroline Tupper to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 31, 1919; both letters in Folder: Tupper, Caroline F. Tupper, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
21. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Caroline Tupper, Jan. 16, 1920, Folder: Tupper, Caroline F., Box 34; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie Taylor, Dec. 20, 1919, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P., 1919-1922, Box 33; both boxes in JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
22. Alumni and Faculty Morgue File: Caroline Tupper; Staff Appointments File: Caroline Tupper; both at University Archives, University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
23. Colonial Echo, 1919, 14; Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Announcement of the Summer Session for Men and Women, June 16 to July 26, 1919, 3; Columbia University Alumni Register, 1754-1931, [1932], p. 34, Columbia University Archives and Columbiana Library, Columbia University; The Lexerd (Drexel yearbooks), 1915-1919, Drexel Archives and Special Collections, W. W. Hagerty Library, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA.
24. Colonial Echo, 1919, 14; Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Announcement of the Summer Session for Men and Women, June 16 to July 26, 1919, 3; letter from Edith Baer to J. A. C. Chandler, June 14, 1919, Folder: Baer, Edith, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

25. "College of William and Mary: Important Announcement to Women," The Virginia Journal of Education, vol. 12, no. 6, Feb. 1919, 241; letter from C. L. Eyanson, Drexel Institute, to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 24, 1921 in Folder: G-General, July 1, 1920-June 30, 1921, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
26. "Course for the Training of Teachers of Home Economics Under the Smith Hughes Act, Folder: Baer, Edith, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
27. Letter from Edith Baer to J. A. C. Chandler, May 26, 1919; Report of Home Economics Department; both in Folder: Baer, Edith, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
28. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Edith Baer, April 11, 1920; letter from Edith Baer to J. A. C. Chandler, April 19, 1920; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Edith Baer, April 21, 1920; all in Folder: Board of Visitors, Old Material, 1919-1920, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
29. "Edith Baer Club Presents Portrait to Home Economics Dept.," The Flat Hat, March, 2, 1923, 1.
30. Details on the brief tenure of Bertha Wilder, the first head of women's Physical Education are very sketchy, but apparently something happened during the first year of Chandler's presidency that caused her to leave. She came to the College after six months of teaching at the base hospital at Camp Dix, New Jersey. It is unclear why Bertha Wilder left. She wrote to Chandler that, "Some things that happened made it rather hard for me, but, as a year I look back on it as very interesting and happy." Later Chandler received a letter from the Southern Teachers' Agency in Columbia, South Carolina asking Chandler to be a reference for Wilder. Wilder went back on the job market. Wilder had previously attended the Cornell School of Physical Education. She had the duty of establishing the first Physical Education courses for women at the College. From an academic background, Wilder was the daughter of Dr. Burt Green Wilder, a professor of Neurology at Cornell University. "College of William and Mary," The Virginia Journal of Education, vol. 12, no. 8, April 1919, p. 328; Deceased Alumni Records: Bertha Wilder, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; letter from Bertha Wilder to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 19, 1919; letter from Bertha Wilder to J. A. C. Chandler June 20, 1920; letter from Bertha Wilder to J. A. C. Chandler June 20, 1920; letter from W. H. Jones to J. A. C. Chandler, June 4, 1920; all letters in Folder: Wilder, Bertha, 1919-1920, Box 35, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. Wilder married Robert Reed in 1924 at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. She was given in marriage by President William W. Comfort of Haverford College, the former head of the Romance Languages Department at Cornell. Deceased Alumni Records: Bertha Wilder, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
31. Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, June 12, 1975, introductory page, W&M Archives; "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1922, 33;

- "Administration", Colonial Echo, 1923, 28; "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1924, 28.
32. Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, 14-16.
33. Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, 19-20: "Administration," Colonial Echo, 1923, 25.
34. Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, 18-20.
35. Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview, 20-22.
36. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1922-1923, 140-141; Oral History Collection: Thelma Brown Heffelfinger, Interview.
37. Colonial Echo, 1920, 14-15; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1919-1920, Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, vol. 14, no.1, April 1920, 12.
38. The letterhead stationery identifies all the officers of the Virginia State Teachers Association in J. W. Cook to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 6, 1919; the State Teachers Association Treasurer's Report, Dec. 31, 1919, identified Taylor as representing eight counties around Richmond plus the two localities of Richmond and Williamsburg; both items in Folder: Virginia State Teachers Association, 1919-1920, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
39. "Legislation for Education," The Virginia Journal of Education, 12, no.1 (Sept. 1918), 17.
40. Letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov. 17, 1925, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.- July 1, 1925--July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Suzanne Lebsock, Virginia Women 1600-1945: "A Share of Honour." (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1987), 118-119.
41. Letterhead stationery of the Virginia League of Women Voters identified prominent members including Taylor in a letter from Mrs. John Lewis, president, to J. A. C. Chandler, April 29, 1926, Folder: V-General-July 1, 1925-June 30, 1926, Box 34, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers; Taylor said she was going to Richmond to work with Mrs. Lewis. Taylor believed Lewis wanted her to go with Lewis to speak to Virginia Governor Lee Trinkle; in letter from Bessie Taylor to Kathleen Alsop, Jan. 11, 1926, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.-July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
42. Taylor's Teaching Schedule, Oct. 13, 1920, Folder: Faculty-1919-1921, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
43. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie P. Taylor, Dec. 20, 1919, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P. 1919-1922, Box 33, JAC Chandler Papers, W&M Archives.

44. Bessie Taylor made room assignments, prepared rooms for special College guests, and helped girls with campus needs including answering myriad questions such as how much "pocket money" they should have on campus. See letter from J. A.C. Chandler to Bessie P. Taylor, Sept. 8, 1921; letter from Chandler's Secretary [no name given] to Bessie P. Taylor, Nov. 28, 1921; letter from Bessie P. Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Aug. 26, 1921; Folder: Taylor, Bessie P. 1919-1922; Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. Taylor dealt with parents who wished to have their daughters live off campus, even reminding them that women students could not live off campus with permission from the president. See letter from Bessie P. Taylor to Mrs. J. C. Gray, Nov. 26, 1923, Folder: G-General-Aug. 1, 1923-Sept. 1, 1924, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. Taylor also supported young women's hopes to establish sororities on campus. Taylor followed Chandler's requests to "interest the best national fraternities of women in William and Mary." She endorsed, for example, Kappa Delta, as a good sorority for the campus. See letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 8, 1921; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie Taylor, Jan. 28, 1921; both in Folder: Taylor, Bessie P., 1919-1922, Box 33; letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, March 23, 1927, Folder: Summer Session-1926-1931, Box 32; both boxes in JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
45. Letter from Bessie P. Taylor to Miss Shipp [no first name given], May 5, 1922, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P., 1919-1922, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
46. This is taken from an oral interview with Dr. Janet Kimbrough, one of the early female students at the College. Oral History Collection, Ki-N; Janet Coleman Kimbrough; University Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
47. Letter from Bessie P. Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 12, 1921, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P., 1919-1922, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
48. Hiking Regulations Memo from Bessie Taylor and Martha Barksdale, [no date]; Regulations for the Summer Session 1927; Regulations for Finals [1928]; Social Rules, Session 1930-1931; all in Folder: Students-College Regulations, Box 31, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
49. Letter from B. E. Steel to J. A. C. Chandler, July 23, 1928, Folder: Students-College Regulations, Box 31, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
50. Letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 21, 1926, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.-July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
51. To support her, Chandler even wrote to the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company to request that telephone operators not ring the phone in the dormitory for female students except in case of emergency. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie Taylor, Nov. 6, 1924; letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, June 17, 1925; letter

from J. A. C. Chandler to Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, June 19, 1925; all in Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.- Aug. 1, 1924-July 1, 1925. Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

52. Letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 3, 1925, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.-July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

53. Letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov. 17, 1925; J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie Taylor, Nov. 18, 1925; both letters in Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.-July 1, 1925--July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

54. Letter from Bessie P. Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 20, 1922, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P. 1919-1922, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

55. Meeting of the Board of Visitors, June 8, 1925, p. 102.

56. Dorothy Stimson, "Women Deans," Journal of the American Association of University Women, vol. 23, no. 2 (Jan. 1930), 60-64. Stimson was the former president of the National Association of Deans of Women and the dean of women at Goucher College.

57. Agnes Wells, "The Changing Order: The Dean of Women in a Large University," Journal of the American Association of University Women, vol. 23, no. 2 (Jan. 1930), 70-73. Wells was the dean of women at Indiana University.

58. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Annie Powell, August 26, 1925; letter from Annie Powell to J. A. C. Chandler, August 27, 1925; both in Folder: Powell, Annie M.-July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

59. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to F. W. Boatwright, May 7, 1926; letter from F. W. Boatwright to J. A. C. Chandler, May 11, 1926; both letters in Folder: B-General-July 1, 1925-June 30, 1926, Box 2; Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Meta Glass, May 7, 1926; letter from Meta Glass to J. A. C. Chandler, May 10, 1926; both letters in Folder: G-General-July 1, 1925-June 30, 1926, Box 16; both boxes in JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

60. Letter from Annie Powell to J. A. C. Chandler, July 11, 1925; letter from Annie Powell to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 10, 1926; letter from Annie Powell to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 21, 1925; both in Folder: Powell, Annie M.-July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential papers, W&M Archives.

61. Letter from Annie Powell to Ella Lonn, Nov. 23, 1925, Folder: Powell, Annie M.-July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

62. Godson, et al, History of the College, 564-565.
63. Letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov.23, 1925; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie Taylor, Feb. 25, 1926; letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, May 22, 1926; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie Taylor, May 29, 1926; all letters in Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.–July, 1,1925-July 1,1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
64. Letter from Bessie Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, June 1, 1926; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Bessie Taylor, June 4, 1926; both in Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.–July 1, 1925–July 1, 1926, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
65. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1928-1929, 17.
66. Grace W. Landrum, Chaucer's Use of the Vulgate (Menasha, Wisconsin: Modern Languages Association of America, 1924); Grace W. Landrum, More Concerning Chapman's Homer and Keats (The Modern Language Association of America, 1927); Grace W. Landrum, "Sir Walter Scott and His Literary Rivals in the Old South", American Literature, vol. 2, no. 3 (Nov. 1930), 256-276; Grace W. Landrum, "Notes on the Reading of the Old South," American Literature, vol. 3, no. 1, (Mar. 1931), 60-71; "Landrum, Grace Warren," Who's Who in American Education, vol. 5:1933-1934, 5th Edition (New York: The Robert C. Cook Company, 1934), 446; "Landrum, Prof. Grace Warren," Dictionary of American Scholars: A Biographical Dictionary, edited by Jacques Cattell, (Lancaster, PA: The Science Press,1942), 474.
67. Margaret W. Weatherall, "Grace Warren Landrum, 1876-1951," Grace Warren Landrum Papers, Box 1, Swem Library Archives, College of William and Mary.
68. Letter from Grace W. Landrum to J. A. C. Chandler, June 17, 1927; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Grace W. Landrum, July 7, 1927; both in Folder: Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
69. List of Faculty of the College of William and Mary, 1926-1927, in Folder: Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
70. Letter from W. T. Hodges, dean of men, to J. A. C. Chandler, May 16, 1928, Folder: Students–Enrollment,1924-1934, Box 31; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Grace W. Landrum, July 7, 1927, Folder:Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15; both boxes in JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
71. Letter from Grace Landrum to J. A. C. Chandler, June 11, 1931, Folder: Students, 1920-1931, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
72. Grace Landrum, W. T. Hodges, To the Faculty, Sept. 13, 1930; Memorandum of Conference in President Chandler's Office, Nov 2, 1933, reported Nov.4, 1933, both in Folder: Students– College Regulations, Box 31, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers,

W&M Archives.

73. Althea Hunt, "Grace Warren Landrum, (1876-1951)" Alumni Gazette, Dec. 1958, 21.

74. Althea Hunt, "Resolutions in Memory of Grace Warren Landrum," Box 1, Grace Warren Landrum Papers, W&M Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

75. Letter from S. S. Baker to J. A. C. Chandler, Feb. 5, 1923; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to S. S. Baker, Feb. 7, 1923, both in Folder: B-General-July 1, 1922-July 31, 1923, Box 2, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

76. Organization of Faculty, September 1921, Folder: Faculty, 1921-1923, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

77. Minutes of the Board of Visitors, June 10, 1932, 327-333, W&M Archives.

78. Lecture Schedule, Autumn 1923; Lecture Schedule, Autumn 1924; both in Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules 1922-1925; Lecture Schedule 1926, in Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules, Fall 1926; Lecture Schedule, Fall 1931, in Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules, Fall 1931; all in Box 15; see also Faculty-Lecture Schedules-1922-1925-Oversize, Box 38; JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

79. Lecture Schedules, Autumn 1924, in Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules, 1922-1925; Lecture Schedules, Second Semester 1927-1928, in Folder: Lecture Schedules, Spring 1928, Box 15; see also Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules, 1922-1925-Oversize, Box 38; JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

80. Lecture Schedule, 1919, in Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules, 1919-1920; Lecture Schedule, in Folder: Faculty-Lecture Schedules-Fall 1926; both folders in Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

81. Lecture Schedule, 1922; Lecture Schedule, 1923; both in Folder: Faculty-Lecture Schedules-1922-1925, Box 15; see also Folder: Faculty-Lecture Schedules-1922-1925-Oversize, Box 38; JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

82. Lecture Schedule, 1924; Lecture Schedule, Winter 1925; both in Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules, 1922-1925, Box 15; see also Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules, 1922-1925-Oversize, Box 38; JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

83. Lecture Schedule, 1926, in Folder: Faculty-Lecture Schedules-Fall 1926; Lecture Schedule, 1928, in Folder: Faculty-Lecture Schedules-Spring 1928, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

84. Letter from Helen Foss Weeks to J. A. C. Chandler, March 1, [no year]; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Helen F. Weeks, May 11, 1925; Note from Helen Weeks to J. A. C. Chandler [no date]; all letters in Folder: Weeks, Helen F.-Sept. 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 35, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

85. Lecture Schedules in Folder: Faculty Lecture Schedules– Spring 1928 [includes some 1926 & 1927 schedules], Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
86. Faculty Committee Session, 1928-1929, Folder: Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
87. K. J. Hoke to Faculty, Oct. 31, 1922, Folder: Faculty, 1921-1923, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
88. Memo from J. A. C. Chandler to Members of the Faculty, [no date], Folder: Faculty, 1921-1923, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
89. Letter from Dean K. J. Hoke, Dean Grace Landrum, and Dean W. T. Hodges to the Faculty, Sept. 28, 1929, Folder: Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
90. H. E. Bennett, D. W. Davis, J. E. Rowe to Members of the Faculty, June 1, 1923, Folder: faculty, 1921-1923, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
91. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to the Faculty, Oct. 3, 1922, Folder: Faculty, 1921-1923, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
92. Memo from J. A. C. Chandler to Faculty, Oct. 6, 1922, Folder: Faculty, 1921-1923; Memo from J. A. C. Chandler to the Faculty, Jan. 5, 1924, Folder: Faculty, 1923-1924; both folders in Box, 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
93. H. L. Bridges to Members of the Faculty, March 11, 1924, Folder: Faculty, 1923-1924, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
94. Memo from J. A. C. Chandler to Members of the Faculty and Officers of the College, Jan. 14, 1929; Memo from J. A. C. Chandler to the Faculty, March 25, 1929; both memos in Folder: Faculty, 1925-1929, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
95. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Helen Weeks, Jan. 11, 1926, Folder: Weeks, Helen F.–Sept. 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 35, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
96. Information on Jamestown Day, May 12, 1923; Memo from R. C. Crawford to Members of the Faculty, [no date, for Feb. 8, 1923 ceremonies]; Memo from W. A. Montgomery to the Faculty, [no date, for April 28, 1923 ceremonies]; Memo from the President's Office to Members of the Faculty, [no date, for occasion on June 10, June 13, 1923]; all in Folder: Faculty, 1921-1923, Box 15; Memo from W. A. Montgomery to Members of the Faculty, Oct. 15, 1923; Memo from W. A. Montgomery to Faculty, Nov. 26, 1923; Memo from W. A. Montgomery to Faculty, Jan. 21, 1924; Memo to Faculty and

Senior Class of the College [no date, for April 12, no year], all in Folder: Faculty, 1923-1924, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

97. Memo from Committee on Reception of Legislature [to Faculty], Feb. 1, 1924, Folder: Faculty, 1923-1924, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

98. Memo from J. A. C. Chandler to the Members of the Faculty, April 5, 1926, Folder: Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

99. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Members of the Faculty of the College of William and Mary and the Teachers in the Williamsburg Schools, May 11, 1923 Folder: Faculty, 1921-1923, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

100. Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1921-1922, Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, vol. 16, no. 1, April 1922, 19.

101. Letter from Anne Smith to J. A. C. Chandler, Oct. 1, 1921, Folder: Smith, Anne-1921-1922, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

102. List of Aims for Physical Education, 1921-1922 by Anne Smith, [no date], Folder: Smith, Anne-1921-1922, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

103. List of needs from Anne Smith for the Department of Physical Education for Women, [no date]; Anne Smith, Applicants for Position of Swimming Teacher, [no date- before Jan. 24, 1922]; all in Folder: Smith, Anne-1921-1922, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

104. Anne Smith's Student Class Schedule Card, Folder: Smith, Anne-1921-1922, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

105. Letter from Anne Smith to J. A. C. Chandler, May 20, 1922, included attached page of Volunteer and Required Activities; List of Special Demonstrations, 1921-1922, [no date]; both in Folder: Smith, Anne--1921-1922, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

106. A note listing addresses from Anne Smith, no addressee or date, Folder: Smith, Anne-1921-1922, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

107. Colonial Echo, 1921, 41-43; Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1920-1921, 12, 16.

108. Letter from J. A. Chandler to Hazel Gallagher, May 11, 1920 in Folder: G-General, 1919-1920, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

109. Teaching Schedule for Hazel Gallagher, Oct. 13, 1920 in Folder: Faculty-1919-1921, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

110. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Hazel Gallagher, March 7, 1921, Folder: Gallagher, Hazel, 1920-1922, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

111. "Miss Gallagher Honored," The Flat Hat, Jan.22, 1921, 1.

112. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Hazel Gallagher, Oct. 1, 1921; letter from Hazel Gallagher to J. A. C. Chandler, Oct. 3, 1921; both letters in Folder: Gallagher, Hazel, 1920-1922, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

113. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Gov. Westmoreland Davis, April 29, 1921; letter from Gov. Westmoreland Davis to J. A. C. Chandler, May 5, 1921; J. A. C. Chandler to Gov. Westmoreland Davis, May 9, 1921; letter from Gov. Westmoreland Davis to J. A. C. Chandler, May 14, 1921; all letters in Folder: Davis, Westmoreland Davis, Gov., 1919-1922, Box 7, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

114. "Miss Gallagher Guest of Gov. and Mrs. Davis," The Flat Hat, Oct. 7, 1921, p. 1,7.

115. Memo of Trip to Richmond on Oct. 27, 1920; Memo of Trip to Richmond, Nov.3, 1920; Memo of Trip to Richmond, memo dated Nov.11,1920; Memo of Trip to Richmond, Nov. 17, 1920; Memo of Trip to Richmond, Nov. 19, 1920; Memo of Trip to Richmond, Jan.12, 1921; Memo of Trip to Richmond, Jan 19, 1921; all in Folder: Gallagher, Hazel-1920-1922, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

116. Memo from Hazel Gallagher to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 19, 1921; Memo from Hazel Gallagher to J. A. C. Chandler, Jan. 18, 1921, both in Folder: Gallagher, Hazel M., 1920-1922, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

117. Columbia University Alumni Register, 1754-1931, 668, Columbia University Archives and Columbiana Library, Low Memorial Library, Columbia University; letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Hazel Gallagher, Sept. 3, 1921, Folder: Gallagher, Hazel M., 1920-1922, Box 16, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

118. "Williamsburg Branch of American Association of University Women Organized," The Flat Hat, April 27, 1923, 2.

119. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Dr. Gillie Larew, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Nov. 25, 1925, Folder: Powell, Annie M.-July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

120. Meeting of the Board of Visitors, March 27, 1926, p. 128, W&M Archives.

121. List of Faculty of the College of William and Mary, 1926-1927, in Folder: Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; Meeting of the Board of Visitors, April 16, 1927, p. 156, Record of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary.

122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. "College Women Highly Honored," The Flat Hat, April 15, 1927, 1.
125. The College of William and Mary in Virginia. Summer Quarter Catalogue 1925, vol. 18, Jan. 1925, p. 5.
126. Lawanda Cox, "Ella Lonn," in "The Three Women Presidents of the Southern Historical Association: Ella Lonn, Kathryn Abby Hanna, and Mary Elizabeth Massey," edited by Carol K. Blesser, Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, 20, no. 2, Summer 1981, p. 105-107.
127. Ella Lonn, "Academic Status of Women on University Faculties," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 17, January-March, 1924, 5; Cox, "Ella Lonn," 106-107; .
128. "Dr. Lonn of Goucher Will Lecture Here," The Flat Hat, Oct. 23, 1925, p. 1, 5; "Dr. Lonn Delivers Series of Lectures," The Flat Hat, Nov. 24, 1925, p. 4.
129. "Dr. Ella Lonn Addresses History Club Wednesday," The Flat Hat, Feb. 24, 1928, p. 8.
130. Cox, "Ella Lonn," 107.
131. Ella Lonn, "The Work of Recognition," The Journal of The American Association of University Women, 20, January 1927, 33.
132. Dean of Women [Annie Powell] to Ella Lonn, March 28, 1927 in Folder: Faculty, 1925-1930, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.
133. Minutes, Special Meeting of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, March 27, 1926, p. 125, W&M Archives; The College of William and Mary in Virginia. Catalogue 1925-1926, Bulletin of The College of William and Mary, vol. 20, no.1, April 1926, p. 25.
134. "Women Voters Confer Honor on Miss Clark," Richmond Times Dispatch, April 18, 1925, p.1.
135. R. Lewis Wright, Artists in Virginia Before 1900: An Annotated Checklist (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 30-31. "Adele Clark dies; artist, suffragist," Richmond Times Dispatch, June 5, 1983, p. C-1.
136. "Art Department," The Virginia Journal of Education, vol. 9, no. 3, Nov. 1915, 124-126; "Art Department," The Virginia Journal of Education, vol. 9, no. 5, Jan. 1916, 263-265.

137. "Adele Clark dies," p. C-1, C-4; Jon D. Longaker, "Adele Clark: An Institution," Richmond Times Dispatch, Aug.13, 1978..

138. " 'Conference on Governmental Efficiency' Called by Governor Westmoreland Davis at the Request of the Virginia League of Women Voters," Virginia Journal of Education, vol. 15, no. 3, Nov. 1921, 104.

139. "New Voters League Will Organize Here," The Flat Hat, May 14, 1926, 2.

140. "League of Women Voters," College of William and Mary Official Bulletin Summer Quarter, 1926, July 16, 1926, 1.

141. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, "Hatcher, Orié Latham," Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, Vol. II, Edited by Edward T. James (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 152; Elizabeth S. Nathans, "Hatcher, Orié Latham," Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 4: 1946-1950, edited by John A. Garraty (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1974), 364-365. "Hatcher, William Eldridge," American National Biography, vol.10, edited by John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 302-303.

142. Lemmon, "Hatcher," 152; Nathans, "Hatcher," 364-365; "Orié Latham Hatcher," Who Was Who in America, Vol. II: 1943-1950 (Chicago: A.N. Marquis Company, 1966), 240-241.

143. Lemmon, "Hatcher," 152; Nathans, "Hatcher," 364-365.

144. In 1918 Hatcher and her bureau sponsored a Professional Conference in Richmond. Distinguished women from all over the United States came to speak on "Women in the Financial World," "Modern Ideas of Training for Business," "Salesmanship and the College Girl," "Women's Chances in Journalism," "Types of Social Work in Virginia Needing Trained Workers," "The Woman Lawyer," and "The Work of an Educational Secretary in a Department Store." See "Vocational Conference Will Open on Friday," Richmond Times Dispatch, Feb.21,1918, p.7. That same year, Hatcher published an article blaming Southern men for preventing Southern women from developing the mental discipline and qualities needed for success. She observed that Virginia women were raised for graciousness, delicacy, and strong home instincts, and would seek jobs only out of necessity. Teaching had become the only truly acceptable profession for Southern women because it was separate from the business world but closely related to the home. Hatcher observed that women looked to men for support, and chose to live in "gentle pathos" rather than look for work. Orié Latham Hatcher, "The Virginia Man and the New Era for Women," The Nation, vol.106, June 1,1918, 650-652.

145. Lemmon, "Hatcher," 152-153.

146. "The Southern Woman's Educational Alliance," Virginia Journal of Education, vol. 15, no. 9, May 1922, p. 393; "The Southern Woman's Educational Alliance," Journal of

the American Association of University Women, vol. 15, no. 1, Oct. 1921, 15-16.

147. Established in 1917, the school was privately operated by Henry Hibbs, Jr. After the College of William and Mary began to offer extension courses in Richmond, Hibbs asked Chandler to consider an affiliation between the two schools. With Chandler already on its board, the Richmond School of Social Work instituted an affiliation with the College in 1920. Students could take courses at the School of Social Work and count those credits towards a bachelor's degree from the College. The College would also teach classes in its extension program in Richmond for the social work students, many of them female. The College of William and Mary in Virginia Catalogue, 1922-1923, Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, vol.17, no. 1, April 1923, 140-141; Godson, et al, College of W&M: A History, 572..

148. Letter from Ada A. Hills [Virginia Association of Women's Colleges and Schools] to J.A.C. Chandler, July 28, 1924, Folder: H-General-Sept.1, 1924- June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

149. Letter from Orie Latham Hatcher to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 11, 1924, Folder: H-General- Sept.1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

150. Letter from J.A.C. Chandler to Orie Latham Hatcher, Sept.29, 1924, Folder: H-General- Sept. 1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

151. A brief biography of Iva Peters was attached to Orie Latham Hatcher's' letter to J. A. C. Chandler, Sept. 11, 1924, Folder: H-General-Sept. 1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

152. Letter from Orie Latham Hatcher, to J. A. C. Chandler, Nov.[no day], 1924, Folder: H-General-Sept. 1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

153. Letter from Orie Latham Hatcher to J.A.C. Chandler, Dec. 16, 1924, Folder: H-General- Sept. 1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

154. The College of William and Mary in Virginia, Catalogue,1925-1926, Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, vol. 20, no.1, April 1926, 132.

155. Iva Peters, "Social and Vocational Orientation for College Women," Series 1, vol. 1, no.1, March 1926 ([no place]: Southern Woman's Educational Alliance and Goucher College, 1926), 5, 9.

156. Ibid., 10-13.

157. Letter from Orie Latham Hatcher to J. A. C. Chandler, March 21, 1925, Folder: H-General-Sept.1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

158. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Orie Latham Hatcher, April 11, 1925, Folder: H-General-Sept. 1, 1924-June 30, 1925, Box 17, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

159. "Dr. Peters Guest at College Last Week," Flat Hat, Nov.13, 1925, p. 4.

160. Letter from J. A. C. Chandler to Annie Powell, Oct. 8, 1925, Folder: Powell, Annie M., July 1, 1925-July 1, 1926, Box 26, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

161. Letter from Charles W. Flint to J. A. C. Chandler, Dec. 16, 1925; J. A. C. Chandler to Charles W. Flint, Office of the Chancellor, Syracuse University, December 29, 1925; both letters in Folder: F-General, July1, 1925-June 30, 1926, Box 15, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. "Distinguished Alumna to be Dean of Women," Alumni News, 1926 [no other date info]; "Iva Lowther Peters," April 1, 1931 [xerox of printed article-- no source given]; both in Folder: Administration-Deans and Directors-Dr. Iva Lowther Peters, 1926, Syracuse University Archives, Archives and Records Managements, Bird Library, Syracuse University.

162. Pauline Turnbull, May Lansfield Keller: Life and Letters (Verona, VA: McClure Press, 1975), 27.

163. College presidents on the board included D. R. Anderson, of Randolph-Macon Woman's College; Meta Glass of Sweet Briar College; W. W. Guth of Goucher College; H. N. MacCracken of Vassar College, William P. Few of Duke University; J. R. McCain of Agnes Scott College, Ada Comstock of Radcliffe College, and W. T. Sanger of Medical College of Virginia. College deans included Charles G. Maphis of the University of Virginia; May L. Keller of Westhampton College, and Florence Purington of Mount Holyoke College. Letter from K. J. Hoke, Secretary, to Members of the Executive Board of the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance, Sept. 13, 1927, Folder: Southern Woman's Educational Alliance, 1927-1928, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

164. Grace Landrum attended a session on the "Needs of Rural Girls," and the session on "Human Adjustments Under Way in College Education Today." Dr. David A. Robertson, Assistant Director of the American Council on Education, spoke of progress being made in the United States in colleges where deans of men and deans of women worked with student personnel to help meet students' vocational and professional needs. Dean Landrum joined in the discussions of whether deans of men and women were prepared or trained to help students meet such needs, although she did not explain her views in the minutes "Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Executive Board of the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance, Oct.28-29,1927" in Folder: Southern Woman's

Educational Alliance, 1927-1928, Box 30, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

165. Xerox copy of an unnamed newspaper, "Opera for Educational Funds: Alliance to Aid Southern Girls Arranges Benefit," [no date given], in Folder: Wilson, John Archer, July 1, 1924-July 1, 1926, Box 36, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives. Note: John Archer Wilson was on the W&M Board of Visitors in the 1920s. The New York Times reported a Mozart opera performance presented in New York in 1926 for the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance. This may have been the one arranged by Mrs. Gibson, however, Mrs Gibson was not mentioned in the article. "Large Audience at Mozart's Opera--"Jewels of the Madonna," The New York Times, Dec. 3, 1926, p. 26.

166. Letter from Bessie P. Taylor to J. A. C. Chandler, March 31, 1925, Folder: Taylor, Bessie P.-Aug. 1, 1924- July 1, 1925, Box 33, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives; John A. Salmond, Miss Lucy of the CIO: The Life and Times of Lucy Randolph Mason, 1882-1959 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 14-15, 19, 23.

167. "Y-Notes: Miss Mason Speaks," The Flat Hat, Feb. 27, 1925, 4.

168. "Y. W. C. A. Conference Starts Here Today," The Flat Hat, April 24, 1925, 5.

169. Salmond, Miss Lucy of the CIO, 35-36, 41, 45, 73, 78.

170. John Grigg, "Astor, Nancy Witcher, Viscountess Astor," The Dictionary of National Biography, 1961-1970, edited by E. T. Williams and C. S. Nichols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 43-44.

171. "Lady Astor Gives \$1,000 to League," Richmond Times Dispatch, April 21, 1925, 1.

172. Letter from Mary Munford to J. A. C. Chandler, [no date--after April 11, 1922], Folder: Munford, Mrs. B. B., Box 24, JAC Chandler Presidential Papers, W&M Archives.

173. Meeting of the College of William and Mary Board of Visitors, Feb. 12, 1924, Record of the William and Mary Board of Visitors, p. 72, W&M Archives.

174. Photo, "College Honors Lady Astor," 1928, in Subject File--Degree--Honorary--1928, University Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

Chapter 8 Endnotes

1. Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 161.
2. "Installation Address of Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, as President of the College of William and Mary, October 19, 1921," In Memoriam: Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, President, William and Mary College, 1919-1934, reprinted from the William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, October 1934, 38.
3. At the end of Chandler's presidency in 1933-34, Virginia Polytechnic Institute enrolled 57 women and 1,504 men as undergraduates. The University of Virginia enrolled 133 women and 2,265 men as undergraduates. These women at both institutions were enrolled in special programs. The College of William and Mary submitted enrollment numbers of 692 women and 594 men as undergraduates that year. United States Department of the Interior, Biennial Survey of Higher Education, 1932-1934, Bulletin 1935, no.2 (Washington: United States Printing Office, 1937), 129.

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