

**WHEN MARY ENTERED WITH HER BROTHER WILLIAM:
WOMEN STUDENTS AT THE
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1918 - 1945**

A Thesis

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**This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
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This thesis is dedicated to all my friends who never asked,
"How's the thesis going?"

to Mom and Daddy for their loving support over the years;

and to J. B., who inspired me to attempt this task.

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PREFACE

Recently, the College of William and Mary has been cited in several studies as a university where undergraduates can receive a very good education at a reasonable price. It is often listed as one of the "public ivys," and commentators make much of its illustrious past. Granted a royal charter in 1693, William and Mary was the second college established in the English-speaking colonies of the New World. It educated several men who became leaders of the new nation of the United States. With alumni like Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and John Marshall, it had a plausible claim to the title "alma mater of a nation." But after the American Revolution, the College lost much of its former prestige; it became a small, provincial place whose chief pride was in its past, rather than its present.

During the early nineteenth century, the College was disrupted by attempts to move it to Richmond. Enrollment was declining, and it was thought the College would be able to attract more students if it were located in Virginia's capital city. Turmoil continued for much of the rest of the century. Classes were suspended three times: in 1848-1849 while disputes between the Board of Visitors and the faculty were resolved, during the Civil War, and from 1881 to 1888 because of financial difficulties. In addition, the main college building was twice badly damaged by fire, in 1859 and 1862.

Life for the College began to improve in 1888 when the Virginia General Assembly agreed to finance a teacher training curriculum at the

school. In 1906, the College was completely transferred to state control. These were important steps in stabilizing the College's finances. By 1906 William and Mary had a greater enrollment than it had had in the past, but it faced much competition from the University of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic University, and Virginia Military Institute when it tried to attract the best students.

The final step towards a new era of excellence came in the fall of 1918 with the admission of women. The educational quality did not improve overnight but resulted from a long process of building, which included new facilities, a better educated faculty, and better prepared students. Although it is impossible to know how William and Mary would have fared without women students, it is difficult to imagine that it could have become a high quality liberal arts college for men simply because there were too many other Virginia colleges competing for the male high school graduates. Speculation aside, it is significant that William and Mary was able to raise its standards for admission after women were admitted because more and more high school students were applying.

This study focuses on the early years of the women students' experience at William and Mary and on some of the changes in the college precipitated by the presence of women. The post-collegiate lives of the women are also briefly examined. The sources of information are many, and the author also developed her own by sending out a questionnaire to almost three thousand living alumnae who had attended the College between the years 1918 and 1945. Over thirteen hundred responses were received. The survey sought to discover why the women attended college, why they chose William and Mary, a little about their family background, and what they did after college. Many respondents also shared stories about favorite

professors, amusing incidents, visits by famous people, and other college memories. These questionnaires have been given to the College Archives for the use of other researchers.

The author wishes to acknowledge the help she has received in making this study. Professor Cam Walker struggled through rough drafts and made them smoother. Professor James P. Whittenburg helped developed the survey and assisted me with getting the computer to do the statistical analysis of it. Professor Richard B. Sherman also graciously consented to read this thesis and made several valuable comments.

James Oberly suggested the idea that grew into this study. The staff of the College Archives and Manuscripts and Rare Books Department in Swem Library patiently fulfilled my requests and listened to the stories I uncovered. Kay Domine is especially to be thanked for teaching me to use the Macintosh computer, without which this would never have been typed. Many, many other people have listened to my ideas, my complaints, my frustrations, and their patience is greatly appreciated. To one and all, a very hearty thank you, and a solemn promise to never subject you to a project like this again.

ABSTRACT

In the fall of 1918, the College of William and Mary became the first four-year state college in Virginia to admit women as regular students. William and Mary had been a small college for many years, but admission of women began a period of unprecedented growth. Many new departments, some of which were designed especially for the women, were added as the student population grew. The physical plant also expanded, and the number of faculty members increased. The Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II slowed the period of growth. However, William and Mary was receiving enough applications that it had to apply ever more stringent admission standards to keep the student population at the size for which the college had classroom and dormitory space. The 1930s and 1940s were also a time when there were more women students than men students, partly a result of a greater number of applications from women, but mainly a result of higher quality female applicants. Although solutions were suggested to solve this problem and make William and Mary more attractive to men, World War II made their implementation impossible. The women were from a homogeneous background, mainly middle class Protestant Virginians. After leaving college, most of them worked, married, and raised families. They pursued traditionally female occupations. Their husbands were, in the aggregate, better educated than their parents.

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INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1918 the College of William and Mary became the first state-supported four-year college in Virginia to admit women. By then, Virginia was the only state in the union which was not providing its women residents the opportunity to obtain four years of public higher education. There were several two-year normal schools, but women desiring more than these had to offer, including graduate and professional education, had to attend either private colleges or other states' universities, both expensive alternatives.

For some time, but intensifying after 1910, concerned Virginians, both men and women, had been waging a campaign among Virginia's legislators to open the University of Virginia to women, or at least to establish a coordinate women's college. William and Mary President Lyon G. Tyler was a part of this effort, called the Cooperative Education Commission of Virginia.¹ However, the university's politically powerful alumni who opposed coeducation, on the assumption that women would somehow defile Mr. Jefferson's bastion of chivalry, were able to defeat any coeducation bills. Finally, in March 1918, a compromise was reached, and

¹J. H. Montgomery to Lyon G. Tyler, 13 April 1933. Tyler Family Papers, Group B, Box 24, folder: Cooperative Education Commission of Virginia, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

the College of William and Mary was opened to women on the same basis as men.²

One reason the legislators agreed to the compromise was the adverse impact of the United States' entry into World War I on college enrollments. Caught up in the patriotic war fever, male students deserted their college classes for the armed forces and war work. Most colleges suffered drops in enrollment, and the smaller, poorer colleges, such as William and Mary, were especially hard hit. World War I also coincided with the final push for women's suffrage, which gave the Virginians a moral stance from which to call for equal access to higher education for women.

The College of William and Mary had an illustrious past and many noted alumni. Like most southern colleges, it had suffered greatly during the Civil War. After reopening in 1865, it struggled along until the doors finally had to close again in 1881, primarily due to the lack of money and the resulting inability to maintain the buildings in usable condition. However, William and Mary President Benjamin S. Ewell never gave up hope for the College, and in 1888 he convinced the state legislature to provide financial support for the College's teacher training program.³ This arrangement was made during the administration of Governor Fitzhugh Lee (1886-1890), who was

²The story of the fight for coeducation can be found in Sara S. Rogers, "The Southern Lady Versus the Old Dominion" (Honors thesis, College of William and Mary, 1975), and Walter Russell Bowie, Sunrise in the South (Richmond: William Byrd Press, Inc., 1942).

³Parke Rouse, Jr., " 'Old Buck': A Hero in Spite of Himself," William and Mary Alumni Gazette, Winter 1983, pp. 18-20.

expanding the public school system in the state.⁴ It is reasonable to see a connection between that expansion and the provision of funds for the College since a larger school system would need more teachers. Teacher training became a major objective for William and Mary. This program was so successful that in 1906, during the administration of Governor Claude Swanson (1906-1910), the Commonwealth of Virginia agreed to take full responsibility for the support of the College. This decision was part of Governor Swanson's progressive program which also saw the opening of more normal schools for women, improved roads, and the adoption of public health measures.⁵

In the 1908 college catalog, William and Mary proudly proclaimed itself "the only institution in America especially organized and supported for the training of male teachers." All other teacher training schools were either for women or were coeducational. William and Mary's training was designed to prepare men for supervisory positions, such as principals and school superintendents.⁶ By 1912, William and Mary was graduating more teachers than the University of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and Virginia Military Institute, the other four-year state schools, combined.⁷

Between 1888 and 1917, William and Mary remained a fairly small college, the highest enrollment being 244, in the year 1905-06. Enrollment

⁴Virginius Dabney, Virginia: The New Dominion (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1971), p. 395.

⁵Ibid., p. 450.

⁶Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, vol. II, no. 4 (November 1908) (Williamsburg, Va.), p. 14.

⁷Rogers, "The Southern Lady Versus the Old Dominion," p. 134.

in 1916-17 was 196, plus 38 in the teacher training academy. In the fall of 1917, by which time the United States' entry into World War I was affecting enrollment figures, there were only 131 students, plus another 96 who were members of a detachment of the Students' Army Training Corps.⁸ The Corps' presence helped finances immensely. However, William and Mary President Lyon G. Tyler, who had been serving in that office since the reopening of the college in 1888, wanted a better, more permanent way to increase enrollment and qualify for more state funding.

Fortunately for women, Tyler favored coeducation. He had joined the Cooperative Education Commission in 1904, the year of its founding. Tyler also favored votes for women and was a member of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia; obviously he was genuinely interested in at least some rights for women and did not view their admission to William and Mary in purely mercenary terms.⁹

As the campaign to establish a women's college at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville floundered, Tyler offered William and Mary as an alternative. William and Mary's alumni and students were fewer in number and politically weaker than those of the University, so their protests were

⁸Enrollment figures can be found in the college bulletins. Figures sometimes included and sometimes excluded the students in the teacher's training academy, which was discontinued in 1918. The 1905-06 figure includes the academy figures. Other sources may give slightly different figures.

⁹Lila Meade Valentine to Lyon G. Tyler, 6 December 1909, and L. G. Tyler to Mrs. Alice O. Taylor, 16 April 1914. Tyler Family Papers, Group B, Box 24, folder: Equal Suffrage League of Virginia; Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

not as loud and were more easily ignored.¹⁰ Furthermore, as discussion about providing a four-year college education for women progressed, it clearly developed that

since the advocates of higher education had repeatedly stressed the need for well-trained female teachers as a primary reason for giving women a college education, it seemed logical to admit them to the state-supported school best known for teacher training¹¹

Tyler had informally polled the William and Mary faculty on their reaction to the coeducation plan, and they had given their support to the idea.¹² The possibility of admitting women to William and Mary was not formally discussed at faculty meetings, or at least no record of any such discussion appeared in the minutes of the faculty meetings. On 17 February 1918, the William and Mary Board of Visitors adopted a resolution of support for the Strode Bill, the legislation which would open William and

¹⁰Rogers, "The Southern Lady Versus the Old Dominion," pp. 130-31, 133.

¹¹College of William and Mary Board of Visitors Minutes, meeting of 17 February 1918, p. 359. College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹²L. G. Tyler to Mr. Taliaferro, 18 January 1918, Lyon G. Tyler Papers, Archives Acc. 1984.19, folder: Coeducation. College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

Mary to women.¹³ The bill was approved on 15 March 1918.¹⁴ William and Mary, proud of its long list of firsts, had another: the first state-supported four-year college in Virginia to admit women on an equal basis with men.

The admission of women contributed greatly to the growth of William and Mary. Enrollment increased; new buildings were built to accommodate this influx; and more faculty members were hired. William and Mary became known for its present as well as its past. This thesis will examine the social life of the women students, the role of women students' government in their lives, and the impact the admission of women had on academic offerings and admission standards, from 1918 through the end of World War II in 1945.

¹³Board of Visitors Minutes, 17 February 1918, p. 359; College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁴For text of the bill, see Virginia, Acts (1918), p. 424.

CHAPTER I

The First Year: Settling In

Women were not admitted to William and Mary without protest. The Board of Visitors' resolution of 12 February 1918 which supported the Strode Bill that would make William and Mary coeducational passed with three dissenting votes.¹ One diehard Visitor, Major James New Stubbs, was not present at the February 12 meeting, but within the week he wrote President Tyler a letter protesting the action.² At the next Board meeting which Stubbs attended, on 25 June 1918, he offered a resolution to the effect that the Strode bill was in direct opposition to the 1906 contract by which the Commonwealth of Virginia had taken full responsibility for William and Mary and that therefore the College should refuse to accept women. The 1906 act had specifically stated that William and Mary was to educate men, and admitting women was a violation of that contract. Stubbs

¹Board of Visitors Minutes, 17 February 1918, p. 359. The three dissenters were Samuel Walker Williams, Herbert Farrar Hutcheson, and Robert Morton Hughes.

²James New Stubbs to Lyon G. Tyler, 25 February 1918, in Lyon G. Tyler Papers, Archives Acc. 1984.19, folder: James N. Stubbs; College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

argued that the contract would have to be renegotiated before women could be admitted. The Visitors voted six to one against Stubbs' resolution.³

Newspaper editorials also expressed opposition to coeducation. On 21 February 1918 the Virginia Gazette damned the Strode Bill with faint praise, noting that coeducation would probably turn out well--after all, other states had survived the ordeal. The editorial also noted that women sought coeducation "at the price of the womanhood Virginia had cherished as a sacred thing,"⁴ thus expressing the age-old belief that higher education was somehow beyond the capabilities of women and would lead to the destruction of their physical, as well as their mental, health.

The Flat Hat, the student newspaper and chief forum of student opinion, did not comment on the Strode Bill until after it had passed the Senate. On February 27, the paper discussed the effects of coeducation in negative terms. It saw the necessary enlargement of the physical plant and of the faculty as being of questionable value and as a step that would not "help our tradition in the least." The article, or editorial as it may have been, suggested making another college coeducational or upgrading one of the women's normal schools. It concluded with the hopes that if coeducation became a reality, the students would "make the best of it," and "that our environment--socially and in every other way [would] be benefited by coeducation."⁵

³Board of Visitors Minutes, 25 June 1918, pp. 381-82. None of the three dissenters at the February meeting attended this one.

⁴"William and Mary, Coeducational," Virginia Gazette, 21 February 1918, p. 8.

⁵"Co-education," Flat Hat, 27 February 1918, p. 1.

The next Flat Hat article about coeducation, which appeared after the House of Delegates had voted in favor of the Strode Bill, was much more optimistic. The article stressed how the college would benefit from coeducation, with larger appropriations from the General Assembly for more buildings, including "new dormitories, another dining hall, and a new and more commodious gym." The author was excited about the improved social life that the presence of women was sure to bring and predicted that coeducation would free the students from the shackles of tradition. No longer would things have to be done merely because "that's the way it's always been done," and activities (of unspecified nature) were sure to be "rejuvenated" and of "better standards" with women participating in them.⁶

The college yearbook Colonial Echo also commented on the coming of the women. One page was "affectionately dedicate[d] . . . to the future coeds." The senior class, however, proudly noted its status as "the last class to graduate from the old college before it is defiled by coeducation." The students seemed not to be able to make up their minds whether they wanted the women to come.⁷

While the debates continued over whether or not the admission of women would really be good for the College, President Tyler made preparations to receive them. He and Professor James Southall Wilson made a fact-finding trip to women's colleges, inquiring particularly about "student government and organizations and the duties and qualities of a Dean

⁶"Pass Coeducation," Flat Hat, 13 March 1918, p. 1.

⁷Colonial Echo, 1918, pp. 57 and 36.

of Women."⁸ Tyler decided that the dean must be both someone the women would want to emulate and a scholar because she would also be a member of the faculty. The candidate's "personality, tact, and manner" had to be taken into account, as well.⁹ Caroline F. Tupper, a Charleston, South Carolina, native and recipient of B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Radcliffe College, was hired as the first Dean of Women and as a professor of English. Tupper had previously taught high school and college English. She was in Virginia in 1918 working as a housing and employment secretary, helping wives of servicemen find homes and jobs near their husbands' military camps.¹⁰ There is no indication as to how she and Tyler found each other, but she had the proper scholarly credentials, and her war work was a useful background for helping young women adjust to a new environment.

The College organized two new departments for the women. One was a separate physical education program, headed by Bertha Wilder, whose background was never listed in the college catalogs. The other was a home economics department. This was organized mainly because federal funds were available from the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 to help defray the cost. This act provided money for college departments to train high school home economics teachers, rather than home economists or nutritionists, and this provision dovetailed with William and Mary's tradition of teacher training.

⁸Board of Visitors Minutes, 19 April 1918, p. 363, and President's Report, in Board of Visitors Minutes, 25 June 1918, p. 377.

⁹Lyon G. Tyler to Dr. Walter A. Montgomery, 4 June 1918, in Lyon G. Tyler Papers, Archives Acc. 1984.19, folder: Coeducation.

¹⁰Information supplied by Dr. Tupper to her 25th year reunion book, in Radcliffe College Archives, Cambridge, Mass.

Edith Baer, a graduate of Drexel Institute and Teacher's College of Columbia University, was hired to run this department. She had previously taught at both Drexel and Teacher's College. When she came to William and Mary, she also became State Supervisor of Home Economics for Virginia.¹¹

The housing solution caused some disgruntlement among the men. The administration decided to put the women in the newest dormitory, Tyler Hall, thus forcing the men back into their older, more dismal dormitories. In June 1918 the Board of Visitors made plans to hire a housemother for Tyler Hall, "to see that the young women students are properly cared for." They also decided to hire a male supervisor for the men's dormitories "to see that proper care is taken of the rooms and property" and to handle discipline.¹² Nothing in the extant records indicates whether either of these people was actually hired.¹³ Thus the College prepared for the arrival of its first women students, twenty-four of whom arrived in September 1918, and vowed to integrate them fully into college life and activities so coeducation could succeed.¹⁴

¹¹Catalog, April 1920, p. 10.

¹²Board of Visitors Minutes, 10 June 1918, p. 367.

¹³The April 1920 catalog lists a manager of the boarding department and other administrative assistants, but no dormitory supervisors.

¹⁴"Welcome to Williamsburg, Men and Women," Virginia Gazette, 19 September 1918, p. 8.

The first women were all from Virginia, except for one special student from Wisconsin.¹⁵ More than half were from Williamsburg and the Hampton Roads area. One student came from as far away as Roanoke, two from Charlottesville, and the others from eastern and southern Virginia. Although few of these early women were well enough to respond to the author's questionnaire, those who did indicated two important reasons for their choice of William and Mary: their parents wanted them to go there, and it was close to home. At least one-fourth of them were daughters of alumni, two had brothers who were also attending William and Mary, and two were daughters of faculty or staff members of the college.¹⁶ Naturally, the academic program did not matter much since William and Mary was the only state-supported four-year college open to them. The primary reason for wanting to attend college was simply a desire to be well-educated, although a few wanted to prepare for a career. These women were from middle-class backgrounds, their fathers being small businessmen, ministers, government employees, or farmers, and their mothers homemakers. Many of the fathers and quite a few of the mothers had attended college, although almost none had college degrees. Some parents, however, had not even attended high school.

Surprisingly, after all the clamor in the press and the legislature about higher education for women, the College of William and Mary found that "going coed" was not an especially traumatic event. Janet Coleman

¹⁵She was Ruth Taylor Conkey, who had already received a B.A. from Lake Forest College in Illinois. The Colonial Echo listed her with the senior class. The available sources give no clue as to why she came to William and Mary.

¹⁶Incomplete records makes it impossible to determine precisely how many were daughters of alumni.

Kimbrough, a Williamsburg resident and one of the first women to attend William and Mary, remembered that "the war was on, and everyone was thinking of the war so much more than they were of women's rights and coeducation." She described the many changes that were occurring both in Williamsburg and at the College at that time: the disruptions of war, the presence on campus of the Students' Army Training Corps, the switch to daylight savings time, increasing automobile and truck traffic, water and sewer lines coming to town, jazz music, and women taking jobs in order to free men for war service. With all this, the novelty of women on campus was just one more in a series of events to which the college folk and townspeople had to adjust.¹⁷ Furthermore, as John C. Pollard, Jr., of the class of 1923, pointed out, most of the students were from coeducational high schools, so college men and women were used to attending classes together.¹⁸

Unfortunately, little evidence exists to tell just how smoothly the transition went. The Flat Hat was not published in the fall of 1918. The Virginia Gazette ran only one editorial on the subject. It noted that "it is no half-hearted effort that is being made to simply carry out the letter of the law, but the best that is in the faculty is being put into the new system as a fixed policy and principle. For that reason we may expect success [with

¹⁷Janet Coleman Kimbrough, interview in the Oral History Collection, College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁸John C. Pollard, Jr., interview in the Oral History Collection, College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

coeducation]."¹⁹ The Senior Class history that appeared in the 1919 Colonial Echo yearbook only "venture[d] to hope that [coeducation would be] a forward stride to the realization of larger things and of greater usefulness."²⁰ There was a report that the men had insulted the women at a literary society debate in January 1919. This prompted an irate alumnus, J. E. Wilkins of Newport News, who had both a son and a daughter at William and Mary at the time, to write to President Tyler and scold the men for behaving in an ungentlemanly manner. Wilkins pointed out that however the men felt about the presence of the women, the state had admitted women to William and Mary, and the men had the duty to treat them decently. Wilkins did conclude that if the women had "been acting indiscreetly so as to cause criticism from the male students . . .," then the administration should "promptly correct the trouble."²¹

Martha Barksdale, one of the twenty-four pioneer women and later a physical education professor at William and Mary, left a very brief diary that covers part of the 1918-1919 school year. She makes no reference to any distasteful situations between the sexes. Instead she records many pleasant times shared by the men and women students, although she does mention that she found the almost nightly dances held in Tyler Hall to be a bore because she did not dance well. She also notes that the women quickly

¹⁹"Welcome to Williamsburg, Men and Women," Virginia Gazette, 19 September 1918, p. 8.

²⁰Colonial Echo, 1919, p. 35.

²¹J. E. Wilkins to Lyon G. Tyler, 28 January 1919, Lyon G. Tyler Papers, Archives Acc. 1984.19, Folder: Coeducation, College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

became close friends because soon after their arrival, the College was quarantined as a result of an outbreak of influenza.²²

The women were left out of some of the men's organizations. A woman became a member of the yearbook staff, but the men's literary societies did not allow the women to join. In response, the women started their own club, the Alpha Club, to which all the women belonged. It served as a literary, music, and dramatic society for the women and was also a focus for social activities. In later years, as more women enrolled, many of Alpha Club's activities were taken over by specialized groups, leaving Alpha as an honorary society which eventually became Mortar Board, a national organization that recognizes college women for service, scholarship, and leadership.²³

The first women at William and Mary had, in addition to their regular gym classes, the opportunity to play intramural basketball and to perform folk dances. They also did a little army drilling until the armistice was signed. It took three years for William and Mary to organize any intercollegiate teams for women, so for this first year they concentrated on getting everyone involved in intramurals. Ms. Barksdale, a member of the Orange team, mentioned having to let the Black team occasionally win a basketball game in order to keep its members interested in playing. The women did take an interest in men's sports and participated in the bonfires held to celebrate important basketball victories.²⁴

²²Diary, Martha Barksdale Papers, Archives Acc. 1985.54.

²³In the 1975-1976 academic year, Mortar Board began admitting men as members.

²⁴Diary, Martha Barksdale Papers, Archives Acc. 1985.54.

In addition to Alpha Club, the other important women's activity was their Women's Student Government. All women were automatically members of this organization and elected their own officers: president, vice president, secretary-treasurer, and two at-large members. The government was formed "to represent and to further the best interests of the woman student body, to regulate the conduct of the women under authority of the college and to promote responsibility, loyalty, and self-control."²⁵ Unfortunately, no record has survived of the government's first year of work.

These first women students did not have the luxury of a wide variety of courses from which to choose their schedules simply because the College was too small to offer much variety. An examination of their permanent record cards shows that they studied basic courses, such as English, mathematics, chemistry, foreign languages (French and Latin were the most popular), and history. Many also took education courses as well as classes in other departments definitely meant for teachers, such as "Grammar for High School Teachers" in the English Department and the fine arts class that taught one how to write on a blackboard. Several women enrolled in home economics classes, but physics, economics, and government had little appeal. In their later years of college study, the pattern held true to this first year. English, history, foreign languages, education, and chemistry continued to be in demand. Home economics became more popular, partly as

²⁵Colonial Echo, 1919, p. 57.

a result of a greater number of classes being offered. Biology, government, and economics were more widely studied, also.²⁶

The first twenty-four women laid the groundwork for what was to come. Although few in number, they started a women's student government, built the foundation of an athletic program, organized a club to sponsor debates and social events, and began participating in campus events. They also managed to achieve a higher grade average than the men.²⁷ The next ten years would see an incredible growth in William and Mary, with a rapidly expanding student body, faculty, and physical plant.

²⁶Registrar's Office--Student Permanent Record Cards, Archives Acc. 1981.112.

²⁷Dean Tupper's Report to the Board of Visitors, 11 February 1919, in Julian A. C. Chandler Papers, Archives Acc. 1982.45, folder: Caroline F. Tupper, College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. In 1921, three members of this first group of women were elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa. Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae, p. 177.