

Cam Walker

Helen Campbell Walker attended William and Mary from 1960 to 1964, a period she describes as rather quiet before the activism of the latter 1960s. During this time she worked with the Women's Dormitory Association, Mortar Board, and was a Phi Beta Kappa. After graduate school she returned (in 1969) to teach recent American history.

Ms. Walker approved the transcript as submitted to her.

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Interviewee Cam Walker

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Interviewer Emily Williams

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Length of tape 55 mins.

Contents:	Approximate time:
characterization of W&M students in early 1960s	2 mins.
attitudes - toward administration actions & administrators	19 mins.
-toward student leadership, women's government	13 mins.
-toward fraternities & societies	10 mins.
-toward expansion of W&M	6 mins.
-toward national issues	4 mins.

Cam Walker

February 18, 1976

Williamsburg, Virginia

Williams: The period basically that we're talking about is 1960 to 1964, when you were a student. If you had to characterize the people you knew -- and it's always hard to generalize -- how would you characterize William and Mary students in the early 1960's?

Walker: Well, definitely middle-class, white, of course. There were no blacks here that I knew of until 1966, I think, when one local student came. Fairly conservative -- Almost all of us I think were pretty conservative. I don't remember knowing any genuine social radicals of any sort. There were a few people interested in the civil rights movement -- I knew a few people -- but not much happened around here, and ~~if~~ anything they did tended to be off-campus or something they had done during the summer, but on the whole ^[they were] very conservative, middle-class sorts of people.

Williams: From their backgrounds and from what they were probably going to be doing after college.

Walker: Yes. In terms of after college, the thing that I remember best is everybody it seemed to me, I knew, was heading right for northern Virginia and Washington; that a lot of them had come from there, of course, especially in my class. They hadn't yet imposed what ^{is} now a sort of informal quota, I guess, on certain areas of the state to spread it around, and so I think maybe forty people my class alone were

from W & L High School in northern Virginia, and an awful lot of them wanted to go back there. I can remember thinking ~~that~~ when you read about going away to college and what people do, that many times people talk about rushing off to New York, ^[for] but everybody here the highest goal was Washington, I think. I remember that struck me.

Williams: The attitudes then of the people you knew you say basically were conservative. Well, as you and I spoke of when I was in here the other day, there were a great ^{many} ~~number~~ of rules, especially on the women, not on the men. How did students feel about all these rules? Did they sort of feel restricted and try to get around them, or did they accept them?

Walker: I think we accepted them and then evaded them or violated them without seeing it as an issue, just something you did ~~because~~ we thought they were silly, but there was nothing of the atmosphere of the later '60s when you got people complaining about hypocrisy and so on. I think we'd grown up in a much more rigid kind of society where you assumed that you had to live with these rules or get around them as you could ~~and so~~ I know, for example, some of the rules about signing out for weekends and things ^{people} would fudge on that and not see it as any kind of moral or question of integrity. It was just something you did because the dumb rules were so silly, and that was pretty true on a lot of them. But we never mounted a big protest. We laughed about a lot of them, especially the 7:00 rule, which I think my

class was the very last one to have ~~that~~^{the} the first semester freshmen year. We knew it was silly, and we knew it was meaningless in a sense; I suppose we all had to study anyhow, so you either violated it or you didn't depending on your convenience, not that you were terrified that anything would really happen to you about breaking this rule.

Williams: This was you couldn't speak to men . . .

Walker: Yes, You couldn't speak to men after 7:00 on weeknights.

I still can't remember whether it started on a Sunday and went through Thursday or whether it was Monday through Thursday but even in the library you weren't supposed to speak to any male, and that one was violated quite a bit, I think. As I say, there was no real sense of outrage about this at all. I mean obviously we worked for gradual change because I think they kept extending the hours. I think when I was a freshman we had to be in at 10:00^{most nights}. You had a certain number of lates you could take, maybe half a dozen during the first semester, and you had to take them sometimes even to go to concerts and things. I mean to socially approved events, and I know we thought that was sort of a hassle, but again I don't remember a great uproar, just that they gradually did push to get that moved back to 11:00 and maybe eventually 12:00; I can't remember what it was my senior year.

Williams: So you weren't witnessing as a student the death of in loco parentis, at least at William and Mary?

Walker: Oh, no, not at all, because even the reforms they made were

still very much within the in loco parentis tradition. It was just a matter of perhaps easing them a little bit, an hour here, an hour there, changing the sign-out system a little bit, or something like that. But nobody I don't think really challenged the basic philosophy at all. By the time ^{we} you were ~~a~~ senior^s particularly we may have felt they were really silly, or even I know when I was a freshman I thought the rules were ridiculous in the sense that I'd never had anything like that at home, and a lot of my friends felt the same ^{way} thing, that they had had a great deal more responsibility (in a sense) at home, and yet as I say we didn't really raise any kind of storm or protest over it. I guess we just thought, "That's the way it is."

Williams: On this campus in the early '60s was there ~~was there~~ as on many campuses a desire to have student rights spelled out? I'm thinking in terms of the way the situation developed with the Statement of Rights and Responsibilities of the late '60s.

Walker: No, I don't remember any of that. I know we had the Women's Dormitory Association (I was vice-president and I know I did the booklet one year) But no, I think we felt we pretty much knew where we stood, so I don't remember any kind of pressure for spelling out the rights. There were a couple of uproars I do remember. One -- and they're really silly when you think about it -- but one was over not being allowed to have a Communist speak on campus, and people did get upset about

that, and I've frankly forgotten what the resolution of it was. Maybe we did get a policy spelled out there, a clear policy on free speech on campus or something, but I know there was ~~pretty~~ much anger over that and a feeling, ~~that~~ "this is ridiculous," we were perfectly able to listen to a Communist and either accept or reject his theories as we chose. ~~An~~ even funnier one and more trivial but ^{that} brought out more people I think was the uproar over "Hootenanny" [a television show] coming. They had wanted to come during reading period, I think it was, for exams, and the administration turned them down because they said we were all supposed to be studying and that they couldn't offer this diversionary sort of thing on campus during reading period. Well, everybody again got angry and upset because they said we should be able to judge for ourselves whether we needed to study that particular night or not, and I remember ~~we had~~ all the folk singers—of whom there were a lot on campus -- got together and held a protest over by the Sunken Garden. I think there's a picture ~~of us~~ in the yearbook of that ~~because~~ (I can remember being there) ~~with someone~~ and singing some protest songs they had made up about this sort of thing, and the newspaper editor posted a new priority on the Wren Building that said, "First school to turn down 'Hootenanny,'" ~~and all this sort of stuff~~. As I recall they eventually won that one; ~~They~~ did let "Hootenanny" come. As I recall I didn't go because I did have to study and I think the roof leaked. They must

have done it in Adair Gym when it just opened, and it rained that night, and the roof leaked all over everybody. So those were about the only times student rights ever came up as an issue and where we did perhaps challenge ~~the~~ in loco parentis, and as I say in some ways neither of those was all that significant really.

Williams: With the Communist speaker question -- Now, you may or may not remember this particular part of it: the Flat Hat ran an editorial taking Paschall to task over this, and Paschall called the editorial board of the Flat Hat into the Blue Room. Well, none of this showed up in the Flat Hat until a year later when they did this big report on the question of academic freedom at William and Mary because they felt that only at this time could it be aired. So I was wondering were the students even aware that this went on at the time? Apparently the Flat Hat thought it was just a dreadful thing.

Walker: You know, I really can't remember. I know that kind of issue came up again later when ^[Paschall] he called in the editor of the William and Mary Review. When we were seniors Jeff Marshall had written an attack on William and Mary^a something about the fourteen points -- It was a take-off on Luther's theses^o and Jeff attacked William and Mary as a Mickey Mouse place and listed ^{all} off his grievances^o and certainly the rumor that went around and that we all believed^o was that Paschall had called him in on the carpet and threatened not to let him

graduate if he didn't retract this, and (of course it was already published) and that he called him in several times and really tried to intimidate him, and the rumor we all believed was that -- and this, as I say, was probably a rumor, but it gives you some sense of the atmosphere -- we had heard that Jeff Marshall's father worked for Time or Newsweek and that he threatened to write it all up and embarrass the college if they didn't let his son graduate. And I don't think legally Paschall could have stopped him, but we were aware of this habit of Paschall's of calling in people on the carpet, but I don't remember if we knew that about the Communist speaker incident or not. I knew some people who worked on the Flat Hat, and I certainly knew they did tend to get called in if he didn't like something, and that he would berate them and so on, but as I say I don't remember whether we knew that about the Communist speaker incident or not.

Williams: Did you find while you were here -- you say you knew several people on the Flat Hat -- did you find that the Flat Hat was leading or reflecting or out of touch even with student opinion?

Walker: It's very hard to say because it would vary from year to year depending on who the editor was and so on, but I think it was much more important than it is now. I would certainly say that people read it much more regularly than they seem to now, and it was a source of real news about the campus. You

didn't have any of these competing things, like the William and Mary News, so if you wanted to know what was going on you did read the Flat Hat on Friday nights or Saturday mornings. I had the feeling that some years we thought it pretty accurately reflected student opinion, but I don't think we ever thought it was a real leader in any way, but as I say it's very hard for me to recall that.

Williams: And it's hard for you to separate it from what you've known since.

Walker: Yes, as I say, I do have the feeling that we thought it was more important than I know have the feeling students think ~~of~~ the Flat Hat is. I think a lot of ^{them don't} ~~W & M~~ see it half the time or don't bother to read it, and I think then we all did ~~it~~ and would debate or either agree or be angered about what it happened to say.

Williams: You referred to Dr. Paschall's habit of calling ~~in~~ people in on the carpet. Now your first year would have been the year he came. Over the four years did you [#] see a change in opinion about Dr. Paschall?

Walker: Yes, I think so. When he came I think he was greeted with open arms, not so much by us because we were freshmen, but by everybody else because of the terrible ~~Admiral~~ who had gone before, so my feeling was there was a great sense of relief and a feeling that this was a new start and ~~he'd~~ be pretty good and so on. ~~I also --~~ and it's funny; I'd almost forgotten this until I happened to look back in a yearbook

or something ~~and~~ in his first years here he did invite a lot of students in. He had receptions, ~~much~~ the same sort of thing Graves did in his first years here, ~~and~~ I think over a time that that tapered off, and he began to seem a bit more remote, although he did live in the house during those days, ~~and~~ he was very much on campus, and his daughter was in my class, and he always talked about having this special affinity for our class because we'd all come at the same time, so I think maybe we, even ^{when} ~~though~~ we graduated, had not a completely negative opinion of him. I think we'd been disillusioned on some things. ~~As~~ I say this business of calling people in and things like that [^] but I don't think the opinion was nearly so hostile as it was when I came back to teach, when he ~~virtually~~ ~~wasn't on campus that much or he wasn't living in the house that much and so on.~~ I think he seemed much more a part of things when I was an undergraduate, ~~and~~ it may have been that Tish Paschall was in my class, and we were in Mortar Board together, ~~and~~ I can remember having some meetings over at her house, and I think her mother was one of our advisors and things like that, so you did have a feeling they were pretty much a part of the campus and so on. But I do think that a sense of disillusionment had begun to set in, although it wasn't terribly serious, I don't think.

Williams: And you would attribute it to such issues as the speaker?

Can you pinpoint anything else?

Walker: Well, there's another series of things. My problem is that I can't now remember whether I knew this for sure as an undergraduate or if I knew about it later but on the racial question. - I'm pretty sure that even though I was not active ~~I'm pretty sure~~ that I had heard from people that he was very ^{bad} ~~down~~ on this, and I did know, for example, a student in the theater department, and she told me that they had wanted to offer sort of a one-act play that involved blacks, and it was only for a class; ~~It~~ wasn't even a public performance, and they'd wanted to bring up some students from Hampton and do this jointly, and she swore that Paschall had just forbidden that. So I know that I had heard that when I was an undergraduate, and I'm pretty sure I had heard from Dick Sherman maybe my senior year (when I would have been doing honors and sort of getting to know him better) that Paschall had called in some students who had brought black students on campus and asked them not to do that, which, of course, was completely illegal; You couldn't really do that and that he also complained about people bringing black friends into the campus center, into the Wigwam, so I think I knew he was very bad on that issue, but as I say it was not an issue that really agitated the campus at all. I remember we all sort of noticed when they admitted the first black student, and in a sense we were almost cynical about it. We said, "Oh, isn't it typical that of course it's a town

student. That means you escape the dormitory problem" ~~and~~
~~so on~~ but as I say we were very apathetic, and you'd
 hardly know the civil right^s movement was going on, at
 least from the people I knew. As I say I think there
 were a couple of people -- well, one person in my class
 and then a couple of people from the classes behind me --
 who were more active, but I think the general run of the
 student body, ~~we~~ just didn't even question what was going
 on really. ~~As I say~~ there's another interesting story
 about that, but I know I didn't ever find out the true part
 until after I had left, so it wouldn't really have affected
 me, but one of my friends was supposed to be a Ludwell house
 president her senior year, ~~and~~ that was a sought-after posi-
 tion, I would say, in those days. It was fun; you got your
 room free, also, ~~and~~ so Marcia was supposed to do that.
 Well, when we came back senior year suddenly it turned out
 she wasn't being allowed to do it, and they had to find her
 another room some place, ~~and~~ she would never say at that
 time why, what had happened. We just knew that the dean of
 women and others had said no, she couldn't serve as a Lud-
 well house president, even though she had been chosen the
 previous spring. It wasn't until after we graduated that
 I guess she felt free to talk about it ~~and~~ what had happened:
 she had been down in (I think) Greensboro over the summer
 and had been arrested in a sit-in, and her name had gotten
 in the papers ^{with} ~~and~~ some sort of indication that she was a William

and Mary student and people ^{here} who had seen that and were horrified, and they thought that made her unfit to be sort of a counselor to freshmen girls, so she wasn't allowed to have that. But I think they must have told her she couldn't talk about it either because she, as I say, while we were still here she never really explained to anybody why they had denied her the right to be a counselor, and it was only, as I say, after we graduated that I found out that's what it had been. So that indicates the kind of intense conservatism that there was. I doubt that Paschall personally had anything to do with that, but I think that Dean Donaldson's office and so on, that anybody who'd ever been in jail, even for a good cause, was just unfit and had probably brought disgrace to the school or something.

Williams: Was there in the early '60s the suspicion about administrators that, say, students from when I was ^{in college} there, had?

Walker: No, I don't think suspicion. I think we thought some were incompetent; that we were not terribly impressed, but I don't think there was the kind of hostility and suspicion that you get in the late '60s at all. Again, it's more ^[like] our attitude toward the rules. I think that you just assumed that every school probably had administrators like this and you just had to live with it, and if they were incompetent, okay, just live with it. The one person who -- we didn't view him with suspicion, but he was sort of the clever, evil figure, which makes me laugh now that I really know him,

~~and so on~~ was Lambert.

Williams: I was wondering what kinds of [#]a view students took of him?

Walker: Well, he was the man who knew everything, absolutely everything (It used to just amaze us), Partly because he was dean of students and registrar, ~~so in fact~~ he must have the most incredible memory } ~~because~~ you had the feeling he knew every grade you'd ever gotten. He knew everything on your record, and he would walk up to you and spill it all out, but as I say he was the real force around here, I think, as far as students were concerned. ~~He was the one~~ and I think we always felt he always knew what we were up to and was always the one they'd call on in any kind of incident. There was a panty raid or attempted panty raid one night -- it must have been my sophomore year because I was living in Chandler. the power had gone out, and it was in the spring and very warm. So all of a sudden you hear all this noise and all the people pouring across the Sunken Garden heading for the girls' dorms, and I don't know if anybody even got into any of the dorms. I think maybe somebody got in a window or something, but nothing much happened, but all it took to break it up was Lambert appearing on the scene. He just walked over (because he lived right across the street and just walked over), and he was always distinctive } ~~in his~~ he carried his little umbrella ~~and so on~~. As soon as word went out that Lambert was there and was probably going to take down names everybody

just fled ~~and~~ I don't recall if there were any repercussions at all; I don't think anything really happened, but he had that kind of power because you knew that he ^{probably} could identify you ~~probably~~, so if you were caught doing something he would be the one. But again it was almost a kind of fearful respect people had for him rather than real hostility or hatred or anything like that.

Williams: I had wondered what was the view, and I'd like to ask some people from later in the '60s.

Walker: Well, I remember I was just shocked to see whenever that big sit-in in James Blair was that he was ~~sort of~~ the most liberal ~~and~~ he was the one who handled the students best in the late '60s ^{because} as I say our image of him had been so different. We thought he was the real tyrant, and yet in fact, of course, he later emerged as much more reasonable than some of the strange people in Carson Barnes's office and so on, but as I say ^{# vs} for ^{as} undergraduates he was the one you had to watch out for.

Williams: As far as student leadership, ^{goes} ~~side~~ from administrative leadership, ~~goes~~ ¹ was it true that in the early '60s that the student leadership was reinvigorated, and if so, why was this so? Now in answering that you've got to more or less compare it to what you've known since you've come back, which is hard.

Walker: I don't think that is true, as a matter of fact. It strikes me as far as student government goes it's exactly the same, really.

~~that~~ every campaign, of course, promises reinvigoration or
 better people ~~because~~ it strikes me that we have all the
 same complaints about student government that you see
 now. Now, I may be very biased because I was never too
 impressed with student government-types at all, so as I
 say, I'm probably not a good one to comment on that. I
 just remember that a lot of my friends and I just were
 sort of cynical about them and thought, "oh, it's just
 the same kind of politicians you have in high school. ~~We~~
~~just all thought~~ they're all just continuing on, and it's
 the same old types, and okay, we'll go vote for the best of
 them, but don't expect anything much from them and they're ~~not~~
 that important to our lives, so I wasn't really good friends
 with anybody ^{who} was an important leader in the S.A. or what-
 ever it was called, and as I say we just didn't have much
 respect for them and didn't feel like they ever accomplished very
 much anyhow, but if you go in never expecting them to, it
~~kind of~~ didn't matter. Now if you talked to Jerry Van
Vorhis or somebody like that, I'm sure you'd get a very
 different view, but, as I say, it strikes me as very much the
 same as it is now. I'm sure if you went out on the campus
 today a lot of the students would just say, "Who cares about
 the S.A.?" or something like that.

Williams: You've worked since with the B.S.A. Have you found this to
 be any more effective instrument than the S.A. in voicing
 all-college concerns?

Walker: It was in the first couple years I was on it. The very first year I was on it (when Mary Edwards was chairman) was very good. A lot of it had to do with Mary's personality and leadership; she was an excellent leader and very good. Also we were dealing with problems, I guess, that were just ^{type?} right to be solved. That's when they were finally getting rid of a lot of the restrictions, so I think we had some concrete things to do and actually did it. ^{then.} You know, the recommendations actually made a difference. Now I served two more years. The second year I felt wasn't quite as good; the third year was farther down ^I hill, and [^] was really ready to get off. Partly we had solved a lot of the problems that could be handled in that kind of [^] form, and I think now I sometimes have the feeling they're searching for issues, or they're trying to do things that the B.S.A. by itself really can't do. They're getting much more into things where the faculty has a very large voice. I think the issues we were dealing with when I was on it were mainly student concerns where the faculty was quite sympathetic, and it was just a matter of kind of pushing the administration to take the final step and get away from all the remnants of the rules and regulations and so on. I really enjoyed it the first year or so and thought it was very effective, but by the time I was about to leave it, I didn't think it was accomplishing too much, and I thought some of the students ^{representatives} were more these student-politician types. I thought their concerns

were a bit narrower, and they were much more interested in their image on campus than what we were actually doing, whereas I never had that feeling about Mary or some of the people on the B.S.A. those first couple years. I thought they were really interested in the issues and were not trying to promote themselves.

Williams: You mentioned that you were officer of the W.D.A. It was while you were here that what had been the old W.S.G.A. or whatever was abolished and became the W.D.A. Do you remember any of the reasoning behind why this was done, or what the W.D.A. was suppose to accomplish ^{that} but the other organization hadn't?

Walker: I think that must have happened around my sophomore year because I do remember ^{that} the change occurred. It seems to me -- I guess the old W.S.G.A. had almost been a parallel student government for women or something.

Williams: It began that way.

Walker: Yes. And I [#]guess we decided in a sense that it was just an anachronism and that the only real difference between the men and the women was all the stuff connected with the dorms, really. That's where the rules were mainly imposed. ~~I mean~~ ⁼ it had to do with your curfews and the weekend ~~things~~ ^{rules} and all that sort of stuff, and so I think that was the main reason that it was just much more sensible to limit the concerns of the women's ^{organiza} ~~association~~ to the dormitories because that was the essential thing they had anyhow ~~and that~~ ⁼ this ⁼

other was just a outmoded idea. ¹⁴ What did we do? It's so hard to remember what we even did in the W.D.A. I ran for vice-president or got into it because I had been a Ludwell house president. As I recall our little handbook mainly dealt with these various rules for women in the dorms, and ~~that~~ our main job was to orient the freshmen to this. Oh, they had to take a test. I'd forgotten. They had to pass this test that showed they knew all the rules, so I guess then they couldn't later argue ignorance ~~was~~ with any ^{sort of} ~~certain~~ defense. So I think we had to administer that, ~~had~~ some sessions before ^{hand} to show them the handbook and make sure they had read it and could answer these various questions. We also had trials, of course, ~~if~~ there were violations, I guess each dorm had a council of some sort that dealt with them at the lower level, but they could be appealed, I think, to a higher W.D.A. court, ~~or~~ the very serious ones might come there, and we would impose whatever penalty. And some of them were pretty strict. People could be campused; you know, they couldn't go off campus for four weeks or three weeks or something like that, and some, as I recall, even had to be in ^{their} ~~your~~ room by a certain hour at night and so on. So we did perform that function, although I don't remember being involved in too much of that at all. I don't really remember any very serious cases arising during my senior year, when I would have been involved.

Williams: So then disciplinary infractions were handled by the students

rather than the dean of women's office if they were of a less serious nature as you're talking about?

Walker: Yes. I think maybe we had to file reports with her office. A lot of it dealt with noise ~~because~~ (we had all those quiet hours in the dorms) and so a lot of things would be complaints that so-and-so had been violating quiet hours like mad. Others would be latenesses; if somebody was late beyond a certain number of minutes and had not called in and had no adequate excuse then that had to go to some sort of trial. But as I say the dorms handled that, although probably a report did go in to her office.

Williams: At one point -- it was after you would have been with W.D.A. (but -- the Flat Hat charged that the W.D.A. was "the enforcement arm of discriminatory policy." Would that have been true then? I asked this of Lori Cornette, and she said, "Well, in a sense."

Walker: Yes, I think so, because the men had nothing like this at all, so we were enforcing what were discriminatory policies.

Williams: But you didn't look at it this way?

Walker: No, we knew perfectly well that the men were much freer, but I think it was that we were still used to living in a society that just had the double standard for everything, and I guess we ~~thought, as I say,~~ beyond these pushes for maybe getting a hour or more here, an hour or more there, that we just didn't think of taking on the entire system.

I guess we thought that William and Mary was a very conservative place and that this would be just a hopeless struggle, really. Especially by the time we were seniors we were all very much aware that this was a pretty conservative place, and Dean Donaldson seemed very old to us even then, and

Lambert seemed pretty conservative, so I'm sure we thought there wouldn't be any particular support for this from any of the deans or anything, so I think we just weren't wanted fighters, really, so we worked within the system.

Now it's interesting. A few people could always defy rules ^{with} it and get away from it. One of my friends roomed with a woman at least one ^{semester} -- I'm not sure this woman really stayed here -- but we had all the dress rules, of course, that we violated like mad a lot of the times, ~~but~~ she had horse somewhere around, so she just wore her riding outfit all over the place. She'd come in the dining hall and everything else, and we all [#] were just in awe of her that she had this much nerve, but nobody ever challenged her because she always looked very imperious about the whole thing, and so she never got any demerits or any of the other things we were supposed to get for this, and I think probably there ^{are} always a few people who just defied everything, and as long as nobody really challenged them they got away with it. But the rest of us buttoned up our raincoats and everything else. ~~It was~~ for years after I got out of here ~~that~~ if I happened to have a raincoat on

over bermuda shorts I had this ^{compulsive desire} ~~compulsion~~ just had to button up the whole thing so that you couldn't really tell I had on shorts! Even that was supposed to highly illegal, but we all did it, of course, because it was just so impractical some of the time ~~that~~ ^{you} were only supposed to wear your shorts when you were on your way to gym class or coming back from ^{gym} class. Maybe you were allowed to wear them to social parties in the spring at a fraternity ~~thing~~ or something, but even then I think you were supposed to at least have your raincoat over them or something -- strange.) And the reason they always gave us for all the rules ~~was that~~ -- it was probably just a cop-out on the part of the deans -- ^{was that} C.W. wanted William and Mary students to look nice. And of course, we used to laugh hysterically because the tourists looked awful, and we'd say, "Why are we all in these dresses when they're all wearing pink short shorts or something," but this was always one of the answers that was given if you ever asked about these crazy dress rules. ~~You know,~~ ^{this} college is always on display, and C.W. just wouldn't like it if you all looked cruddy and messy and so on. As I say, I'm not sure that's at all true, but that's what they liked to tell us. I guess they figured we couldn't ~~quite see~~ ^{fight} C.W. or something.

Williams: You referred in passing to fraternities. The early '60s is often ^{lumped} ~~looked~~ with the '50s as a heyday of Greeks. Did

you find this so at William and Mary?

Walker: They were important. I don't think they were as important as I would gather they were on really large campuses or at a place like U.Va. I guess, though, that I did think they were fairly important because I can remember being very surprised to discover that the percentage of people who belonged was always only about half, and yet my impression was always that at least 90 percent of the people must have belonged to either sororities or fraternities, although I guess I thought that the sororities were a bit stronger than the fraternities because the fraternities didn't have houses, of course; they just had the lodges, and you often had the feeling that they existed only to party and that they didn't have even a semblance of the kind of brotherhood or whatever that they're supposed to have and so I think I usually felt that the sororities actually did a few more things besides party and were a bit stronger and that the fraternities were mainly just strictly social. Also it seems to me -- now this is just an impression and it may be totally wrong -- that I knew a few more interesting men ^{who} were independents, whereas most of the women who were active on campus seemed to belong to sororities, and I somehow had the feeling there was less pressure or whatever to join a fraternity than there was to join a sorority. But as I say I may be really wrong about that; that's just sort of a vague impression I had. And certainly the fraternities were an important part of the social

life. I mean, that's about all that was happening, I guess, ~~and~~ it was all pretty silly and dumb. They used to have the "Gaza Strip party" between the Lambda Chis and the Pi Lams ~~and~~, you know, now you think it's so appalling they could joke about wars between the Jews and the Arabs ~~and~~ ~~stuff~~ because (the Pi Lams were primarily Jewish, so they would play the Jews or the Israelis, and the Lambda Chis would play Arabs, ~~and~~ people would go dressed up to these things) ~~and so on~~. I guess it shows you how unconcerned we were with real issues or something. I guess I did think they were fairly important, though. You didn't have any of the sense that they were under attack or that people were -- a few people didn't join them because they thought they were elitist or undemocratic, but that struck me as a very small number of people. I rarely heard people saying they had consciously decided not to join for that reason. Some people didn't join because they couldn't afford it, or others just weren't that interested, but I can only think of a few people who really raised the issue of the nature of the sorority or the fraternity and how the selections were made and so on.

Williams: Of course, I'm asking this from the viewpoint of looking back ~~from~~ a time when they weren't so strong. When you thought about joining a sorority, what then influenced you to join?

Walker: I guess I thought I always maybe would. ~~I mean~~ I think when

we were coming to college in my generation ~~or whatever,~~
 that was just seen as part of college life, and in some
 ways -- and maybe this is different for other people --
 I think my parents encouraged me because they thought I
 would become some southern belle or something. So they
 were pretty friendly. They had always said, "Oh yes,
 we'll pay for it" ~~and so on~~ so do go through rush ~~and~~
~~so on~~. And I think a lot of my friends were like that.
 Some came knowing quite a lot about sororities and had
 already picked out specific ones because maybe a lot of
 their friends a couple years older had belonged to it
 and whatever. But I think on the whole a lot of us just
 assumed that ~~as~~ part of college life; all good middle-
 class people probably also join^{ed} sororities and frater-
 nities then. My father had been in a fraternity, and my
 mother -- and maybe this was an influence on me, too --
 had very much wanted to join one but had not been able
 to afford it during the depression and ~~said~~ ^{that} she had
 been very upset by that. So I think I was probably
 getting this sense from home that, "Well, we certainly
 will pay for it, and if you want to, you should" ~~and all~~
~~this sort of stuff.~~ ^{Also} when I was a freshman -- this
 continued, I think, mostly throughout my undergraduate
 years, although again it eased off a little bit -- the
 rules were extremely strict first semester about contact
 between freshmen women and sorority women. -- I mean

ridiculously strict. Again you had to be very careful about even talking to sorority women, which made everybody paranoid about the whole thing. It may be because second semester rush wasn't all that old; I don't know when they put that in), But at any rate there was tremendous concern over dirty rushing and so you might know a few upper classmen from your classes (If you were taking a 200-level course of some sort you might), and I guess you could talk to them in classes and so on or activities, but any kind of social contact was supposed to be very, very limited. It made for a very artificial atmosphere on campus. I guess the freshmen were mainly thrown with each other. Now where a lot of rushing did go on, I think, despite all the rules, would be at fraternity parties. If you were dating a fraternity man then you probably did meet a lot of the sorority women, and they did do some sort of subtlerushing, but a lot of us weren't dating anybody in the fraternities or anything, so that was completely outside our sphere.

What this meant was that rush was actually the first time you got to meet a lot of people on campus; that^{was} the first time you just met all these hordes of people, and I can remember thinking after rush was all over how nice it was to walk around campus and actually know all these people because you know, you met a lot of people in houses that -- obviously you could only join one, but people who really became good friends later on and I can remember thinking that the system was pretty

bad because it had kept you isolated for a whole semester, although maybe it helped the freshmen get to know each other better. If you couldn't talk to anybody else, I guess so. But it was ~~a~~ very, very artificial, I think a lot of people went through just to meet people. Some who didn't think they could afford to join nevertheless would go through rush, or people who had doubts would go through rush just to find out how the other three-quarters of the campus lived (sort of). I mean if you can't talk to any upperclassmen in any comfortable way it's very strange, and so from that point of the view the rush itself, although I guess nerve-racking as it always is in some ways, was a lot of fun because you discovered, "Gosh, there're all these interesting people I've maybe seen but never been able to talk to."

Williams: Did I understand you to say that you didn't really feel a great deal of social pressure to join, like you'd be a nobody at William and Mary if you didn't?

Walker: No, I don't think so, and in fact -- I lived in Ludwell because I was an out-of-state student, and there were five of us in a suite, and only two of us went through rush. The other three I guess didn't make their grades, and there were a number of people who did not make ^{their} grades and so couldn't go through, ~~so in a sense~~ a lot of them pledged later after they made the grades, but there were a lot of people who didn't go through, and so I don't think

you would have felt terribly isolated. Now I can remember that it was sort of a touchy situation ^[for me] because you didn't want to come home from a party and talk endlessly about it if they ^[sultemates] were feeling badly that they hadn't made their grades and couldn't go through, but certainly a lot of people I knew did not go through that first time, so I don't think you would have felt your social life was wrecked or that you had no future or anything like that at all. It was kind of the thing to do, but the pressure was not so strong that you would feel you would have to commit suicide or something if you didn't make it. And people, of course, did get cut at the end and so on, but I don't think it ruined their lives or anything like that, but maybe I'm too optimistic since I ended up joining one that I was fairly satisfied with; I just didn't have enough perspective as to what other people were thinking.

Williams: Did the fraternities and the sororities then have to carry the burden of the social life that did go on here?

Walker: Yes, pretty much. They held a lot of parties. As I say they had these special theme parties that were very popular, and there were a lot of Saturday afternoon parties, as I recall, where a given fraternity would invite a given sorority; ~~So~~ there was a lot of that sort of thing. -- And, of course, the pledge dances and this sort of thing. That would take up a lot of time, I guess, if you went to a lot of those. The student government did do some sponsoring of events.

I seem to remember they tried to have spring formals one time in the Sunken Garden ~~and so on~~. So there was some of that, but that was about it, other than movies downtown. I certainly don't remember many concerts besides the "Hootenanny" ~~thing and I think I remember~~ well, there were a couple with William and Mary students singing because I know the year I was a house president a couple in our dorm were very good singers, and they had kind of an informal group, ~~but~~ I can remember they ^a give a sort of a mini-hootenanny or something like that, but other than that there wasn't much in terms of organized social activity.

Williams: For the fraternity parties, I wondered, how adequate were the lodges for such things? You spoke of this in passing.

Walker: Well, everybody was just jammed together. They weren't terribly adequate. Now, of course, the spectacular parties, the ones that were really the great legendary successes, would be when people would get ~~very~~ drunk and get up on the roof and fall off or something like that. That gives you the early '60s mentality, I think. And in the daytime parties (these afternoon parties) a lot of people would be outside, so you wouldn't all have to be ^m cramped in if it were nice weather. But, yes, it was kind of just everybody jammed in together, so it wasn't exactly ^a sophisticated atmosphere, I guess you could say, ~~but~~ they weren't too adequate.

The big dances ~~and stuff~~, of course, were always held at the campus center ballroom or something like that.

Williams: So many things that I ask you I have to say that this comes from my reading the Flat Hat ~~because~~ understandably this is about the only organ of student opinion that I have to go on. Time and time again, regardless of editor of the Flat Hat, over the period of the early '60s I found editorials taking the administration to task over expansion: buildings, enrollment, and programs. And I wondered if this ^{was} ~~is~~ just a concern of the editors the Flat Hat or if it really does reflect a concern ~~the~~ ^{for} students felt keeping William and Mary the way they knew it.

Walker: No, I think that was the general concern. I remember that we always felt they were ⁺ putting one over on us in expanding ~~and~~ I think people had chosen to come here because it was a relatively small college. -- Not teeny, tiny where you'd be limited, but certainly. I know that was a real ~~7~~ consideration for me when I looked at colleges. I had definitely decided I just wouldn't fit in or survive very well at a Penn State or even a place a lot smaller but still much bigger than William and Mary, and I think that was a real student concern, that we all felt very strongly on that point and felt they should keep it fairly small. I remember there was some uproar -- ^{of} course, I felt it because I was an out-of-state student -- ~~ever~~ when they

imposed the 30 percent limit on out-of-state students. That must have been about my sophomore year that they made that explicit, and we decided that would mean the decline of William and Mary. I don't know what the ratio had been before, maybe a little closer to 60:40 ^{rather} than 70:30, but as I say, no, I think the Flat Hat there was reflecting student opinion because I can remember we talked a lot about that and thought they definitely should not try to become a huge, impersonal sort of place. It's funny; it was very different when I was here ⁱⁿ that we all had -- well, partly you had a much more rigid set of basic requirements that everybody had to take, the distribution requirements, and there were some big lecture classes for freshmen and sophomores, so we all tended to have the same experience as far as education goes. You know, if you talk to anybody from my era -- virtually everybody would have taken History 101-102, and naturally you had Fowler, and this had gone on for a long, long time because there were people in my class who had old notes that, say, cousins or aunts or even mothers -- although that was stretching it a bit, but if the mother had married right away or something -- ^{had} from Fowler's class. It was sort of like if you went to William and Mary in that era, ~~you knew Fowler~~, you had Fowler. The same was true of the sciences. Now I took chemistry, so of course I had Dr. Guy, and I guess Baldwin did the biology. (Those were the

two big sciences. I don't remember who taught physics in those days.) But there was a sense that it was a much smaller kind of campus, even though -- well, it certainly had grown -- there must have been about 4,000 people around when I was here (or close to it), and yet the sense was that we all shared a lot more in common because you had to go through these courses. Now.

English of course was taught in small sections, so you were likely to have all had different teachers (also ~~or~~ the languages) But as I say I do remember when I came back being struck ^{by} how people from my era had all this in common, and if you ever met them again you could reminisce about Professor X, and absolutely everybody would know who that was and could remember certain things about History 101-102 -- the famous Henry VIII lecture or something like that, ~~and~~ I don't think that's at all true today because there's just so much more choice and diversity and so on.

Williams: Did you feel a sense of powerlessness -- well, you really didn't see this new campus spring up as you were a student.

Walker: No. The only thing -- I guess Yates was built while I was an undergraduate, and Adair Gym was finished. What's so funny is ^{that} it was way out in the woods, ~~though because~~ I can remember -- I was a mermette, and the last thing I swam in for them was the dedication of Adair (because my second semester senior year I was doing honors, and I knew I wouldn't have time to do the show and everything) but I can remember

for rehearsals and stuff we'd sort of trudge the road that goes by what's now Swem and so on, ^{which} was just a dirt path, ~~and~~ it seemed so far from Landrum or Chandler to get all the way out to Adair, and as I say we thought they had just stuck it in the woods or something. And Yates seemed very isolated, too. But we didn't really see the big expansion. And everybody knew they needed a new library; that was pretty clear; so I doubt that there would have been much objection over that, but that wasn't too much of an issue. That probably came later.

Williams: We've been talking mainly about campus-based issues. On national issues did you find that the William and Mary students you knew were very much aware, very much concerned about national issues? Now I guess this might well go up and down with what the issue was.

Walker: Well, certainly something like a presidential election we did care about, and I can remember we all -- maybe we even rented a television to watch in our dorm because nobody had televisions in those days and most of the dorms didn't. The most you'd have would be a house mother maybe with one; and I think I remember she went out and got one for us, so we all pitched in and rented it so we could watch the returns of the '60 campaign. Kennedy's ³assasination had a tremendous impact, I remember. People were very concerned about that and watched all the stuff on television and so on. I guess we even cancelled classes for

a day. I know they held a memorial service and things like that. As I say, the civil rights issue I think seemed pretty abstract to us, that we weren't doing much about that. The missile crisis -- That was a big issue because it was right around mid²semester time, and we had all these debates about, "should we bother to study if we're all going to die in three days anyhow?" ~~because~~ I can remember watching Kennedy's message on television. (I think maybe I'd eaten dinner at the sorority house that night, and ~~maybe they had a television set,~~) ~~and I think we all sat around~~ and watched this and were just petrified and thought, "Oh my God, this is the end of the world" or something. As I say, I can remember going back and saying to my roommate, "Well, is there any point in studying for this mid³term?" And so we all debated that. Other than that, though, I don't remember -- I think it was only the big, spectacular events that had much impact on us.

Williams: Vietnam then was a foreign thing.

Walker: Yes, as far as I know it was. I just can't remember it at all; ~~because~~ I don't remember even talking much about Vietnam until I ^{got} ~~was~~ about to graduate school, which, of course, would just be one [#] year later but I sure don't remember talking about it at all my senior year. I don't even remember having any sort of an opinion or hearing much about Vietnam at all, which, of course, would make some sense because some of the big escalation wouldn't come until '64, '65 really. And I can

remember even my first year in graduate school I couldn't even pronounce Mao Tse-tung, so you can tell that we just had not been discussing those issues at all. But as I say I suspect it was only the events that were terribly spectacular that had much impact on us.

Williams: More campus-oriented issues . . .

Walker: Yes, I think so. We were pretty isolated. I know I certainly never read any local newspapers. I think I used to get Time, I guess, and maybe go read the Philadelphia papers in the library every few days, and I knew a few people who maybe got the New York Times by mail who were from the New York area, but other than that I don't think we paid that much attention until it was something you just couldn't ignore.