

CHAPTER IV:

World War II and Too Many Women

Life at William and Mary in the 1940s was overwhelmingly dominated by the changes brought about by World War II. The Great Depression ended as the United States swung into war production. Because of the proximity of a major naval base and other military installations, William and Mary was closer to the fact of war than were many colleges. World War II also exacerbated one of William and Mary's problems, while at the same time making it more endurable: the problem was that of too many women students, or rather what the administration perceived as too many women.

Beginning in the 1932-33 school year and continuing until the end of the period under study, women outnumbered men almost every year. During the 1930s, women made up about 53% of the student body. Although Virginia Polytechnic Institute also accepted women into its undergraduate programs, William and Mary was the state college most women wanted to attend because it specialized in teacher training, the major occupation of college-educated women, and because it offered a more well-rounded education than did Virginia Tech, the Richmond Professional Institute, or the normal colleges. For men, William and Mary was a second choice college, with the University of Virginia being the more prestigious choice. Furthermore, not only were more women applying than men, but the high school records of the women who applied were better than those of the men. It was difficult for

the admissions office to turn away the better qualified women, so each passing year during the 1920s and 1930s saw a higher percentage of women in the student body, until the number of women students surpassed that of the men in the fall of 1932.

Many different groups of people were alarmed over the increasing number of women. As early as November 1930, the Flat Hat sent out its "Inquiring Reporter" to ask men what they thought about the number of women at William and Mary. At the time, women comprised 46% of the student body. All the men agreed that there were too many women, that they felt men should be in the majority, and they feared that William and Mary would become a "women's" college.¹ In December 1933, the District of Columbia Alumni Chapter wrote the Board of Visitors expressing their concern over the increasing number of women. The Board agreed to study the problem, although nothing seems to have been done at this time.²

President John Stewart Bryan's report to the Board in June 1936 expressed the administration's frustration over the situation. He liked the prestige of being able to accept better qualified students, but he also wanted more male students, even though they tended to be of poorer quality than the women. He said that because there was more room for men than for women at the other state-supported colleges in Virginia, there was more intense competition for male high school graduates. Fewer colleges for women meant that it was easier to choose the best qualified women from among the many applicants. Despite the fact that both the Board of Visitors and the college administration wanted to admit more men, Bryan wrote, "I

¹Flat Hat, 7 November 1930, p. 5.

²Board of Visitors Minutes, 29 December 1933, p. 458.

have no doubt that the Board will agree it is a choice between superior women students or far less satisfactory men students. Quality has to be recognized."³ Clearly, there was concern on the campus about what to do under these circumstances. Accepting more men and fewer women would mean getting male students who were less qualified than the women who were rejected.

In 1937, the Alumni Association Board presented its proposal for curtailing the number of enrolled women to the Board of Visitors. It asked that the Board establish an official ratio of 60% men to 40% women, and that the admissions office abandon its policy of admitting only those students who graduated in the top half of their high school class. Since more women than men did so, this meant that more women were eligible for admission. Instead, the Alumni Board recommended that men and women be judged separately, accepting the men who graduated in the top half among male students at their high schools and accepting the women who graduated in the top half among female students. The Alumni Board also asked that preference be given to children of alumni and that the percentage of Virginia students be increased. The Board of Visitors promised to consider these proposals.⁴

Finally, in the early winter of 1940, President Bryan announced that a committee had been established to study the problem of the large female enrollment. The committee members were Bursar Charles J. Duke, Dean of

³Board of Visitors Minutes, 6 June 1936, p. 252. The same concerns are also expressed in the President's Report to the Board, 9 February 1937, p. 279.

⁴Board of Visitors Minutes, 5 June 1937, pp. 287-288. Virginia students comprised 61% of enrollment in 1931-32, but only 50% in 1936-37.

Men J. Wilfred Lambert, Professor of Chemistry John E. Hocutt, Executive Secretary of the Alumni Society Charles P. McCurdy, Dean of the Faculty James W. Miller (also a professor of philosophy), Professor of History Harold L. Fowler, Professor of Jurisprudence Theodore S. Cox, and one other person surnamed Harrison who was probably Professor of English Charles Traywick Harrison.

The committee's report confirmed what everyone had known all along, that the women students were more successful than the men. In one letter, Dean Miller wrote that "roughly, the percentage of men who fail is three times as great as that of women who fail." He also gave percentages for the failure rate for a variety of courses.⁵ The committee was concerned not just about attracting more men to William and Mary, although that was their major interest, but also with attracting a better quality of male student. They did realize the futility of accepting men who would just flunk out of college. President Bryan's report to the Board of Visitors in May 1940 shows the atmosphere under which this Committee on Enrollment was operating: "it is thoroughly understood that the restoration of a preponderance of men students is a most important objective for this college"⁶

The Committee made its final report at the Board Meeting on 13 December 1941. The Board adopted all of the committee's proposals, which included setting the ratio of male/female students at 60/40, reserving

⁵James W. Miller to John Stewart Bryan, 1 May 1940, in President John S. Bryan Papers, Archives Acc. 1979.35, folder: Enrollment, Male--Committee on--1938-41.

⁶Board of Visitors Minutes, 31 May 1940, p. 34.

more dormitory space for men and undertaking a special campaign to recruit men by offering more scholarship aid to men, and adding courses that would attract them. The Board was also decided to give preference to Virginia women over out-of-state women in the admissions process.⁷ The entrance of the United States as a combatant into World War II jeopardized these plans. Just two months later, at the February 1942 Board meeting, President Bryan told the Board that because of the war, William and Mary would have to accept more women in order to maintain its enrollment level. He specified, however, that after the war, efforts to increase male enrollment would be resumed.⁸

Initially, the plan to recruit more men was successful. Fifty-three percent of the students enrolled in the fall of 1942 were men. They had been attracted to William and Mary by the presence of Army and Navy reserve units and by a special new war-work program. The latter, later renamed the work-study program, offered poor men the chance to work and attend college at the same time. Most of the participants worked at Colonial Williamsburg. The College also gave scholarship aid to these men to ensure that they had enough money for college.

The sudden decline in numbers of male students began in January 1943. In the late fall of 1942, the United States Congress had passed a bill lowering the draft age from twenty to eighteen, thus making most college men eligible for the draft. The Army and Navy reserve units were also

⁷Board of Visitors Minutes, 13 December 1941, p. 171. The only woman on the Board at this time seconded the resolution adopting these proposals.

⁸Board of Visitors Minutes, 13 February 1942, p. 176.

called up, and student deferments were suspended. When classes began in September 1943, only 27% of the student body was male. The proportion of men climbed slightly higher in subsequent years when discharged veterans returned to class.

The college administration knew that the financial well-being of William and Mary depended on keeping dormitories and classrooms filled. The College could have accepted more women, but those concerned about having too many women were reluctant to do this because it meant that there would be no place to put the veterans after the war. Furthermore, there was the danger of having to lower admission standards in order to admit more women. Fortunately, the College was able to secure two military training units which moved into several college dormitories and other buildings. The Army Specialized Training Unit was on campus less than a year, but the Naval Chaplains Training School was at the College for the duration of the war. By giving dormitory space to military units, the College was in essence reserving that space for men after the war, thus putting itself in a good position to enroll more equal numbers of men and women students.

The make-up of the faculty changed slightly during the war years. Many of the men, and a few of the women, went into war work of some sort. In his annual report on the 1943-1944 school year, President John E. Pomfret reported that twenty-six faculty members had been granted leaves of absence: eighteen for military service, six for other government service, and two for regular leaves of absence. Because enrollment had declined, not all of these professors were replaced, but the College did hire twenty-two new faculty members for the year. Seventeen of them were designated as "acting" professors or instructors, indicating that they were hired as

temporary replacements for faculty on leave. Of the twenty-two, seven were women. In the fall of 1942, women comprised only twenty percent of the faculty, so they were being hired in slightly higher numbers during the war than they had been before it. Five of the women were temporary appointments, however. In the period examined by this thesis, the greatest number of female faculty members was twenty-nine, reached in the 1943-1944 year. Many of these were acting professors. The women professors continued to hold doctorates in a far smaller proportion than their male counterparts.

In another response to the war, the college added many new courses to the curriculum and made other changes as well. Physical education courses, formerly required only for freshmen and sophomores, were now also required of juniors and seniors in order to provide stronger and more physically fit workers and soldiers. The summer school was expanded into a full semester's equivalent so students could graduate sooner and get into war work and so that men could complete more credits before being drafted. The new courses which were added provided a useful background for graduates, male or female, who were going into war-related jobs. They included camouflage techniques, home nursing, the maintenance of internal combustion engines, map reading, including interpretation of aerial photographs, military chemistry, telegraphy, law of the sea, military and naval strategy, health education, plane and spherical trigonometry, and safety and emergency education. Most of these courses carried only two hours of credit, rather than the three hours awarded for regular academic courses.⁹

⁹President's Report in Board of Visitors Minutes, 30 May 1942, p. 210.

The College responded to the war in other ways, as well. Several alumnae remembered that sandbags were placed around Lord Botetourt's statue in the Wren yard. One also recalled that the regular window shades in the dormitories were replaced with black-out shades, a precaution taken in many homes near the Atlantic Ocean. Air raid drills were added to the regular round of fire drills.¹⁰

The students who remained on campus participated in the war effort, too. A War Council was formed to coordinate campus-wide war efforts. The WAM Corps (War Activity Members) was composed of those who did at least five hours of volunteer work per month. The jobs available included Red Cross work, especially knitting and rolling bandages, selling war stamps, collecting scrap metal, performing USO work, serving as nurses' aids in the student infirmary, babysitting, clerical work, serving at a soldiers' snack bar, or assembling Christmas boxes for hospitalized soldiers.¹¹ The recruitment was so successful, with over five hundred women signing up, that the organizers had a hard time finding enough work for everyone to do.¹² Students also served at the aircraft warning observation post which was in the Methodist Church steeple. Women were permitted to serve only on daytime shifts.¹³ Women who were not going to attend summer school

¹⁰Questionnaire 44-23.

¹¹Flat Hat, "Attention Coeds. WAM Corps Starts Recruiting Tuesday," 5 October 1943, p. 1.

¹²Questionnaire 44-2.

¹³Flat Hat, "Aircraft Warning," 18 February 1942, p. 5.

were urged to consider working on farms to help produce more food and to free up farm laborers for military service.¹⁴

The war forced students into other new tasks, as well. Some of the housekeeping and groundskeeping staff quit their jobs in order to take higher paying jobs in industries or other war-related fields. Because of the existence of those jobs, the people who quit were almost impossible to replace. Some men were excused from physical education classes to perform groundskeeping duties. Men students had to start making their own beds because of the maid shortage; women had always made their own beds. The college laundry suffered cutbacks in personnel, so students were requested to wash their own socks and handkerchiefs in order to cut down on the laundry's work load. The dining hall switched from serving at tables to cafeteria-style in order to make up for lost waiters, traditionally male athletes and scholarship students earning college expenses. One alumna remembered that her sorority had to stop serving meals at the house because of the difficulty of obtaining rationed foodstuffs. The sorority members returned to the college dining hall for their meals.¹⁵ Some of the women found part-time jobs as telephone operators. Full-time operators had been preferred, but overcrowded living conditions in town meant that there was nowhere for any newly-arrived operators to live, so part-time workers were employed instead. After February 1943, women athletes gave up their out-of-town schedule because of difficulties in travel, especially overcrowding on trains. Several alumnae commented on the difficulty of train travel. One recalled sneaking onto a troop train because all the regular

¹⁴Flat Hat, "Nancy Tyree Asks Aid for Farmers," 19 April 1944, p. 2.

¹⁵Questionnaire 44-11.

trains were too full. What was normally an eight hour trip took twenty-two hours instead. Another recalled having to sit on suitcases because all the seats were taken.¹⁶

The war took over many social activities on campus. Dating on campus was difficult because of the overabundance of women. Even the chaplains' training program did not help much because of the shortness of the time the chaplains were on campus, because they were older, and because some were married. Occasionally, the women were allowed to ask soldiers to dances, but only if they were properly chaperoned.¹⁷ The Williamsburg Inn had been taken over by military officers and an Officers' Club was established there. The women students were permitted to go there, but the permission was granted only after they had petitioned President Pomfret for the right.¹⁸ With so many new people in town, places of entertainment were usually crowded at night. The College helped relieve the situation a little by opening Blow Gymnasium on Sunday evenings. Here students could swim, play ping pong, badminton, or bridge, listen to the radio, or read magazines. Snacks were also available.¹⁹ One alumna described Williamsburg on weekends as "a sea of greenish brown and white--hundreds of Navy Seabees

¹⁶Questionnaires 44-11 and 43-13.

¹⁷Flat Hat, "Dances for Soldiers Given by College...", 22 April 1942, p.2.

¹⁸Flat Hat, "Women May Now Attend Officers' Club," 23 March 1943, p. 1.

¹⁹Flat Hat, "Sunday Night Boredom Has Been Lifted...", 23 March 1943, p. 1.

and khaki-clad soldiers from Ft. Eustis."²⁰ Another alumna recalled that the Wesley Foundation group at the Methodist Church was frequently visited by servicemen, and the church provided many social activities for them. The girls and women who attended the church joined in games, square dancing, and just chatting with the military men.²¹

Although the dearth of men made social life difficult for women, it made life easier for the male students who remained. Fred L. Frechette, a student during the war, recalled that he was asked to do things, such as write for the Flat Hat or act in plays, simply because he was one of the few men on campus. If there had been normal numbers of men, his talents may well have been outshone by the superior talents of others.²²

During the war women had more opportunities to assume leadership roles. They became editors of the student publications, the Flat Hat, the Colonial Echo, and the literary magazine. They were elected presidents of the classes and of interest groups and honor societies, even when such organizations included men. Other than all-male organizations, many of which were inactive during the war, the one group which women did not lead was the student government association. In the 1920s and 1930s, the women and men had had separate governing bodies, with no one representing the entire student population. This changed in October 1940 with the establishment of the General Cooperative Committee which was composed of representatives from the Men's Student Body, the Women Students'

²⁰Questionnaire 43-13.

²¹Questionnaire 44-23.

²²Oral History Interview with Fred L. Frechette, pp. 19-20.

Cooperative Government Association (WSCGA), and the college administration. Thereafter, the term "Student Body" referred not just to the governing body of the male students, but to that of all students. The WSCGA continued as a separate organization, still judging honor code and social rule infractions. The Student Body constitution specifically stated that the president had to be a senior man. This proviso created a major problem during the war because several of the presidents were drafted or otherwise chose to leave college, thus necessitating numerous elections.²³ In 1944, the constitution was amended to permit women to run for Student Body President, but none was elected during the war.²⁴ Despite the fact that the school's highest elective office remained out of female hands, the women were responsible for running most of the rest of campus. They gained more power more quickly during the war than would have been possible in peacetime.

The alumnae who responded to the questionnaire made several comments that sum up the atmosphere of the wartime college. One recalled it as a very romantic time, made so because many of the women were dating servicemen who were on their way to a battlefield.²⁵ Many commented on the "unreality" of the atmosphere, where they were safely pursuing their studies while millions of people around the world were suffering in war. They could not shut out the images of the conflict because of the presence

²³Flat Hat, "Election Problem," 30 March 1943, p. 8, and "Sad Sage [sic] of Elections," 6 April 1943, pp. 4 and 8.

²⁴The Student Body constitution was printed in the Indian Handbook, which was published each fall.

²⁵Questionnaire 43-6.

of so many servicemen in town, who were going to join the sufferers. As one woman phrased it, talking to the men at USO functions "made [her] wonder at how very far removed [her] studies were from the sad realities of the times."²⁶ For the most part, however, the comments of the alumnae indicated that they enjoyed their college days, despite the fears for friends in battle, black-outs, rationing, travel difficulties, and a shortage of men on campus. They still had parties, plays, newspapers, and enough activities to keep themselves busy.

In 1944, the United States Congress passed the legislation known as the G.I. Bill, which provided money for veterans seeking college educations. After the war, many men took advantage of this bill, and colleges welcomed them with open arms. William and Mary joined others in accepting these more mature male students, many of whom brought wives and children with them. But that it the beginning of another era in higher education, one beyond the scope of this study.

The women who attended William and Mary during the time under study did put their college educations to use in the worlds of business and education. Only 17% of them did not hold a job immediately after leaving college, and this included a number who were unable to secure jobs during the Depression years.²⁷ Over one-fifth of the women earned advanced degrees after leaving William and Mary, but only 10% of those degrees were earned at the college.

²⁶Questionnaire 45-10.

²⁷Most American women college students of the 1920s and 1930s worked after graduation. Barbara Miller Solomon discusses this in In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), chapter 11.

Since 90% of the women did get married, and 80% had children, undoubtedly many of them chose to be unemployed for part of their lives (the questionnaire was not designed to obtain this information). However, most of the women indicated that they had been working for many years, and quite a number held several different positions. Most of the jobs the women chose were traditionally female jobs, so William and Mary graduates were definitely not taking the initiative and moving into male fields, such as law, medicine, or engineering. The single most popular career choice was that of teaching, with 35% entering that profession. The next most popular career was secretarial work, with almost 10% choosing that. The women held a great variety of white collar jobs. Other positions employing more than 2% of the women were librarianship, salesperson, social worker, and administration posts.

Although 90% of the women married, most of them did not marry fellow students. Less than 15% of the alumnae married men whom they had met while both were students in Williamsburg. Until World War II, women students were prohibited from marrying, so only 6% married before graduation. Most of these dropped out of college in order to get married. One woman admitted to a secret marriage, while another disclosed that she was forced to withdraw after her secret marriage was uncovered.

The women married well-educated men. About 40% of the husbands had attended graduate school, almost 30% had graduated from college, and about 17% had completed at least some college studies. Fewer than 5% had less than a high school education. Again, these figures can be compared to the 1940 statistics for the United States as a whole, where only 10% of the adult male population had attended college. Whereas 60% of the alumnae's fathers had completed at least some college work, 85% of the husbands had

done so. As one would expect, the husbands held mainly white collar jobs. In decreasing order, some of the most popular careers were engineer, lawyer, military service, physician, business executive, and college professor.

Most of the alumnae indicated that they had led contented, fulfilled lives after college, whether those lives were primarily devoted to child-rearing, volunteer work, or paid work outside the home. Although radical ideas rarely had much of an impact on students at William and Mary, the women recalled that they were exposed to new ideas and different kinds of people while at college, and this exposure helped to broaden their perspectives.

The admission of women had a positive impact on William and Mary, helping to transform it into a much better quality liberal arts college than it had been. The predictions of the anonymous 1918 Flat Hat writer certainly came true, with the college indeed receiving larger state appropriations, new buildings, a new social life, and more and better activities of all sorts.²⁸ But the major changes which coeducation brought to William and Mary have more to do with the quality of the academic life than with the quantity or quality of buildings or parties. Clearly, the admission of women was the major factor in attracting more applicants. Because the number of applicants outstripped the number of students the College could educate, it was able to impose more stringent admission requirements. Having more students also made it possible for the College to offer a greater variety of courses. Better students and more courses are two signs of the academic improvements which followed the admission of women. Many date Williamsburg's rebirth from the beginning of the

²⁸"Pass Coeducation," Flat Hat, 13 March 1918, p. 1.

Rockefeller restoration in the late 1920s. William and Mary did not wait for any such fairy godfather. Almost a full decade before John D. Rockefeller, Jr., came to town, William and Mary had admitted women and that began a new period of growth for the College.

APPENDIX A

The Survey and Its Results

Because the author was interested in obtaining some information about the women who had attended William and Mary between 1918 and 1945 which was not available from the resources at her disposal, she designed a survey to gather that information. Her chief interest was to learn something about the family background of the women, specifically what kinds of jobs their parents held and what the parents' educational background was. Other information, such as majors and minors, religion, jobs held by the alumnae after leaving college, and reasons for attending college, was also sought. The survey was sent to almost three thousand alumnae, and over 1300 were returned. A copy of the cover letter and the survey can be found in Appendix B, and a partial statistical summary of the results in Appendix C. The completed survey forms and a more complete statistical summary can be found in the College Archives.¹ Some of the results have been discussed in the body of the thesis; this appendix will go into more detail with the answers to the other questions.

The question asking for factors which influenced the individual's decision for attending college was not on all surveys forms because it was

¹Alumnae Questionnaires, Archives Acc. 1988.67.

added after a number of the forms had already mimeographed. Although only one answer was requested, many respondents marked more than one. Half of the respondents indicated that they wanted to prepare for a career, and almost half indicated a desire to be better educated. One-fifth applied to college because their parents expected them to go. Only 5% admitted they came for the social life and to meet people. One percent chose college because they could not think of anything better to do. A variety of other reasons were also given. Some said they had been raised to believe that going to college was just something one did or because good high school students always continued on to college. A love of learning and a desire to experience a new and interesting environment, to get away from home, and to prepare for life were other reasons.

As to why they chose William and Mary, the majority indicated that they or their parents were attracted by the academic program. The fact that friends or relatives had attended or that William and Mary was close to home were not very important reasons for most women. However, the location of the college in an historic area and the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg brought William and Mary to the attention of many potential students all over the country. Some women, mainly Northerners, were attracted to William and Mary because it was in a different part of the country from where they lived. A combination of location, small size, and its coeducational status was probably the most important factor in the decision making process. The physical attractiveness of the campus also figured in many decisions.

Money was another major consideration. For Virginians, the tuition was reasonable, much more so than tuition at the private colleges in the

state. Scholarships and assurances of part-time jobs brought William and Mary within reach for others.

Principals, teachers, alumni, and family friends encouraged many of the women to attend William and Mary. One woman was told that a William and Mary degree "stood high in securing a teaching position." The fact that family or friends were in or near Williamsburg influenced some women, especially when the friends or family were working for the college or stationed at nearby military bases.

There were many other reasons for attending William and Mary. Some women wanted to return to their Virginia roots, others wanted to go somewhere different from the rest of their family and friends. Some were looking for a real college degree, not just a finishing school degree. Some considered it an easy school at which to get accepted. Two women were attracted by the conservativeness of the school, while one woman was looking for a less restrictive social life than that of a girl's school. Some were attracted by certain classes; one came because there was a chapter of a particular sorority on campus. Another woman thought Williamsburg would be exciting after her small town life. An admirer of Thomas Jefferson wanted to attend the same college he had. The list of reasons could continue.

The question seeking information about relatives who had attended William and Mary was poorly worded. Also, two stencils were made, and a typographical error occurred. Some alumnae were asked about relatives who had attended William and Mary, meaning before they came. Other alumnae were asked about relatives who have attended, whether before or after their college years. The author was trying to find out if the presence of alumni relatives was significant. Because the question was poorly worded

and because there were two versions, the statistics are not very useful, other than in inquiring about relatives, such as parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, who are almost always older and would have attended before the alumnae. Although a number of the women had relatives who had attended the college, apparently this was not an influential factor in the decision to attend. Only 3.4% of the women had fathers who were alumni; less than 1% of the mothers had attended (most in this group had been summer school students). They were more likely to have had an uncle (6.5%) or an aunt (1.8%) attend than a parent. Ten percent had brothers and 20% had sisters who attended William and Mary. Twenty-six percent had cousins who had attended the college. Several women mentioned that several generations of their families had been educated at William and Mary, and one woman counted eight ancestors among the alumni of the college.

The women who came to William and Mary formed a fairly homogeneous group. Most came from middle class or upper middle class homes; most were Protestant; more than half were from Virginia; and all were white.

William and Mary became a state school in 1906 and since then has sought to educate first the citizens of Virginia. Thus, 58% of the alumnae were from Virginia. Most of the rest were from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, Maryland, West Virginia, and Massachusetts. With fifteen or more students from each of those areas, they account for 414 of the 548 non-Virginia residents who responded to the survey. Other Southerners comprised 12.5% of the total of non-Virginians; Midwesterners 11.5%, New Englanders 6%; and 4% came from the Great Plains and Western States. There were seven respondents who were living abroad at the time of their matriculation at William and Mary: four

from the Philippines, and one each from the Panama Canal Zone, Haiti, and Japan. These were not natives of those areas, but were Americans living abroad.

Most of the Virginia women were from the Peninsula (18.7%), the Tidewater area, including Norfolk and surrounding cities (20.2%), the Southside region (17.5%), and the central and northern Piedmont regions, including Henrico County and Richmond (17.8%). Three-fourths of the Virginia women came from the areas closest to William and Mary. These numbers can be deceiving because the regions into which Virginia is divided are not equal in size or population. Although only 2% of the women came from the Eastern Shore, it is the smallest region and contributed almost twice as many students as the much larger Central Shenandoah area. The regions which contributed the most women are those that are either largest in size or most populous, with only two exceptions. The area just outside the District of Columbia, although small, was populous, but the women there had easy access to many other colleges, so William and Mary was not a popular choice among the women there. Second, Southwest Virginia is large in area, but far away from William and Mary. There were many women's colleges in the western part of the state which would attract the women there because of their proximity, even though they might be more expensive. Also, Virginia Polytechnic Institute was nearby; it began admitting women in 1921, although it was not very successful in attracting many female students.

Thus, the women at William and Mary represented a fairly small part of the country. Most of the Virginians were from the central or southeastern parts of the state. Most of the non-Virginians were from the mid-Atlantic area. Of course, considering the length of time it took to

travel by train or automobile during the period under study, William and Mary probably had a fairly good mix of students.

Another indication of the homogeneity of the female student body is the religious background of the women. They were overwhelmingly Protestant, making up 92.5% of the women, with 2.5% Catholic, 1.8% Jewish, and 3% with no religion or no preference given. Half of the women were Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist.

Almost 25% of the women had transferred to William and Mary. Although the survey did not ask from where they had originally come, many volunteered the information that they had transferred from William and Mary's branches in Richmond and Norfolk.

After leaving William and Mary, most of the women worked, married, and had children. Over half of the women had two or three children; about 15% had four or more. Almost 20% had none, and 13% had one child.

Over one-fifth of the women earned advanced degrees after leaving William and Mary, but only 10% of those degrees were earned at the College. Less than 3% of the mothers had attended graduate school, so clearly these women were advancing beyond the standards set by their mothers.

Five percent of the women had held a full-time job before attending William and Mary. A third of these had been school teachers. The others held a small variety of jobs, including saleswoman, secretary, and office clerk.

In retrospect, some of the survey questions could have been better worded, and the arrangement of questions could have been improved. More details about the women's lives after college should have been sought, not for the purpose of this study but for the benefit of other researchers interested in the post-collegiate careers of these women. Now that this

information had been gathered about the alumnae, it would be interesting to gather the same information about the men and compare the two groups.