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To Live In Time

The Sesquicentennial History of
Mary Baldwin College
1842 - 1992

Patricia H. Menk

"We aim to prepare each child
to live in time with a wise
reference to eternity."

Board of Trustees in Address to the Citizens of
Augusta County, September 1842

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To the trustees, administrators, staff, faculty and employees
and, especially, to the many generations of students for whom all
this was done and without whom there would be no Mary Baldwin
College

and

For Karl,
who always wanted me to write
a book.

Preface

During the many years that I have been a student and a teacher of history, I can honestly say that institutional history did not particularly interest me. When I thought about it at all, I had visions of dry board minutes, budget and audit reports, balance sheets and deficits. My own inclinations were toward narrative, chronological accounts, biography and social and cultural developments. When I found time and discipline to write a book, it would reflect these orientations.

Therefore it was with some misgivings that, in early 1988, I agreed to "update" Mary Watters', History of Mary Baldwin College. Distinguished as it was, Dr. Watters had concluded her work in 1942 and there had been no major historical account written since that time. The need was obvious, the timing appropriate, the Sesquicentennial Committee included many colleagues and friends whom I respected and cherished, and so I began work.

Shortly thereafter, I came across a statement which has altered and challenged my perceptions of institutional history ever since. "To examine the histories of institutions, to look in the institutional mirror, is often an act of deep bravery for people because of what they find and what they might find." (Rayna Green, "To Lead and to Serve", Symposium on American Industrial Education at Hampton Institute. Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, 16 September 1989.)

This book is what I have found. There are events which we wish had not happened, but they did and they are included. There is much - a good deal - to praise. Inevitably, as I might have guessed it would, this became a book about people, not balance sheets. It is about crises and struggle, about heartbreak and triumph, about ordinary and extraordinary students and their parents, faculty and their families, presidents and their staffs, alumni, trustees - about all the women and men who have become part of our story.

No one writes a book of this sort without the encouragement and assistance of many who make up a college community. Some of the names appear below, but there are many more. I must take special note of my colleagues in the History faculty who so generously welcomed back a retired professor who would not stay retired, of William C. Pollard, College Librarian, and of Dr. Cynthia H. Tyson, without whose support this history would never have been written.

June 1992

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Abbreviations Cited in Notes

- AFS - Augusta Female Seminary
AN - Alumnae Newsletter; after 1960, MBB, Mary Baldwin
Bulletin
BS - Bluestocking
BT - Board of Trustees
CC - Campus Comments
CAT - Catalogue
EC - Executive Committee, Board of Trustees
FC - Finance Committee, Board of Trustees
Fac - Minutes of the Meeting of the Faculty
HB - Student Handbook
MBC - Mary Baldwin College
MBS - Mary Baldwin Seminary
Misc - Miscellany
SM - Minutes of the Administrative Staff Meetings
SGA - Student Government Association Constitutions and
Minutes
SV - Minutes of the Synod of Virginia; Synod of the Virginias



Rufus William Bailey



Rufus Bailey's Birthplace - Yarmouth, Maine



ONE

MISS BALDWIN'S SCHOOL

T

he year was 1842. The inhabitants of the pleasant little town of Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia reflected the optimism of their fellow countrymen as the economy of the United States rebounded from the Panic of 1837. Staunton was the seat of Augusta County and the center of a thriving agricultural community with a population of about 4000. Built on several hills, served by the Valley turnpike which ran south from Winchester, by numerous mountain passes to the east and west and the Shenandoah River flowing north to the Potomac, Staunton was a trading, banking, commercial center. There were numerous grist mills in the vicinity and flour, cereal products, fruits and vegetables were sent by wagon to Winchester, Richmond and Lewisburg. There were grazing lands as well and cattle, sheep and hog products provided sustenance and profit. There was some mining activity and modest manufacturing. Woolen blankets, shoes and boots were produced locally as were heavy wagons and their parts, wheels, axles and harnesses and the support systems needed for a horse and oxen transportation society. There was the county court house (a building had stood on the site since 1745), a jail, a mental hospital, banks, many churches, inns, taverns, two hotels, storage facilities and warehouses (called the Wharf). There were prosperous homes, some reflecting the popular Greek Revival architecture of the period, others more modest but comfortable. There were no public educational facilities, but several small private institutes or academies

existed, mainly concerned with the education of boys. There were two newspapers, and a social life that centered on church and family. The area was considered healthy, far from the yellow fever and cholera of eastern Virginia seaports, and it was undeniably beautiful—ringed by the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains and the fertile fields of the Valley. The population was mixed; Piedmont Virginians from the east merged with the Scots-Irish and German families who had come down the Valley Pike from Pennsylvania and Maryland in the 18th century. There were about 800 blacks, perhaps 22% of the population. Although predominantly slaves, there were a few free "persons of color."

The 1840s was a decade of reform all over the United States. It was characterized by organized volunteerism which foreign visitors commented on with astonishment and amusement. Middle class men, and increasingly women, formed societies to remedy the flaws that they perceived in their republic. Often their motives were mixed and not entirely disinterested, but no social issue was unexamined. Prison reform, improvement in the treatment of the insane and of orphan children, control of excessive use of alcohol, Americanization of immigrants, better conditions for factory workers, Christian missionaries to western Indian tribes and the distant Pacific islands, world peace, the abolition of slavery, the settlement of free blacks in Liberia, utopian societies, a literary and artistic renaissance—all these engaged the energies of the reformers. The railroad era had begun and both transportation and communication were more quickly and reliably available than ever before. The message of the reformers followed the expansion of the country. By 1850, the United States would stretch to the Pacific Ocean.

No reform was more enthusiastically embraced than education. Long exposed to the concept that the preservation of republican liberties required moral, virtuous and literate citizens, Americans in the 1840s created and supported innumerable academies, institutes and seminaries as well as some public school systems in New England and the Midwest. Both boys and girls were to be educated, usually separately, in the moral and civic virtues appropriate to their country's needs and for their own individual satisfaction. Girls shared these opportunities because they were destined to be the mothers of the future republican generations and were to be models for their sons and daughters. By mid century there were those who were suggesting that women possessed the intellectual and emotional capacity to aspire to

higher education and had community as well as family obligations. In response, some schools were established for girls and young women.

These seminaries were usually identified with a religious denomination which provided guidance and occasionally some financial support and were often proprietary in nature; that is, the founder (usually male) employed the faculty, managed the finances and lived off the profits from tuition and gifts. This was the era of New England intellectual imperialism. Teachers and reformers carried throughout the nation the message of family values, Christian morals, and republican virtues. Many of them came to the South.

Thus it was that in the summer of 1842, somewhat mysteriously, Presbyterian clergyman Rufus W. Bailey and his family appeared in Staunton. He was 49 years of age and had been born in Maine, although he had lived and worked in several New England states. He was well-educated with degrees from Dartmouth College and Andover Theological Seminary and had served both as a minister and a teacher. He had also organized Pittsfield (Massachusetts) Female Academy. In 1827, citing reasons of health for his move south, he was dismissed to the Presbyterian church at Darlington, South Carolina. In the next decade he served several Presbyterian churches and academies in that area. By 1839, he was in North Carolina where, among other activities, he was in charge of a female seminary at Fayetteville. He also began a connection with the American Colonization Society, whose activities were of considerable interest to him until the mid-1850s. How and why he came to Staunton, no one seems to know. It does not appear that he had either family connections or a sponsor, but he was a gifted preacher, an able organizer, apparently an affable and persuasive individual, with a national reputation as an author and editor of didactic literature. He approached local Presbyterian ministers and influential members of the community and proposed that an Augusta Female Seminary be established under Presbyterian auspices but open to other young women as well. His suggestion was met with favor, a "Plan or Constitution" was drawn up, 15 of the leading citizens of the community agreed to serve on the board of trustees, which would be self-perpetuating. Space was rented in a downtown building, a notice was published in the Staunton Spectator and the first session opened with an enrollment of 50 students; subsequent years saw an increase to 65, apparently the average

enrollment until the crisis years of the late 1850s.

Pleased with his success in attracting students, Dr. Bailey immediately set about securing a charter from the Virginia State General Assembly. The process took until 30 January 1845, by which time the board of trustees had already made an agreement with the Staunton Presbyterian Church to build a "suitable" school building, "not less than 30' by 50'," two stories tall, on land next to the church and owned by it. One room of the building was reserved for church use as a lecture room and the building itself was guaranteed to the trustees "in perpetuity" provided that 3/4 of the board of trustees should be ministers or members of the Staunton Presbyterian Church (today called First Presbyterian Church). A building committee was appointed, public subscriptions were solicited, some board members pledging to be responsible for the sum needed to build, and the cornerstone was laid on 15 June 1844, with solemn and appropriate ceremony in the pouring rain. Enclosed in the cornerstone, among other documents, was the Holy Bible with the inscription "The only Rule of Faith, and the First Textbook of the Augusta Female Seminary." The building in neo-classical style was ready by September 1844, and has been in continuous use ever since. It has always been called "Main" or "Administration." In the early years of the seminary, there were no residential students; rather than provide housing for them, the trustees arranged to board them with approved families in the city, "where social and domestic habits may be cultivated," and where, it was suggested, epidemics could be avoided. The school building itself was used only for classes and study purposes. However, by 1857, two annexes had been constructed, again paid for by public subscription, which provided accommodations for the principal and his family and 15 to 20 boarding students.

The influence and philosophy of Rufus W. Bailey in establishing and shaping the future of the seminary are of major significance. He proposed the board of trustees, secured a charter which gave legal permanence to the seminary, and secured the funds for and helped design its first building, thus setting the architectural style for the next 150 years. His philosophy of education, particularly of women's education, put him in the vanguard of this hotly debated reform. When he came to Staunton, he had two daughters whom he had sent to school in Philadelphia (apparently after their mother's early death). He wrote to them a series of letters which were later published as Daughters at School. These, combined

with the public statements he made in Staunton as he sought to open his seminary, are equally revealing. Each pupil was to have first, he wrote, a "solid and useful education and then to supply that which is ornamental so far as may be required..." Further, he explained:

"The place, then, which the female occupies in society and the influences she exerts require the most complete moral and intellectual education to prepare her for her duties...she ought to have her mind and character formed by whatever can adorn or give strength to the intellect. And why should she not? She has a whole life to live—why not spend it rationally?" And later he observed, "Our wives are the guardians of our liberties" and must know the "physical, intellectual and moral nature" of their society and their obligation to it.

It was anticipated that there would be young children, the "elementary class," as well as older students. Indeed, the primary grades were essential; only there could a student be prepared for the rigors of the "Second and First Class" curriculum. Most seminaries had these primary departments; Augusta Female Seminary had "little girls" well into the 20th century.

But it was Dr. Bailey's intention to provide the older pupils with subjects similar and equal to those provided their brothers—an area with which he was familiar since, in addition to other female academies, he had taught and presided over male institutions as well. The upper classes would include English Grammar, Rhetoric and Composition, Comprehensive History, Geography, Astronomy, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Etymology (a special interest of Dr. Bailey), Elements of Natural Science, Geometry, Algebra, and Bookkeeping. Extra classes included Latin, Greek, French, and Music, vocal and instrumental on Piano Forte, Guitar, and Organ, drawing and painting ("they are studies of real utility...[they] promote habits of attention and discrimination...", he said). Good health was to be promoted by "employment of mind and body"—diet and exercise which involved promenades up and down the brick walk in front of the school. All final examinations were held in public and members of the board of trustees and the townspeople attended to view students parse sentences, do intricate math problems, and recite soliloquies. A library and a scientific laboratory were set up. Thus Dr. Bailey supported demanding curricula for women and saw women as rational individuals with the right to self-improvement. A great many of his countrymen in the 1840s disagreed, certain that the

strain of such intellectual activities would render the female nervous, masculinized, or mentally distraught. It is to the credit of the moderation and good sense of the Valley families that they supported Augusta Female Seminary and the four or five other similar schools which were founded in Staunton in the years after 1842.

The school year was divided into two sessions of five months each. School opened 1 September and closed 1 July. There were no vacations and Thanksgiving (not yet a national holiday) and Christmas were spent at the seminary. Study hours were eight to noon, two to four p.m. and seven to nine p.m. There was required attendance at a Sunday presentation by the principal after which all the students attended worship services at the Presbyterian Church. It was noted that "No visiting or attentions to the pupils by young persons of the other sex shall be allowed..."

Dr. Bailey was assisted in the school by his second wife Marietta, by his two adult daughters, Mary and Harriet, and later by a niece and a cousin, both from Maine. He was apparently an inspiring teacher. A pupil wrote of him, "blessings on that red head of his, which housed such an efficient brain, and such a genial interest in the progress of humanity."

Dr. Bailey, like most Americans, was fascinated by technology and the progress it would bring. Shortly after the invention of the telegraph, he secured a "Boston Lecturer" and set up a demonstration in the main lecture hall at the seminary. He called it "tamed lightning." He was also deeply committed to a railroad for Staunton and followed the digging of the necessary tunnels through the Blue Ridge with great interest. However, he had left Staunton before the railroad finally reached the Valley town in 1854.

Dr. Bailey was a restless soul. He seldom had stayed long in one location and probably lived for a greater length of time in Staunton than he ever lived elsewhere. By 1848, he had informed the trustees that the state of his health required a less "sedentary occupation" and proposed to resign as Principal of Augusta Female Seminary as soon as a successor could be found. Indeed, he may have worked side by side for a time with the Reverend Samuel Matthews, who became Principal in 1849. Dr. Bailey continued to reside in Staunton, although he was often absent for long periods. He had renewed his contacts with the American Colonization Society and had become their agent for western Virginia. By the mid-1850s he was in Huntsville, Texas associated in various capacities with the pioneer Presbyterian College of Texas (later

Austin College). He died there in 1863.

It is to Rufus Bailey that the present Mary Baldwin College owes several of its characteristics: its architectural style, its downtown location, its commitment to excellence in teaching and learning from a difficult curriculum, its Christian orientation and its belief in the capacities of women. Dr. Bailey was wise in his insistence that a board of trustees be legally responsible for the institution. Many of the early seminaries and academies closed because they were associated with a particular founder who, when he left or died, had no legal successor. Augusta Female Seminary was fortunate in a devoted and dedicated board. They regularly supervised the work of the seminary, attended its programs, pledged financial resources and undertook the difficult task of finding suitable principals after Dr. Bailey's resignation. They were educated, successful men; it is interesting to note that their composition is not unlike the present board (1992); there were five Presbyterian ministers, a physician, merchants, planters, lawyers, and men of political significance. Dr. Addison Waddell had been one of the first to be appointed and was one of Dr. Bailey's most admiring supporters. When he died in 1855, his son Joseph A. Waddell took his place and served for over 60 years. Without his wise support and counsel, the seminary might well have closed, as all other such institutions in Staunton did by 1863. Others of note are Reverend Francis McFarland, the first president of the board, who was succeeded by his son, J. W. McFarland, and a grandson, W. B. McFarland. There were McFarlands on the board until the mid-twentieth century. There was also the Reverend Benjamin Smith, as convinced as Rufus Bailey of the necessity for women's intellectual opportunities. Educated at Hampden-Sydney and in Prussia, Smith became a leading advocate in Virginia for public education. He was the minister at Tinkling Spring and the Presbyterian church in Waynesboro before becoming the minister at the church in Staunton (1845-1854). It was during his term on the board that the two annexes were added to Main, and his influence on the curriculum of the seminary was second only to that of Dr. Bailey.

In these early days, most of Augusta Female Seminary's clientele was from the city or the county, and the community was proud of the school. It must have been with some dismay that they viewed the succession of principals, who seldom stayed more than a year or two, who followed Dr. Bailey in office.

Although the 1850s were a time of general prosperity and

optimism in the United States, and especially in the South, it was a difficult time for Augusta Female Seminary. There were six principals (all male) in a fifteen year period, and enrollment at one time shrank to "a dozen pupils." It should be noted that Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, pastor of the Staunton Presbyterian Church, assumed general supervision of the school in 1855-1856. His son, Thomas Woodrow, born in the Presbyterian manse in 1856, would later become President of the United States. Even after leaving Staunton, the Wilsons remained interested in Augusta Female Seminary. Their daughters attended the school after the Civil War, as did various nieces and cousins. The last principal in this interim was John B. Tinsley (1857-1863). Under his administration, the annexes were opened for boarding students, the enrollment increased to the level of Dr. Bailey's day, new equipment was purchased, and the curriculum modestly expanded.

By 1861, the United States was at war with itself, and the fate of the seminary, the town of Staunton, of Virginia, and of the entire South would ultimately depend on the outcome of armed conflict. The Shenandoah Valley was the "breadbasket of the Confederacy," and Staunton, its largest town, a transportation, communication center and a staging area for Confederate troops. Within a year of the start of hostilities, severe inflation and military commandeering of supplies had brought wartime shortages and economic hardships. Hostile armies roamed the Valley, and parents kept their children at home. The several academies and institutes in Staunton discontinued their services. Their buildings became military hospitals, prisoner of war barracks, and warehouses. John Tinsley struggled to keep Augusta Female Seminary viable, but in the summer of 1863 he informed the board of trustees that he was resigning as principal and planning to leave Staunton. No one else appeared to be available to take over the operation of the school, and the board was preparing to announce that the seminary was closing when Joseph A. Waddell proposed that two women, Mary Julia Baldwin and Agnes R. McClung, be appointed joint principals, observing wryly "no man would at that time have accepted the position." The two women agreed, and Augusta Female Seminary opened for its regular fall session on 1 October 1863 with 80 pupils, 22 of whom were boarders. There was one building, almost no furniture or equipment, capital, or staff. By 1897, when Miss Baldwin died, there were five buildings, an able faculty, financial stability, and a student body numbering 250. By then "Miss Baldwin's School"

was considered one of the most distinguished educational institutions for young women in the southern states.

When Rufus Bailey opened his seminary in the fall of 1842, a quiet, shy 13-year-old girl, Mary Julia Baldwin, had been among the pupils enrolled. Four years later she graduated, first in her class and apparently much influenced by her teacher. She had great respect and affection for Dr. Bailey, and her later life reflected his insistence on high academic standards, his devotion to Christian precepts, and his belief in community responsibility. Mary Julia was an orphan and had lived with her maternal grandparents, John and Mary Sowers, most of her life. Captain Sowers was a prosperous merchant, and there were many Sowers, Heiskell, and Baldwin relatives in Staunton and Winchester. Mary Julia thus lived the protected and secure life of a southern gentle lady—at least until her 34th year. After completing her work at Augusta Female Seminary, she returned there occasionally for additional studies in French and music and perhaps to tutor. For many years she taught a Sunday School class of young girls at Staunton's Presbyterian Church, and Mr. Waddell, who admired her teaching skills from his own unruly classroom (for boys) across the hall, had known her from childhood. She spent one winter in Philadelphia (1853-54) with Baldwin relatives studying, reading, attending concerts and art exhibitions. Perhaps she sought medical assistance there as well, since an illness, early in her childhood, left one side of her face paralyzed and withered. She was sensitive about her appearance but not, as Mary Watters explained, "morbid" about it, and she pursued community activities with competence and dedication. However, because of her disfigurement, she would permit no portraits (or later, photographs) to be made of her. There exists only one sketch which a mischievous pupil at the seminary made secretly. Miss Baldwin is by a chair in prayer with her little dog Midget sitting on her bustle. It is a charming sketch but does not reveal much of Miss Baldwin's face. Mary Julia returned from Philadelphia in the mid 1850s to live with her widowed grandmother, to teach young black children to read and write, and later to begin a girls school called the Bee Hive Academy. It was at this point that Mr. Waddell proposed that she assume the academic responsibility for Augusta Female Seminary. She would be assisted in the house-keeping department by Agnes R. McClung (Mr. Waddell's sister-in-law), and the two ladies were given full authority to hire teachers, establish the curriculum, purchase supplies and equip-

ment, set tuition rates, and to divide the profits (if any) between them. It was understood that, at some future time, they would pay the board of trustees rent for the use of the Administration Building; but in the circumstances of wartime inflation that consideration was postponed.

Waddell notes that "Misses McClung and Baldwin had long been intimately acquainted and were, in most respects, kindred spirits, earnest, philanthropic Christian women." They turned out to be far more than that. Mary Julia Baldwin proved to be an excellent administrator and a keen businesswoman; she selected her faculty carefully, and many of them became so attached to her and to the seminary that they stayed all of their lives. Her students admired and respected her, and the affection many of them felt for her served to enforce the discipline of a 19th century boarding school far better than more punitive measures would have done.

Miss McClung was an able housekeeper. During the war years, furnishings, linen, table services, even pots and pans, had to be borrowed from friends and relatives. The students themselves were required to bring their own candles, towels, sheets, "heavy covering" for a bed, napkins, and a cup. Procuring and saving food supplies was an almost daily struggle. Commissary units of both armies made regular raids on civilian resources, and oft-repeated stories of flour barrels concealed under crinolines disguised as dressing tables, firewood hidden in dark cellars, hams concealed among bedclothes beside a young girl with a heavily powdered face simulating severe illness, corn in school desks, bacon and lard in an empty stove, the school cow concealed in a wooded area, have been repeated by generations of Mary Baldwin students. During the last years of the war, tuition and board could be paid either in Confederate money (\$1500 for a half session) or by \$67.50 worth of food and supplies. A broadside noted pointedly, "Currency will not be received from those who can pay in produce." Books were likewise hard to secure. Appeals were made to the pupils' parents that they lend dictionaries, grammar and algebra books and other appropriate titles from their own personal libraries.

Before the school opened in October 1863, Dr. W. H. McGuffey had come from Charlottesville to Staunton to advise Miss Baldwin about curriculum. Already famous for his Readers, Dr. McGuffey was on the faculty of the University of Virginia, whose curriculum he adapted for Augusta Female Seminary, modified only by the

"peculiar requisites of female education." There were to be three departments, Primary, Academic and Collegiate, a division similar to that of Dr. Bailey's in the 1840s. The Collegiate course (later called the University course), however, reflected Miss Baldwin's conviction that women had mental and intellectual abilities equal to men's and that they should be taught accordingly. There were seven "schools" (English Literature, History, Mental and Moral Science, Mathematics, Natural Science, Modern Languages, and Ancient Languages), the completion of each constituting "a complete course on the subject taught." Certification in all seven was necessary to be considered a "full graduate" and Dr. McGuffey warned Miss Baldwin that she was making the requirements so difficult that the seminary might not be popular. In fact, only 88 young women completed the University course during Mary Julia Baldwin's lifetime, but hundreds of others studied some of the subjects involved.

The first "full graduate" under this revised curriculum was Nannie Tate, who completed her studies in 1866. Her older sister, Mattie, was in charge of the Primary Department and Nannie, after assisting with English and French, soon joined her. When Mattie died, "Miss Nannie" was made head of the Preparatory Department. She resigned in 1919, having spent more than 60 years at the seminary.

Agnes McClung, although older than Miss Baldwin, became her dearest friend. When she joined Miss Baldwin at the seminary, she was accompanied by her mother, who was the sister of a well-known Presbyterian minister, Archibald Alexander of Princeton, New Jersey, and whose acquaintance with many church families undoubtedly encouraged enrollments. The young students called Mrs. McClung "grandmother" and, during the alarms of the war period, would gather in her room ("as many as thirty of them") for protection and comfort.

Mary Julia Baldwin and Agnes McClung accepted the challenge of directing the seminary in part because each needed some means of financial support. Although Mary Julia had a modest inheritance from her father and her grandparents (perhaps \$4000—some of it eventually in Confederate bonds), Miss McClung had to depend on relatives for a home and support. She had contemplated opening a boarding house when Mr. Waddell had approached her in 1863. The acceptable means for unmarried middle-aged ladies in the 1860s to earn money were few. Heroic as it now seems for these two women to try to keep the seminary

open in wartime, the opportunity afforded them a chance at financial independence. They agreed that any profits from the school would be divided between them, two-thirds to Miss Baldwin and one-third to Miss McClung. In the years after the war's conclusion, they bought real estate jointly and also held joint title to the seminary's furnishings. When Agnes McClung died in 1880, she left all of her portion of these holdings to Mary Julia Baldwin, the real estate to go to the board of trustees after Miss Baldwin's death.

This peculiar arrangement perhaps helps to explain why so many of Miss Baldwin's friends and relatives found refuge at the school in the post-war years. Her aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Wade Heiskell, lived there for twelve years (1880-92); another aunt, Caroline Sowers Crawford (only seven years older than Mary Julia), taught piano for a number of years. Her daughter, Mary, became a full seminary graduate, studied in New York, and returned to teach at the seminary in 1874. Mary Crawford later married but, after being widowed, returned as a voice teacher until her death in 1893. Two other cousins, Julia and Emma Heiskell, were on the seminary faculty in the 1860s. On another occasion, the widow of a Presbyterian missionary and her two daughters were invited to make their home with Miss Baldwin and did so for one year.

What was Mary Julia Baldwin like? Although we have no picture, there are several descriptions (some rather sentimental) as alumnae and friends remembered her in later years. She was about five and a half feet tall, perhaps 140 pounds, her hair "dusty brown" and "carefully arranged and brushed over her ears." Her "eyes were intellectual gray ones" and she was noted for a beautiful complexion and graceful, lovely hands. She loved pretty clothes, was always well-groomed and conservatively dressed, but she was fond of jewelry, had lace, silk, and velvet, and even a sealskin coat. By all accounts, she was a gifted teacher; in the early years of her administration she often taught eight hours a day and seemed to have a special affinity for young women, although she had few illusions about school-girl attitudes. In a letter to an unhappy father, whose daughter had apparently been carrying out a clandestine correspondence with a young man, Miss Baldwin wrote, "If Fannie would only consent to give up all thought of boys until her education is completed and apply herself to her studies, she would make one of the loveliest, most attractive women I know. . .but if young people are bent on correspondence,

there is no limit to their ingenuity." Miss Baldwin was often considered formal and dignified and "perfectly self reliant," but she once confided in Mr. Waddell, "People think me very strong and stern—they little know how I suffer." If she had to dismiss an ineffective teacher or to send home an insubordinate pupil, "tears flowed down her cheeks." When Waddell suggested that if the strain of her position was too great, she should retire, she answered, "No, too many persons are benefitted by my continuing here and I must remain."

In a memorable letter to Agnes McClung, Miss Baldwin wrote:

We have been living together for more than sixteen years, and I can truly say that each year has drawn me more closely to you by revealing traits of character that call forth my deepest respect and warmest love. . . I want you to know and feel that I love you dearly and esteem you more highly than any other living friend.. You know that I am not at all demonstrative, and that only deep sincere feeling would have drawn forth this confession of affection...

And one other recollection from a relative, Margaret Stuart (Robertson):

Dear Cousin Mary, so many of her geese were swans in her eyes! I often think the disposition to see and believe the best of all of us educated us up to a higher standard of right and honor; it is so sweet yet so humiliating to be believed better than we are.

The "hidden" Miss Baldwin also emerges in her love of animals, flowers, and her garden. For many years, the front of the west annex of Main Building was glass enclosed to create a "conservatory." Here, flowers and perhaps plants for the botany classes were grown, and Miss Baldwin's collection of "rare birds of brilliant plumage from Java, Syria and South America" were kept. In particular, a large green parrot was a favorite and he would often accompany the principal to the dining room, sitting on

the back of her chair and demanding tribute. There were also cats and, most important, a succession of dogs: Leo, Rollo, and later Midget and Beauty. They, too, accompanied her everywhere, the bells on their collars giving notice of her coming. We are told that the students took the bells for souvenirs and that they clipped so many curls from Beauty's coat for their memory books that he was in danger of being denuded. Some time before 1880, two terra cotta sculptures of Beauty appeared, fastened to the pillars at the front entrance of Main Building. No one knows who provided them, but they are the symbol of Miss Baldwin's School. Named by the students at various times as "Caesar" and "Pompey," later as "Blucher and Wellington," they eventually emerged as "Ham" and "Jam" (two important ingredients of Sunday night suppers), and for over a century have welcomed generations of Mary Baldwin students.

There are other glimpses of Mary Julia's character. During the war years, there were few men to offer protection from marauding soldiers, stragglers, and thieves. On at least one occasion, at night, when the panicked cry of "A man, a man," arose, Miss Baldwin chased the intruder into the yard, raised a poker which she was carrying as though it were a gun, and ordered him to leave. He did, speedily.

Waddell takes note of Mary Julia's many charities. "She was liberal to a fault in her contributions to religious and benevolent causes and to many individuals." She was a life-long member of First Presbyterian Church and contributed generously; some records assert that she provided up to 60% of all of the mission offerings the church made during her lifetime. In her will, Miss Baldwin left \$20,000 to First and Second Presbyterian Churches and to Foreign and Home Missions, and her few remaining letters of a personal nature reflect her deep faith and trust in God and her concern for those less fortunate than she. In a letter to Anna M. Gay (10 March 1887), Mary Julia writes:

A happy life must be one spent in doing good in our home circles and to all with whom we come in contact. I cannot conceive of greater misery than a life spent in selfish indulgence.

Thus Mary Julia emerges—earnest, disciplined, sincere, loving, presiding over a large intergenerational group of students,

faculty, family, friends, and servants. That she felt the weight of her responsibilities is obvious. She worried about her students, their health, their religious convictions, their seriousness of purpose. She felt the necessity of making a financial success of "her" school, because faculty (many of whom had no other home), relatives and servants (some of whom like "Uncle Chess" had been her slaves) all depended on her to shelter and provide for them. She developed many skills; she became an experienced book-keeper, a typist (she called it "printing"), a purchasing agent, a recruiter. She prepared catalogue material for the printer and sent personalized reports home to parents. She planned alterations to existing buildings and the construction of new ones. She furnished parlors and public rooms at the seminary with Victorian elegance and style, prescribed proper attire for her pupils, and she listened and sympathized with the emotional upheavals of young girls and unmarried teachers. It was a remarkable performance.

Having procured the services of Misses Baldwin and McClung, the board of trustees appears to have been content to allow them to run the school. The trustees seldom met, usually only to fill vacancies, and infrequently to deal with finances. As Watters explains, "The organization of the Board was simple; there was a President and a Secretary, but no Treasurer, because they had no funds and no Executive Committee because there was nothing to do." But Miss Baldwin did rely for advice and help upon several trustees. John Wayt, president of the board, was a banker and advisor on financial matters; Joseph Waddell was always available; he and his wife visited Miss Baldwin and Miss Agnes regularly on Sunday afternoons. As the years went on, W. B. Crawford (an uncle by marriage) became the "Business Agent," John Wayt "General Superintendent," and W. F. Butler, the "clerk."

By the 1870s the congregation of the Staunton Presbyterian Church felt the need for a larger building, and a complicated exchange of property and titles ensued which finally resulted in the seminary acquiring, among other things, title to the land upon which the Administration Building was built. Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung had purchased, from their own resources, a large lot across Frederick Street. This they proposed to donate to the church in return for the old church building and the lot between New and Market Streets. In the more relaxed legal atmosphere of the 19th century, the new Presbyterian Church was built and

occupied, and Miss Baldwin had already removed the roof from the old building, added a third story, and converted the building into a chapel, study hall, dormitory, dining room, and kitchen—all before transfer deeds were signed. Finally, in 1872, the legal processes were completed and the seminary board agreed to give the principals a 20-year free lease on the property. The 20-year lease expired 1 August 1891. Waddell observed, "Miss Baldwin continued to occupy the premises and conduct the school as previously. No change was thought of." There remained a problem of the debt incurred when the annexes had been built (1857). Six trustees had each pledged \$500 to compensate for the lack of funds raised by popular subscription. Four of the men (Tate, Kayser, Waddell and Trimble) agreed to cancel their loans; a fifth individual, Reverend William Browne, was in need of funds and the two women paid him out of their own resources. The sixth, General Imboden, "had become insolvent" and arrangements were made to pay his creditors (who had acquired his note). So finally, in 1873, the seminary held title to the land and building with which it had been identified since 1845.

In addition, Miss Baldwin set about acquiring adjacent property. Judge L. P. Thompson having died, the ladies, again using their own resources, purchased from his estate the property from Market to New Street and eventually the mansion known as Hill Top, which became a dormitory. Immediately behind the seminary building, the principals had erected "Brick House" (today McClung) and took up their residence there; and, in 1871, a frame building constructed half-way up the hill became known as "Sky High." The campus now encompassed about four acres, and in the ensuing years a Calisthenic Hall, a bowling alley (quickly converted into classrooms), a covered way, a classroom building called Strickler Hall, and an infirmary were "thrown up hodgepodge on the hill." Other purchases involved a lot and four houses near the new First Presbyterian Church and "the Farm," a 10-acre tract on the north end of town where the seminary cows were pastured and vegetables and fruits for seminary use were produced. (The "Farm" is now the site of the Staunton Post Office and the Staunton Medical Center.)

Where did the money to purchase these properties come from? Except for the Administration Building, they were all the personal property of the two women and, after Agnes McClung's death, of Mary Julia Baldwin. They had used their "resources," as Mr. Waddell explained, by which he meant the tuition and fees

that were paid by the students and, later, income derived from personal investments. Within three years of the ending of the war, the seminary enrollment was 137; by 1870, there were 176 pupils, and in later years enrollment reached perhaps 250. There were many years when students were turned away for lack of space, and three and four girls might share one room (perhaps even one bed) as Miss Baldwin sought to accommodate late registrants. The financial success of the school can be explained by several factors; the area was considered healthful (because of its elevation) and safe (remote from some of the racial tensions of the Reconstruction Era). An advertising program was begun even before the war ended, and Presbyterian ministers, University of Virginia professors, and satisfied parents provided testimonials about the excellence of the school and its Christian environment.

The school, declared Dr. Joseph R. Wilson in 1879, "...is as near perfection in my judgement as it is possible for human wisdom to make... A long acquaintance with Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung warrants me in declaring to all...that there are no two ladies in the land who are better qualified by nature, by cultivation, by grace, and now by experience for conducting a seminary...I regard the seminary as a public blessing."

Since he had helped design the curriculum, Dr. McGuffey might be suspected of some self interest when, after giving the commencement address in 1866, he declared, "I consider this school as among the best, if not the very best in the South."

A more disinterested endorsement was provided by the editor of the Journal of Education, Boston, Massachusetts, when, in 1880, he wrote, "During our recent tour in the South, one perpetually heard of Augusta Female Seminary at Staunton, Virginia as one of the most deservedly celebrated schools for girls in that region: taking an honorable rank with the collegiate institutions for young women that are now coming to be so important a factor in national education...the thorough and practical character of its course of study is a nursery of superior teachers."

And from General John Echols (Vice President, C&O and SW Railroad Company), "I have known intimately, for the last eighteen years, the school of Miss Mary J. Baldwin...and I take pleasure in stating in this formal way...that...it is the best training school for young ladies that I have ever known..." (General Echols was a long-time member of Augusta Female

Seminary's Board of Trustees.)

The Catalogue of 1873 declared, "It [Augusta Female Seminary] is for young ladies what the University of Virginia is for young gentlemen."

There is no question that, with surprising rapidity after the end of hostilities, the seminary achieved remarkable success. Before 1866, almost all the pupils had come from Staunton, Augusta County or the near vicinity. By 1870, students from Georgia, Alabama, Florida, North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Illinois and Ohio were registered. Within another five years Texas parents were sending their daughters (and sons) back to Virginia, and a special relationship which has lasted for more than 100 years was forged between Augusta Female Seminary and Arkansas.

Although Mary Julia Baldwin had been an honor graduate of Rufus Bailey's seminary and although she continued throughout her life to read and study, she felt that she was not fully prepared to teach all the subjects of the University Curriculum. In the early days of her tenure, she did indeed teach a great deal, and she continued for 30 years to present Bible studies and Sunday afternoon religious "conversations," but she increasingly relied on her faculty to uphold the high academic standards she demanded. An important part of her success came from the faculty she attracted and retained. She, and she alone, was responsible for selecting the faculty, determining their salaries and their duties, dismissing or promoting them. In many ways these men and women (and there always were men, married men, particularly in the Music Department) were as remarkable as the principal. In addition to their teaching and the work required to prepare for it, female teachers who lived at the seminary (and all unmarried women did) were in constant demand as chaperons and counselors, were required to direct study halls, and to undertake religious and social duties. Students had almost continuous access to them and they were perpetual role models, as well as surrogate parents.

"No effort is spared to make the school as home-like as possible. One feature peculiar to the school is the influence exerted by the resident female teachers on the mind, the heart, the manners of the pupils. Out of school hours they associate with them as friends and companions, and, while inspiring them by their gentle dignity with profoundest

respect, win their warmest love by their kindness and sympathy. Ladies themselves of cultivated tastes, refined manners and Christian principles, they illustrate by example lessons taught only by precept. Consequently young ladies who have been pupils of this institution for any length of time are noted for their simplicity of manners, modest deportment and freedom from affectation." (Catalogue, 1870-71)

Although it appears that Miss Baldwin left her faculty free to organize their work as they saw fit and no records remain of any faculty meetings or organizations, they were often required to teach in more than one area (perhaps Mathematics and Latin, Art and Modern Language or English and Bookkeeping) and to more than one age group. They held few graduate degrees, although the fine arts faculty had more professional training than did the literary faculty. The music teachers were often graduates of conservatories in London, Munich, Leipzig, or Berlin.

During and immediately after the war, Miss Baldwin chose her faculty from Staunton and the surrounding communities. The University of Virginia professors contributed a number of their daughters to her staff: Anna and Eliza Howard (whose father was a professor of medicine and whose brother-in-law was Dr. McGuffey), Kate Courtney (her father was a famous mathematician) and Charlotte Kemper (whose father was the Proctor). They had been educated by university professors and brought skills and depth to their teaching. Charlotte Kemper in particular had further work in Richmond and had studied Latin, French, Hebrew, Spanish, math, and literature. At one time Miss Baldwin had hoped Miss Kemper might succeed her as principal, but Charlotte chose, in 1882, to go to Brazil as a missionary, thus beginning a long-time connection between the seminary girls and overseas mission activities. Miss Kemper died in Brazil in 1926, at the age of 90.

Graduates of the seminary were often employed, as well, although most of them taught in the Primary Department. Two exceptions were Ella Weimar, who later joined the "university" faculty and eventually became principal, and Helen Williamson, who came in 1894 and, with brief interruptions, remained until her death in 1936.

Several local men were among early faculty members. Major

Jed Hotchkiss (late of the Confederate army) taught, for a time, chemistry and physics, and J. G. Dunsmore directed for many years the business courses which Miss Baldwin thought practical and necessary.

As the student population expanded and the school's reputation grew, Miss Baldwin chose teachers from other areas of the country, especially from the South. If they were female, they were to be "ladies" and of a "pious disposition," but she was open to many varied backgrounds. Almost all the language and music teachers came from either France or Germany. Students of the 1880s and 1890s remembered with affection and respect Martha Riddle, who taught history from 1883-1919; Virginia Strickler, for 50 years a teacher of Latin, English and, at one time, business courses; and Sarah Wright, born in Persia to missionary parents and educated at Vassar. She came to the seminary in 1881 and remained for 12 years. She was remembered for her "Yankee attitudes," her love of hiking and mountain climbing, and her inspired teaching of English literature. Fritz Hamer, born in Germany, came to Augusta Female Seminary in 1873, and with quiet dignity established an almost national reputation for the school of music of which he was the director. He encouraged his nephew, C. F. W. Eisenberg, to join him in 1885. Professor Eisenberg married and remained in Staunton. He and his wife had a number of daughters, several of whom attended the seminary.

After the 1880s the enrollment rose to about 250, counting day students, and there was increasing need for administrative assistance. Several women were employed to look after the younger children when they were not in class, and an attendant for the infirmary and a consulting doctor were chosen. After Miss McClung's death, a matron and assistant matron took care of housekeeping details. By 1882, a librarian had been added to the administrative staff and, four years later, Miss Baldwin employed a secretary to assist with correspondence and contracts. He was succeeded in 1890 by a young graduate of Dunsmore Business College, William Wayt King, who as business manager played a major role in the seminary's history after Miss Baldwin's death. Increasing physical weakness led Miss Baldwin to appoint an assistant principal in 1889. She chose an alumna and a member of her faculty, Ella Weimar, who thus had the advantage of working closely with Miss Baldwin for eight years before the board of trustees appointed her principal in 1897.

If the relationships between the principal and the board of trustees remained vague and ill-defined in the post bellum era, and if the financial arrangements and ownership of the physical properties were even less formalized, the same was true about the nature of the seminary itself. This was an era in which women's colleges "as good as men's" were being established (Vassar 1864, Mills 1876, Wellesley and Smith in 1875). Miss Baldwin was aware of this development, but neither she nor the board of trustees appear to have considered the movement relative to their concerns. The Preparatory (primary) department was popular and served local needs, the Academic provided an education equal to that which was considered high school, and the University Course was the equivalent (in their opinion and that of the graduates) of "any college course in the country." They saw no need to change either their relationships or their organization. That would be left to their successors.

The curriculum was a different matter, and there were many additions and modifications as the years went on. A few of these may be considered. At first the program for the older girls had stressed mathematics, mental and moral science (a later generation would call this psychology and philosophy) and Latin, much in the tradition of the classical academy that characterized male preparatory education for more than a century. Miss Strickler's Latin Course (one of the University schools) exceeded the University of Virginia's and Vassar's requirements. "Her certificate of proficiency," Waddell writes, "is as good as the diploma of any college." Latin remained popular among senior seminary students well into the 20th century. As the student body increased, there was more demand for "modern" languages, and both French and German had respectable enrollments. There was always a strong emphasis on English language (grammar and rhetoric) and literature. Frequent oral dictation exercises were held and original compositions were produced at stated intervals. Before graduation, all students were required to pass an examination in English. English literature was stressed with translations from modern French and German literary classics. It was only in the mid-1880s that American literature and American history entered the curriculum. Poetry memorization was another aspect of 19th century learning that the seminary emphasized, particularly under the guidance of Sarah Wright, whose strict standards and inspired teaching made her Miss Strickler's rival. History courses were heavily weighted toward the classical and Biblical

worlds, with senior emphasis on English and modern European events. Perhaps the seminary was weakest in the natural sciences—there was more turnover in faculty, laboratories and equipment were inadequate, and registration was lower than in other areas.

Miss Baldwin and the parents she served were interested in providing "fine art" opportunities for the students. This did not necessarily reflect the Victorian perception that a "lady" could play the piano "a little," paint fine China "a bit," sing pleasantly, and draw charmingly. It was more a continuation of Rufus Bailey's insistence that art broadened and disciplined perception and that music aroused feelings of sensibility which were most desirable. In any case, one of Miss Baldwin's first purchases, during the war, had been a piano to add to the personal one she had brought with her, and by 1890 the seminary owned (literally Miss Baldwin owned) two organs and 40 pianos. Almost all the pupils studied some music, and with six or seven out of 20 faculty able to offer some musical training, piano, organ, voice and other instrumental music courses were heavily enrolled. By 1871, a Conservatory of Music was established, requiring classes in theory, harmony, and music history. Full-time music teachers' salaries were derived from the extra fees that their pupils paid, and these teachers were allowed to have private students as well. The profit from the fine art courses above the agreed-upon salary went to the seminary and was a valuable source of income well into the 20th century.

Another area, not mentioned in Dr. McGuffey's plan, was "elocution" (speech, drama); by 1871, such a course appeared in the catalogue. The teacher employed usually taught calisthenics and health as well, the ability to make oral presentations was connected directly with physical well-being. By the 1880s a "school of art" had been established, and work in charcoal, crayon, pen and ink, pastels, water color and oils was offered, with "drawings from nature and life models." All pupils were likewise instructed in map making. By the 1880s, groups of older students accompanied by faculty would take journeys to visit museums, county government offices, or historical monuments. Trips to Richmond and Washington are mentioned in "old girl" memoirs and, by the 1890s, selected students and faculty went on summer tours to Europe. Miss Baldwin herself joined such a group in 1890 and returned home, Mr. Waddell declared, "greatly refreshed."

As increasing numbers of seminary graduates became teach-

ers (at least until they married) and began to enter other areas of the business world, Miss Baldwin added Bookkeeping to her course offerings and later a two year course in Business Training. (Some of these courses continued well into the 1940s.) "Ladies should have some knowledge of business...so that they may know how to protect their own interests when necessary, or if thrown upon their own resources, secure a competence by...keeping books..." observed the principal. Considering the impressive business skills she had herself, this may well be an observation based on her own hard experience.

Although the physical health of the pupils had been a matter of concern and pride since the days of Rufus Bailey, it was generally considered that sufficient exercise was obtained by the required "promenades" in the afternoon. By the 1870s, however, more organized effort was made to assure physical outlets for young girls' energies. At first called calisthenics, later gymnastics and physical culture, seminary students bowled, participated in Swedish drills, played tennis and croquet. The daring step of adding a swimming pool (it was 12' x 8' x 4' at first and accommodated only four or five at a time) was taken in 1891. Courses in Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene were added to the curriculum. The daily walks continued and provided some opportunity for the young men of the community to at least see Miss Baldwin's girls.

In the era before entrance requirements, standardization of courses and graduation mandates, seminaries, academies and even colleges set their own conditions for certificates, medals, diplomas, and degrees. Miss Baldwin accepted students of all levels of experience and competence, evaluated their interests and abilities (and their parents' preferences), and assigned them to classes without regard to age or prerequisites. If one aspired to become a full graduate or to acquire certification from the Conservatory of Music, the School of Art or Business Training, then certain requirements had to be met; but otherwise a student might attend even for several years without being awarded a diploma or indeed even desiring one. Some students, entering at the age of eight or nine, could spend eight or ten years at the seminary; others might come for a partial term. When space permitted, Miss Baldwin would accept students entering in late October or November, and others would leave early in the spring, perhaps because of family plans or desires.

Although seminary students were much in demand as teachers, "...the graduates of this institution have found no difficulty in

finding eligible situations," Miss Baldwin observed, the pressures for some formal recognition of achievement grew. In 1876, provision was made for a diploma as a "graduate in the Partial Course," "...this diploma is offered as an incentive to those who do not care to complete the course in Higher Mathematics and in Latin which they must do in order to secure a full Diploma, the highest honor of the Institution." Many students settled for the "Partial" or for certificates testifying to particular skills.

As the reputation of "Miss Baldwin's School" increased, so did the respect and the pride of the town. There are innumerable references in the local newspapers, and community members flocked to the musical recitals (performed by both students and faculty) and attended addresses given by such distinguished individuals as Dr. McGuffey, Dr. J. Randolph Tucker, Dr. Joseph R. Wilson and Dr. Moses Drury Hoge. Although examinations were no longer public occasions, tableaux, pageants, recitations, dramatic vignettes from Shakespeare, and choral programs provided public entertainment and instruction and were fulsomely praised.

In view of later developments, it is interesting to note the relationship of the seminary to the Presbyterian Church. As with so much else, there were no formal or legalistic ties, other than the provisions in the 1843 and 1872 agreements between the seminary trustees and the session that a majority of the trustees be members of the Presbyterian Church in Staunton. In the early days of Miss Baldwin's principalship, the entire school, faculty and students attended services at the Presbyterian Church each Sunday, and the seminary rented pews close to the the front of the sanctuary to be certain that the students could hear and be observed. This pew-rental money provided an important source of revenue for the church, particularly as the school's enrollment increased. Miss Baldwin herself was a devout member and contributed both her time and money generously. The minister of the church, in addition to membership on the board of trustees, was considered the principal religious advisor for the seminary students, but there was not, as yet, a formal chaplain at the school. In addition to church attendance, Sunday School lessons were taught to the boarding students by the seminary faculty and often by Miss Baldwin herself. On Sunday afternoons, students read religious literature or gathered in the principal's or faculty rooms for "religious conversation and instruction." Sunday was observed as a day of quiet and meditation; no callers were received, and

evening services in the chapel concluded the day. In addition, every morning at nine there was a brief chapel service, as well as another after supper. Every student memorized a Bible verse each day, which was repeated in unison at breakfast. They were further exposed to Biblical precepts, because one penalty for violation of dormitory rules was to memorize and repeat Psalms, Proverbs or other Biblical selections. By the 1890s, students who were not Presbyterian were allowed to attend their own churches once a month in order to take communion according to their own consciences. From the time of its first public announcement, the seminary had always insisted it was "evangelical" but not "sectarian" and no religious qualifications were imposed for admittance or for faculty selection. Scanty but reliable evidence suggests that in the 19th century, Presbyterians were always the most numerous but were not the majority. (The same has been true in the 20th century.) Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Episcopalian, "German Reformed" Christian are other denominations mentioned, and occasionally a few Jewish girls attended, as well. Faculty preferences are not recorded, although it is known that the Hamers and Eisenbergs were Lutheran, and many of the women faculty were Presbyterian.

Prayer meetings were held on Friday evenings, and in the 1890s a missionary society was formed, since many students contemplated a life in the mission field. A number of them did become devout and successful missionaries. The influence of Miss Baldwin and the seminary is reflected not only in the continuing student interest in Miss Kemper's (and Ruth See's) Brazilian School, but also in a school in Hwaiianfu, China, founded in 1916 by Lily Woods and named in honor of Martha Riddle. Another in Kunsan, Korea, was established in 1912 by Mrs. Libby Alby Bull, called "Mary Baldwin School for Girls." In 1894, a local chapter of the YWCA was founded at the seminary with Miss Baldwin's enthusiastic support and continued an active role until the 1960s.

There were no required courses in Bible or Religion in Miss Baldwin's day. It was assumed that dedicated teachers approached all their subjects from a Christian perspective and that the religious services of Sunday and daily Chapel provided necessary instruction. There were not many avenues for expression of student opinion in these years. There were as yet no student publications, and "old girl" reminiscences tended to be selective in their memories; but there does not seem to have been any serious protest or complaint about the religious requirements. It would be

another century and many student generations later before these 19th century relationships were altered.

What was it like to be a student at "Miss Baldwin's School"? Once the war period was passed and proper furnishings were obtained, life settled into a routine which changed only gradually over a 30-year period. Although Miss Baldwin undertook considerable building, as has been seen, dormitory space could not keep up with the demand, and some girls boarded in private homes in town. Most of them, however, lived at the seminary in rooms plainly furnished, intended for dressing and sleeping, not for study and socializing. Studying was done in the Library across from Miss Baldwin's office in Main Building or in the study hall in Chapel, later in Sky High. At first students shared beds, and three- and four-girl rooms were not unusual, but by the end of the century students had individual beds. There were screens or "dressing closets" for modesty's sake, bureaus, straight chairs and wash stands. The floor was "bare oiled pine and splintery." Later there were carpets of matting and although one student reported that "on frosty mornings we usually found ice in our water pitcher," the Catalogue of 1868-69 said that all rooms were heated by a gas furnace and had water piped in for the few bathrooms: one to a building; later one on each floor. In 1887, electric lights were put in the Chapel Study Hall and later in the Library. Other than that, gas lights were used in Miss Baldwin's lifetime.

Since seminary students were considered too young for social life and contact with young men, such relationships were regulated in a manner which, while restrictive in modern eyes, was wholly in keeping with the conventions of the Victorian era. Correspondence was limited to family and relatives; the only males allowed to call were family members who had to present proper identification and "papers" and then met their sisters or cousins only in the parlor under strict supervision. A favorite seminary story is the tale of a young Thomas Woodrow Wilson, law student at the University of Virginia, who journeyed across the mountains to visit his cousin, Hattie Woodrow. He and his friend apparently did not have the necessary "papers," and although his father had been Miss Baldwin's minister and he was a first cousin of the young lady whom he wished to see, "Uncle Chess," Miss Baldwin's doorman, told them, "Miss Mary Julia says if you ain' t got de papers dar ain' t no use your waiting 'case you can't see de young ladies. . ." In 1912, having been elected President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson returned for a

triumphal visit to his birthplace and recounted the story, saying he was much more warmly greeted than he had been on his first visit.

Chaperons were necessary for any expeditions outside the grounds, even to church, and until the 1890s any "shopping" the pupils desired to do was done for them by an appointed "teacher." In later years, this was Helen Williamson.

Distressed by the elaborate and expensive clothes sent by indulgent parents to their daughters, Miss Baldwin decreed:

Extravagance in dress is neither encouraged nor desired, and whenever pupils do appear extravagantly dressed it is contrary to the expressed wish of the Principal. A simple white dress with white trimmings is all that is necessary for commencements, soirees, and recitals. The dress worn at the winter soirees must be made high in the neck and with long sleeves—the material preferred for this is white Henrietta. A simple white dress with white trimmings and white hat is the costume prescribed for commencement Sunday. Expensive silks are out of place on school girls, and parents are requested, therefore, not to indulge their daughters in extravagant clothing or jewelry. To discourage extravagance, and to teach pupils the value of money and habits of self-denial, every parent and guardian is most earnestly requested to limit them to a fixed amount of pocket money not exceeding one dollar per week.

In 1869, the announcement that a uniform "for purposes of convenience and economy" would be required for public appearances appeared in the catalogue. For a time the winter uniform was "grey empress cloth," the spring suit white pique; ten years later a black outfit was prescribed for winter. These were, perhaps, not strictly uniforms, since only the color and material were specified and modifications in pattern were allowed. In time, however, everyone had to buy the same hat, and there was much anticipation when, in the fall, the boxes arrived at the school with that year's choice, made by Miss Baldwin. Some touches of color were permitted, and some jewelry, but the lines of "demure maidens" walking two by two, accompanied by chaperons and

often one of Miss Baldwin's dogs, were a familiar sight on Staunton streets.

Although Waddell reports that only three students had died at the school during Miss Baldwin's tenure, the fear of epidemics gripped parents and school administrators in a way it is hard to appreciate today. When scarlet fever appeared in Staunton in 1883, the school closed one week early and, in 1894, Mary Julia had the entire student body vaccinated against small pox, which had made its dreaded appearance: "Like victims of the French Revolution ready for the guillotine we were summoned one by one...girls ready to weep and girls ready to faint; girls lying down, sitting, standing, walking, talking, watching and trembling..."

The catalogue assured parents that one of the most important services provided by the seminary was the healthful food and the care in its preparation. There were several cows for the production of milk and butter, and Miss Baldwin's farm produced vegetables and fruits for seminary use. There were stern warnings in the catalogue about limiting "boxes of rich food and of confectionery from home...sardines and potted meats are not allowed." In addition, students were admonished about "imprudent eating at night," wearing thin shoes in cold weather, "sitting on the ground with head uncovered" and the "too early removal of flannel." The covered way connecting Hill Top, Sky High, Main and Chapel was constructed principally to protect the students from inclement weather.

Students were required to attend all meals, unless they were ill, were required to walk daily, were to be in bed by 10:00 p.m. The school year varied between nine-ten months long with few if any holidays; "a few days at Christmas," but Miss Baldwin implored parents not to take their daughters out of her control for extended periods. "Such visits are often productive of much harm both to the pupil and to the Institution," she wrote. Occasionally, perhaps when it snowed, or on a particularly beautiful spring day, Miss Baldwin would declare a school holiday. There might be sledding parties or ice cream for supper (when it snowed) or carriage rides to Betsy Bell or Highland Park, but generally it was a regimented life, one very conducive to hard work and disciplined living .

But, of course, it was not all like that . In spite of rules, "boxes" did come, and the girls would throw towels over two beds shoved together to revel in chicken salads, turkeys, jelly, candy, and cakes. Even oysters are mentioned, although how salads, meats, and seafood were transported and preserved without serious

cases of food poisoning remains a mystery. Hand lettered invitations were issued for their "spreads," the girls wore their "evening gowns," and their memories of these happy occasions echo down the years.

There were teas, birthday observances, Germans and soirees. The taller girls would enact the role of boys, even dressing as young men, and a kind of dress rehearsal of what would be their later social experiences took place. The younger students would choose "darlings" from among the senior girls and would form close sentimental attachments that only young adolescents can. There were illegal "chafing dishes" (confiscated when found), "fudge" and "waffle" parties, visits to teachers' room for special treats. In contrast to later eras, when great efforts were expended to integrate "day" students with "boarders", in Miss Baldwin's era day students were forbidden to visit the dormitories or "upper halls." They could only see the other girls in the Library. It was feared that the town girls might convey "notes or messages" or forbidden foods.

As the school increased in size and complexity, there was need for additional staff. By the 1880s night watchmen were employed. There was Mr. Thompson, who wore a red blanket over his shoulders (the edges were "scalloped" as he gave the girls pieces for their memory books). He was a great favorite with the students, since he could be relied upon to give them "treats" from his voluminous pockets. Then, there was Mr. Lickliter, "whose dignity is so imposing that all pass him by in silent awe." There was also Miss Baldwin's faithful gardener, Thomas Butler, and of course, "Uncle Chess," and other domestics, some of whom had been in her grandmother's household.

There is little evidence that the sweeping social changes and impassioned political debates of the late 19th century had major impact upon the seminary and its constituents. Miss Baldwin did indeed recognize that there were broader opportunities and more complex responsibilities for women than had been possible in her own youth, and her curriculum had been adjusted accordingly. Among the seminary alumnae, there were missionaries, teachers, post mistresses, a few lawyers and physicians, a woman sheriff, members of child welfare organizations, even participants in the women's suffrage movement and the women's club development. There were a few professional writers and artists. Those who had married (and most seminary students did) became leaders in their churches and communities and gave testimony to the sense of

social responsibility inculcated by the seminary's teachings. Sarah Wright was sometimes considered by her faculty peers as a representative of the "New Woman," but few would have considered Miss Baldwin to be of similar persuasion. In 1888, however, Miss Baldwin announced a seminary holiday in honor of Grover Cleveland's "election" as President. She was "chagrined" when she discovered that her information was inaccurate; Benjamin Harrison had won that election. In 1892, she made the girls wait a full week before she permitted a half holiday when Cleveland did win again. It is presumed that no celebrations ensued for Republican presidential victories. One student recalled, however:

Many of us have thoughts for the future which would no doubt amuse our elders if they only knew them...Some of us want to grow up and be famous...Perhaps by that time this glorious Union will have acknowledged "woman's rights" and our teachers may yet...[see] us side by side with scores of "Kableites" [a reference to SMA cadets] and "University Boys," as Judges of the Supreme Court or Representatives in Congress!

Increasingly, Augusta Female Seminary was spoken of as "Miss Baldwin's School." It enjoyed a state and regional reputation of respect for its academic excellence, its physical beauty, its moral and spiritual leadership. It had survived the Civil War, Reconstruction, the economic distresses of the 1870s and 1890s, and the social and cultural dilemmas of the Victorian Era. In contemporary eyes, this was largely due to Miss Baldwin herself. In 1895, the board of trustees requested that the Virginia General Assembly permit them to change the name of the school to "Mary Baldwin Seminary"...as an acknowledgement of their high appreciation of the valuable and unparalleled success of the Principal...Endowed with wonderful business talent, fine executive ability and clear judgement in management, she has made the seminary one of the foremost institutions in the land, for the higher education of women and from it have gone forth many noble, brilliant daughters to various spheres of usefulness...The Seminary now stands as a great monument to her untiring energy, arduous labors, devotion to her profession and the Master's Work..."

Fearful lest some "old girls" would not understand the reason

for the change of name, Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough wrote:

These lines will reach many alumnae, far from Staunton, to whom it will be news indeed to hear that the "Augusta Female Seminary" has been transformed into the "Mary Baldwin Seminary," since November, 1895. The name only is changed for the bell still rings for Chapel services, the view from Hill Top is as beautiful as ever, Brick House still shelters the revered Principal, Sky High is filled with eager art students and placid plaster casts, while the minor buildings are in the same familiar spots.

Miss Baldwin was a bit tardy in officially recognizing the honor. It was not until April 1896, that she wrote a formal acknowledgment. "The Trustees will please accept my thanks for the compliment paid me in changing the name of the Institution to Mary Baldwin Seminary. ...I desire to apologize for the delay... in responding to the honor. Most sincerely—Mary Julia Baldwin." In her own mind, she apparently continued to think of the school as Augusta Female Seminary.

However, more than most realized then or since, it was literally "Miss Baldwin's school." After Agnes McClung's death in 1880, Mary Julia possessed more legal and actual authority over the school than any of her successors to the present day. She occupied a portion of the property consisting of the Administration Building, and the land on which it stood rent free. She owned outright the rest of the four and a half acres comprising the campus, including all the Thompson property and Hill Top. She owned ten plus acres comprising the seminary farm. At her own expense, she had altered and enlarged Chapel, built Brick House, Sky High, and several other buildings. She owned all the furnishings and supplies, including the pianos and organs, the library contents, and the laboratory equipment. She set the fees, hired, paid, and dismissed the faculty and staff, decided on the curricula and on the certificates, medals, diplomas and awards. She selected the students and had it in her power to send them home if they did not meet her standards. She reported to the parents, maintained contact with the alumnae, the church, and the community. She arranged for and approved all publications, speak-

ers, and seminary sponsored educational trips. She decided the seminary calendar. She gave employment to members of her family, friends and alumnae, and provided food and shelter for some of them for years. The only legal distinction between this and a genuine proprietary school was the shadowy board of trustees, who seldom met and never asked for reports or sought to examine the books!

Of course, there was a vast difference between the legal realities and Miss Baldwin's sense of propriety and duty. The seminary had been given into her keeping, and it was her duty and obligation to take care of it as long as she was able, in as capable a manner as she knew how. Good business woman that she was, she had considered the future and, with the advice of her friend Joseph A. Waddell, she had written in 1895 a thoughtful and generous will.

Although only in her 60s, Mary Julia's vitality and energy began to diminish. She continued her regular duties, but it became obvious that she was ill. Dr. Fraser, her minister, recounted how difficult it was for her to climb the several flights of stairs between the church and her room in Brick House, and more and more of her duties devolved on Mr. King and Miss Weimar. Shortly after the seminary closed for the summer in 1897, Miss Baldwin, having spent the night in prayer, died quietly on 1 July. Later her friends remarked that she would have been pleased for this event to occur when school was not in session, in order not to disturb the students. She was buried in Thornrose Cemetery in her grandparents' plot (Sowers) beside her mother.

When her will was read, the extent of her devotion to the school became known. She made generous gifts to the church and to her relatives and servants, but the great bulk of her estate, i.e. the school and its contents, her real estate holdings, and bank accounts, was left to the board of trustees for the "use and benefit" of the seminary. There were no appraisals or inventories made at the time, but later evaluations suggest her bequest was close to one-quarter of a million dollars, some \$32,000 in cash and investments, the rest in real estate and personal property. Without her generosity, the board would have had no school to administer.

The transition to the new circumstances and a new century was difficult. As will be seen, the board was grateful that a devoted faculty and two loyal administrators were on hand to give continuity as they assumed control, but this very fact made changes

hard to accomplish. For many years—far too long—the school remained a monument to Mary Julia Baldwin, rather than seizing the opportunity to change its legal status from seminary to college.

This opening chapter relies on Joseph A. Waddell, History of Mary Baldwin Seminary (1908) and to a much greater extent on Mary Watters, The History of Mary Baldwin College (1942). In my opinion Dr. Watters' treatment of the subject was exhaustive and all-encompassing. In addition, she had access to primary sources no longer available, and fortunately quoted from them at length. There is no attribution in this section, other than the above acknowledgment. It has been my primary concern to write the history of Mary Baldwin College (1922-1992), and my efforts have focused on that task. The information in this chapter is meant to take the reader to my beginning.



Sketch of Mary Julia Baldwin



Baldwin Home - Winchester, Virginia
Photo by Rick Foster, courtesy of The Winchester Star



TWO

From Seminary to College 1897-1929

Although not totally unexpected, Mary Julia Baldwin's death came as a surprise to all but her closest friends. Her funeral on 2 July was dignified and gracious and attended by a large portion of the community. Most of the Staunton businesses and commercial enterprises closed for the service, and the expressions of admiration and respect were heartfelt and sincere.

The long-inactive trustees met almost immediately. From that moment on, they assumed full control of the seminary, took seriously their obligations to keep "Miss Baldwin's School" functioning and their duties as her executors and residuary heirs. All the necessary appointments and contracts had already been arranged for the fall 1897 session, and the newly formed executive committee sent word to all the school's patrons that the seminary would open as usual. Ella Weimar was appointed the new principal and W.W. King remained the business manager, as he had been since 1890.¹ It must have given the board a certain sense of relief to realize now that they were responsible, there was available a staff and faculty of experience and dedication.

Nevertheless, the board reorganized. The executive committee met monthly to hear reports from Miss Weimar and Mr. King. Accounts were audited in a professional manner, the by-laws were revised and the full board of 15 members met regularly thereafter, three times a year.² In this sense the seminary was ready for the 20th century. In many other senses it was not.

The 19th century had eventually seen widespread acceptance of the belief that girls as well as boys should be educated. The expanding opportunities and labor needs of the Industrial Revolution opened new possibilities and new problems for females. Poor, black, uneducated, immigrant women and their children were needed for textile and shoe factories, for cotton picking and vegetable harvesting. But school teachers were also needed; and missionaries; so were typists, bookkeepers, nurses, sales clerks, and telephone operators. By the 1880s colleges for women as well as men, and even some which dared risk educating the sexes together, were established, growing in numbers and influence.³ Another decade and the concepts of standardization, faculty qualifications, endowment, library resources, and graduation requirements were spreading. National and regional accrediting agencies were created, and by early in the 20th century, some female seminaries in Virginia had become approved women's colleges.⁴ Mary Baldwin Seminary did not. It was absorbed, still, in the transition from Miss Baldwin's leadership to others, and the board, administration and faculty revered their former principal and sought to preserve and defend her position.

Mr. King and the board, however, did embark on an ambitious building program, adding two new dormitories, the Academic building, an expanded gymnasium facility, the back gallery and the stone wall around the campus, as well as electricity, an improved water and sewage system, a modern heating plant and laboratory equipment.⁵ All of this was accomplished without outside financial aid and without invading the Mary Julia Baldwin endowment fund.⁶ The improvement in the physical plant was motivated by the necessity of meeting the competition from other seminaries, private schools, and women's colleges; by the wishes of the seminary's patrons that their daughters have as comfortable and modern facilities as they had at home, and by the pride the board, the alumnae, the faculty and students had in the school. Seminary publications stressed the healthful climate; the fresh fruit and vegetables from the seminary farm; the high quality of the meals in general and the "genteel way" in which they were served; the required "setting up exercises" in the mornings on the dormitory porches and the "promenades" in the afternoons; and the opportunity for tennis, golf, hikes and vigorous team sports, all designed to provide a physical setting for the seminary "second to none."⁷

It is not difficult to conclude, however, that Miss Weimar did



Ella Claire Weimar



William Wayt King

not have as much success as did Mr. King in persuading the board to support her concerns; i.e, strengthened academic programs and new directions. Student enrollment was relatively stable but not rapidly increasing.⁸ Miss Weimar requested, almost every year, additional funds to be spent on library purchases and faculty salary increases. She asked that some thought be given to curriculum reorganization to reflect more "modern methods."⁹ She went herself and sent trusted faculty members to visit women's colleges and northern universities to learn about recruitment, academic organization, and professional standards. New courses were added in English Literature and Composition, Bible, Calculus, Art History, Psychology, and, a popular innovation before World War I, Domestic Science.

In 1906, Miss Baldwin's University Course was discontinued, and academic departments appeared. Gradually there emerged a more standardized division of course offerings into primary, preparatory and collegiate divisions, although no entrance requirements were yet imposed. A student was placed, with faculty consultation, where her abilities and interests seemed appropriate. By 1912, Miss Weimar could report that Mary Baldwin Seminary students could transfer their seminary college-level courses to Goucher, Mt. Holyoke, and Wellesley without penalty or examination.¹⁰

These changes did not come easily. The records seem to indicate that Miss Weimar and Mr. King did not always agree about priorities. Nor did she seem to communicate happily with the executive committee of the board. In January 1912, the executive committee refused her request to appoint an "advising committee" to confer with the principal and the business manager "from time to time" in regard to the "conduct of the school," indicating that they themselves acted in that capacity. In this same meeting, Miss Weimar was told that the board "would be pleased to have her present" when she made her monthly report. Two months later, however, Miss Weimar again sent a written report, as she apparently had been doing for a number of years, indicating that she considered it unnecessary for her to appear in person as she had nothing additional to communicate. But thereafter she did appear more frequently. Two years later the board removed from the principal the right to hire and fire faculty. In the future, the principal would only recommend employment, promotion, salaries and dismissal of faculty members, and the board would act on the recommendation.¹¹

Mary Baldwin Seminary belonged to an organization called the Virginia Association of Colleges and Schools for Girls, and in the early years of the 20th century one of its objectives was standardized classification. A report made at Winchester, Virginia in June of 1913 proposed rather specific definitions and requirements for schools below collegiate level that wished to retain membership in the group. It recognized that two of the members of the Association, one of whom was Mary Baldwin Seminary, were of the "intermediate" type, between secondary school and college, but declared "it would greatly deprecate the creation of new institutions of these types and would ask the Association to discourage their multiplication."¹² The seminary did not, of course, have to belong to this Association, but the opinions of such professional groups helped strengthen the position of those in the seminary who understood that the old personal, independent ways were under attack.

Although no records of faculty discussions and administrators' debates remain, it can be inferred that Miss Weimar and others were striving to upgrade the academic standards of the seminary and eventually to seek recognized college status for the upper-level work that was done.

Another source of pressure for change came from the alumnae. In the summer of 1893, a group of local "full graduates" of the seminary, including Nannie L. Tate and Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough, organized a "temporary" Alumnae Association. The following year they wrote a constitution, and the Association became a permanent and increasingly influential part of the seminary, meeting regularly thereafter. By 1901, there were 208 members.¹³ Early in the 20th century, suggestions were made by the Graduate Council of the Alumnae Association to the principal and board members that Mary Baldwin Seminary should seek college status. Informed that the endowment and library holdings were too low to justify success in such an application, the alumnae set about seeking to increase the endowment. They also suggested that, as an intermediate step, junior college status should be sought. Sue Stribling (Snodgrass) reported to her fellow alumnae in 1913 her shock and dismay upon receiving a letter from Professor Hendrick C. Babcock of the National Bureau of Education, who wrote:

The Collegiate Course, as announced in
the Catalogue 1910-11, is certainly not more

than a Junior College course, and I doubt if it would represent a full two years of college course, if it were severely estimated.

Mrs. Snodgrass was determined that seminary graduates "command" the recognition they deserved. Their education, she insisted "is nearly as high a grade as that of the Northern colleges and certainly as high as that of the Virginia colleges, her nearest rivals."¹⁴

Miss Weimar gently but firmly pointed out the difficulties. There was an insufficient endowment fund. Money spent on the new buildings might have gone to upgrading the curriculum and paying higher faculty salaries "if the new buildings had not been absolutely necessary." Requiring an entrance examination might "frighten away pupils," which would cut enrollment and lessen revenue. However, Miss Weimar reported, the seminary would no longer give "degrees," because "such a degree is worthless since only a standard college is entitled to give the degree of A.B."¹⁵

Although she did not say so at that alumnae meeting, Miss Weimar's Principal's Report to the executive committee and those of Miss Higgins after her called attention to the important contribution that the "special students" in Music, Art, and Elocution made to the income of the seminary. Many of these students were not interested in the Latin, Mathematics, and other "collegiate" courses, so special graduation requirements and diplomas had been designed for them. They formed a large percentage of the preparatory and collegiate student body and to demand that they conform to standardized requirements would discourage many of them.¹⁶ The seminary operated on such a thin margin of profit that any large decline in student enrollment could pose severe financial difficulties. There were many on the board and elsewhere who felt the seminary could not afford to become a college.

Miss Weimar had spoken to the alumnae in May 1913. That October, presumably feeling that in spite of the difficulties it was necessary, she requested the executive committee to consider the transition to a junior college.¹⁷ The following January the executive committee met with a "Committee of Teachers" to discuss whether or not Mary Baldwin Seminary should change its status. The conclusion was that the seminary should not be converted into a junior college "at this time"; rather its standards should be raised "gradually" until they should conform in "thoroughness and extent to all the requirements of the best and most modern

educational institutions for women."¹⁸ Apparently this somewhat idealistic solution to an increasing problem—i.e., that seminary graduates who wished to teach in the public schools in Virginia would not, in the future, be certified by the State Board of Education to do so unless the seminary was ranked as a "junior college"—was found inadequate. Sometime in late 1914, E. R. Chesterman, Secretary of the State Board of Education, visited the school at the invitation of Dr. Fraser, who was chairman of the board of trustees, for the purpose of advising the board as to what steps were necessary to have the seminary put on the State Department list of registered colleges. In a letter dated 12 January 1915, Chesterman was generally complimentary of the school's academic offerings, but remarked that an "over liberal disposition in the matter of electives" blurred the distinction between the preparatory and college courses. The necessary changes could be made with "comparatively little expense" in time for the 1916-17 session, he wrote. It was merely a matter of rearranging and reclassifying some of the courses, spending about \$500 additional money for laboratory equipment, and requiring 14 preparatory units for admission to the junior college. If there were a question about this, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Sweet Briar or Hollins could provide Miss Weimar with a "model classification blank." One can imagine the reaction to that observation. "Oh yes," added Mr. Chesterman, "abandon the word 'seminary' in the name of your school."¹⁹

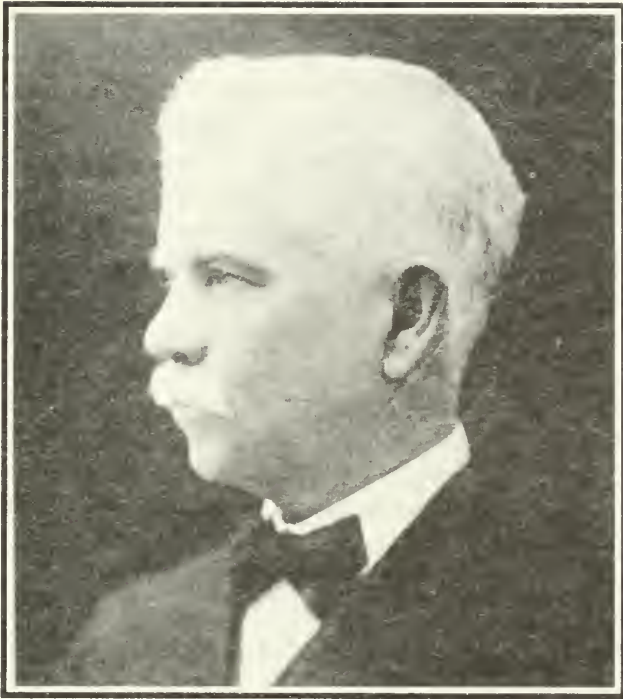
The board duly contemplated this information at a called meeting on 26 February 1915. With reluctance, they agreed that the required change in the organization of the school's courses be made by a board-administration-faculty committee chaired by Miss Weimar, and that Mary Baldwin Seminary would apply to the State Board of Education for registration as a junior college. The board, however, "indefinitely postponed" consideration of the change of the name of the seminary.²⁰

The Catalogue of 1916-17 notes that on 2 February 1916, Mary Baldwin Seminary was placed on the state list of "approved junior colleges."²¹ Similar statements appeared in all catalogues until 1923. The school continued to be called "Mary Baldwin Seminary," and the title "Junior College" was not used in its publications.

Then began a 13-year struggle to keep the features of the beloved old seminary and yet to conform to new bureaucratic requirements for accreditation. A study of the catalogues shows how valiantly Miss Weimar and her committee worked to satisfy

the various constituencies of the school, many of whom were outraged by what they deemed a "backward step" for an institution they considered to be the equal of any four-year Virginia college. Henceforth work would be offered "leading to preparatory courses" (i.e., fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh grades). There were three courses of "preparatory" work (i.e., four years of high school), one (A) leading to admission to collegiate work at Mary Baldwin Seminary, one (B) for those wishing to specialize at the college level in art or music, and one (C) leading by right of certification to admission to a "class A college" such as Goucher or Wellesley without a preliminary examination. The collegiate work was likewise divided into three parts; (A) for those who wished to teach, (B) the equivalent of three years of college work, and (C) for those who expected to transfer to a "Grade A" four-year college. The "diploma" of the school was awarded for the completion of any of these three "collegiate courses."²² It was a clumsy, unnecessarily complicated system but one dictated by financial necessity, alumnae prejudice, and board conservatism. It could not last.

On 29 November 1915, the board of trustees received a letter from Ella Weimar tendering her resignation as principal as of 1 July 1916. No reason was given for her resignation, other than calling attention to the fact that she had been associated with the school for 29 years, 19 as principal, during which time her "interest was sincere and unabated." The board voted her a bonus of \$1000 and passed a fulsome resolution acknowledging the board's "indebtedness for her faithful, efficient and successful management...she has exhibited fidelity, zeal and marked executive ability." Miss Weimar refused the money "because the acceptance of it would make me very unhappy" but suggested that the board give the money to Miss Nannie Tate, who was completing her fiftieth year at the seminary as a teacher. The board complied with her request, and Miss Weimar retired to her home, "Green View" near Warrenton, Virginia. She was in her early 60s.²³ The reasons for this retirement can only be inferred. Watters suggests Miss Weimar was discouraged and defeated and felt she lacked the confidence of the board.²⁴ It is true that there appear to have been disagreements over the years, but she had regularly been reappointed and her compensation gradually increased. Perhaps, knowing the junior college status was to be approved and realizing that the struggle to become a four-year college must soon begin, she felt, considering her age, that this was a graceful exit point. The faculty, students and alumnae joined the board in praise of of



Abel McIver Fraser



Marianna Parramore Higgins

her accomplishments, and her leave-taking was far more graceful than that of her successor.²⁵

The period 1916-1919 was a time of strain and tension for educational institutions everywhere. Much of the world was at war and early in 1917, the United States became an active participant. There were wartime shortages of fuel and food, voluntary rationing, such as "meatless" and "wheatless" days, inflation, and the frightening influenza epidemic. The story of Mary Baldwin Seminary and the First World War has been told elsewhere, but the implications and consequences of the Great War both helped and hindered those who wanted the seminary to become an accredited college. The financial uncertainties were so great that the faculty were issued "conditional" contracts in 1917 and 1918, providing for salary cuts if the number of pupils was insufficient to furnish the necessary income for the operating expenses of the session.²⁶ No such adjustments were necessary, however, for enrollments were at the highest levels in the seminary's history, a phenomenon that the board could not explain.²⁷ Fewer and fewer students were at the grammar school level and boarding students were double the number of day students, giving encouragement to the belief that a four-year college could be sustained. The war years created many opportunities, and interest in college and graduate-level work for women was greater in the early 1920s than it would be again for several decades. The times were right for Mary Baldwin to become a college.

Two individuals, both of them somewhat reluctantly, were the architects of the change. Each was committed to keeping the seminary, the familiar, tranquil, beautiful spot one block from the center of downtown Staunton, where generations of "young ladies" had been an ever-visible reminder of the community's commitment to education and Christian values. Yet each of them understood that the long tradition of intellectual achievement could only be sustained by expansion into a four-year college. They always carefully specified that it be a "grade A college." The two were the Reverend Abel McIver Fraser and Marianna Parramore Higgins.

Dr. Fraser had come as pastor to First Presbyterian Church in Staunton in 1893, and apparently was elected to the Mary Baldwin Seminary Board of Trustees in 1894.²⁸ He was named to the executive committee of the board on 3 July 1897 and became the president of the board of trustees in 1909. He was the chaplain

the seminary and college from 1897 to 1929 and was named the first president of Mary Baldwin College in 1923. He resigned the presidency in 1929, when Dr. L. Wilson Jarman was appointed, but he remained as president of the board of trustees until 1932, when failing health caused his retirement. He died in 1933. So, for more than 40 years Dr. Fraser had been closely and intimately connected with the school. It was he who, along with Ella Weimar and W.W. King, picked up the mantle of leadership when Miss Baldwin died, and it was he who gave unstinting energy, prayer, and effort to the creation of a four-year college.²⁹ He was a small, neat, peppery man who preached long, eloquent sermons and was much beloved by his congregation, the seminary family, and many townspeople. His beliefs were firm and often firmly stated, his principles unbending, his determination legendary. He was not a professional educator and seems to have had little patience with the layers of bureaucracy it was necessary to penetrate if accreditation and academic respectability were to be achieved. At one time he told the alumnae, "Whether we rank as a preparatory school, a Junior college, or a full college is of less importance than that we shall do with absolute honesty and thoroughness whatever we undertake to do, and claim in our catalogue that we are doing..."³⁰ He was much attached to the seminary and agreed with many of its constituencies that it must be preserved. How to do that and be a "grade A college" too? After much meditation and prayer, Dr. Fraser and the board thought they knew how. They proposed to create the "Mary Baldwin System," whereby two institutions, Mary Baldwin Seminary and Mary Baldwin College for Women, would be maintained under the control of the same board of trustees. The schools would eventually occupy different physical sites, but both would reflect the "well-defined group of ideals of womanhood and education which Miss Baldwin embodied in her own personality. She stamped those ideals indelibly upon the seminary, and now the whole system which bears her name will perpetuate them."³¹

The second person intimately connected with this process was Marianna Parramore Higgins, who had come to Mary Baldwin Seminary in 1908 as a teacher of preparatory English. She was a Virginian, had attended Farmville Normal School, had later done postgraduate work at Harvard and Columbia Woman's College in South Carolina, and was chosen by Miss Weimar because she was "a Southern lady and a Presbyterian."³² Her peers credited her with playing a major role in the curriculum revision necessary to

secure junior college status and, when Miss Weimar's resignation was accepted in 1916, a special committee of the board of trustees headed by Dr. Fraser recommended that Miss Higgins be elected principal.³³ There had been several other candidates, and H.D. Peck, a long-time board member, made a substitute motion naming another candidate, a Miss McClintock, as his choice. His motion failed, and Miss Higgins was duly notified that she was the principal of Mary Baldwin Seminary; but the fact that there was board opposition to her selection foreshadowed future difficulties.³⁴

The evidence seems to suggest that Miss Higgins worked well with Dr. Fraser and with Mr. King, although, since the latter was less than sympathetic to the concept of a four-year college if it meant losing the seminary, there must have been tense moments as the process continued. One difference, of course, is the fact that there was no building program taking place after 1916. The war effort and later post-war inflation, labor shortages, and high wages, about which Mr. King complained bitterly, had brought an end to the activity which had seen so many physical improvements in the early years of the century. The seminary had spent \$250,000 since 1897, Mr. King reported, on physical improvements, without any help "from the outside--not even the endowment fund." Mr. King continued to recommend, as he had every year from 1908 to 1929, that Sky High be removed and be replaced by a brick building to house improved Physical Education facilities, Art and Domestic Science classrooms, as well as additional dormitory space. He also continued to insist that a new chapel and dining room be built on the site of the Waddell Chapel, and that then "our plan of improvements" would be completed.³⁵ However, after 1910, Mr. King's efforts had to be focused on maintenance and upkeep, and consequently there was more money for the improvement of faculty salaries and curriculum, which was essential if college status were to be secured. Miss Higgins devoted herself to both of these objectives. Some of the alumnae had not given up on providing an endowment for the proposed college and prodded Dr. Fraser to approach wealthy patrons and foundations in support of the concept. For the first time since Miss Baldwin had become principal, outside help was sought. Dr. Fraser, in 1917, had written to Mrs. Cyrus McCormick asking for a contribution but had been refused. In 1919, a similar effort was undertaken with the Rockefeller General Education Board, with a similar lack of success.³⁶

Slowly, too slowly for some of the advocates, Dr. Fraser came to the conclusion that a major effort must be undertaken to secure recognition as a four-year college. His reasons for doing so are interesting. In a long report to the alumnae in 1923, he described how he had "awakened to the significance of the facts about him." He admitted to a personal sense of failure, because he had not exerted his leadership on the board to see that the school had "retained its primacy." He had "let pass by so much of golden opportunity." More and more young women of the South were demanding a college education, but many of the institutions to which they were going had "assailed the foundations of true philosophy and religion..." Some young women had "become victims...[of] materialistic philosophy and destructive teachings." "We have failed to provide them with appropriate colleges and so are responsible for these appalling results," he declared. As always, Miss Baldwin's example was invoked. "Were she living today...I think there could be no question that she would have made Mary Baldwin the commanding woman's college of the South."³⁷

Having reached these conclusions, Dr. Fraser and the board considered how their idea of a "Mary Baldwin System" (i.e. both a seminary and a college) could be financially implemented. Coincidentally, in February 1921, the Christian Education Committee of the Synod of Virginia undertook a "million dollar campaign" to raise money for four institutions closely identified with the Presbyterian Church.³⁸ Dr. Fraser, who had been very active at all levels of the Presbyterian Church's organization, noted that no women's college was included in the list. Why should not the synod help provide the necessary financial backing to create a "grade A" women's college in Staunton? On 24 May 1921, a committee from the board of trustees was appointed to confer with a committee of the Synod of Virginia "touching closer relations of the seminary to the Synod," and in October the board approved the concept that the seminary be placed under the control of the Synod of Virginia.³⁹ Thus began a decade of frustration, misunderstanding, and recriminations, all of which threatened the very existence of the institution that all involved were trying so hard to enhance.

In order to understand what happened next, it is necessary to review briefly the various charters of the school. The first session of Augusta Female Seminary opened in September of 1842, but it was not until 30 January 1845 that the Virginia General Assembly passed an act incorporating Augusta Female Seminary. The

act provided for a self-perpetuating board of trustees of 15 members and gave broad power to the board to acquire and sell land, appoint faculty, and to devise rules and regulations for the seminary's welfare. No further changes were made until 14 December 1895, when, at the request of the board of trustees, the name of Augusta Female Seminary was officially changed to Mary Baldwin Seminary, "as an acknowledgement of their high appreciation of the valuable services and unparalleled success of the principal for thirty-three years." This new charter also allowed the trustees, upon the recommendation of the principal, to "confer degrees or honorary titles on former or future full graduates of the seminary who may be deemed worthy." It was under this provision that Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Music and Master of Arts degrees were issued in the early 20th century, until Miss Weimar proposed the custom be dropped.⁴⁰

On 26 October 1921, a letter and a long report about the seminary were sent to the Committee on a Woman's College of the Synod of Virginia. In it, the board of trustees of the seminary offered to transfer the seminary to a board of trustees elected by the Synod of Virginia. In return, the synod would "give its assurance" that it would convert the seminary into a "college of the 'A' class," and that a majority of the board of trustees would be members of the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton. In any case, seminary trustees "assumed" that the synod would choose most of the trustees "from the vicinity of the school" so that a quorum for board meetings would be present. The synod was to give the college full "moral and financial support," helping to secure students, raising an endowment fund of "no less" than \$500,000 and, until that fund was raised, the synod would contribute not less than \$30,000 each year for the support of the college. The synod would be receiving property valued at \$667,715 and a going operation that produced about \$12,000 surplus a year. The school was in its 79th year of operation; it was a "religious school and distinctly Presbyterian." There was also a 10-acre tract owned by the seminary on the edge of town, Miss Baldwin's farm, which could be used for either the seminary or the college.⁴¹

The Committee on a Woman's College reported that there was a "strong sentiment" on the part of some members of the synod that the request should receive more "mature deliberation" and that the whole matter would be turned over to "the newly elected" committee on the general Educational Work of the Synod. That committee did convene in Staunton 27 July 1922, meeting "vari-

ous business and social organizations" and the seminary trustees. The Staunton/Augusta County Chamber of Commerce undertook, in writing, to raise \$100,000 for the proposed college and to extend, without cost, all necessary public utilities such as water, lights, sewage and street railway to the college property, if the college location was within one mile of the corporate limits of Staunton. Dr. Fraser was told that the synod objected to the request that a majority of the trustees be from First Presbyterian Church and said they would not recommend the offer unless this condition was amended, and Dr. Fraser undertook to do so. The Committee on General Education Work of the synod thereupon recommended that the amended offer of the seminary trustees, supplemented by the commitments of the Staunton/Augusta County Chamber of Commerce, be accepted by the Synod of Virginia.⁴²

The seminary board minutes suggest that the necessary amending of the charter of the seminary, particularly the provision about the membership of the trustees in First Presbyterian Church, was not without pain. The vote was four to two.⁴³ Later another board member, H.D. Peck, who had been on the board more than 40 years, resigned, saying that "it was impossible for me to believe that conditions at that time were favorable for such a move...(several members of the trustees agree with me)...I could not regard the financial plan...both present and future...as resting except upon a most weak and uncertain basis."⁴⁴ Eventually a new charter was secured from the State Corporation Commission and a friendly suit in chancery removed the offending provision about trustee membership in First Presbyterian Church.⁴⁵ The seminary was now partly, at least, also a college—a synodical college of the Synod of Virginia. There were to be 20 trustees, all elected by the synod, serving rotating terms of four years. All eight presbyteries of the synod were to have representation on the board, and A.M. Fraser was elected president of the board of trustees (as he had been of the old board).⁴⁶

The Mary Baldwin Seminary board of trustees met with the newly elected synodical board of trustees 26 October 1922 for the purpose of coordinating the details of the transfer of authority. It was pointed out to the synodical trustees that no provision had been made by the synod for raising the \$30,000 due for the year 1923-24 and that perhaps the transfer should not be completed until that was done, since establishing the college would be an expensive procedure. The trustees-elect assured the seminary

board that the synod's failure to provide the money was "a mere oversight" and would be rectified. With some misgivings, the old (seminary) board then transferred its authority to the new (college) board, and the first official meeting of the synodical trustees of Mary Baldwin College took place on 16 January 1923. The college would officially open on 6 September 1923, ready, immediately, to offer a full four-year course, with a full-time college faculty of seven "teachers," plus some part-time "teachers" who also taught in the seminary. Dr. Fraser was elected the president of the college and the president of the board of trustees, and Miss Higgins was both the principal of the seminary and the dean of the college. W.W. King was to be business manager for both the seminary and the college.⁴⁷ Dr. Julian A. Burruss, president of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, agreed to act as an official advisor helping with the organization of the college.

This report to the synod also noted that a site for Mary Baldwin College had been bought. It was 200 acres about two miles north of the city limits on the Valley Turnpike, bought from Dr. and Mrs. Richard Bell and Mrs. Mattie W. Grasty for \$60,000, to be paid over a three-year period.⁴⁸ Thus the decision had been made that the seminary would continue to occupy the downtown location and that the college would be in Augusta County, adjacent to the city line. The agreement to separate the two institutions physically meant that a great deal of money would have to be raised very quickly, but the physical separation was absolutely necessary because the State Board of Education refused to certify the college as a "standard four-year college" if a preparatory school was not kept "rigidly distinct and separate from the college in students, faculty, buildings and discipline."⁴⁹ Dr. Fraser assumed, in 1923, that five years would be sufficient time for a new physical plant for the college to be built, and the Bell property was accordingly purchased. All that remained was to find a way to raise the money.

In the meantime, Miss Higgins was left to struggle with the problems of being a principal and a dean simultaneously. Although Dr. Fraser spent countless hours on board matters and financial campaigns, he intervened little in the actual running of the two institutions. He simply had neither the time nor the training for such day-to-day tasks, and he relied heavily on the dean and the business manager and their reports. Miss Higgins understood, perhaps more clearly than Dr. Fraser was able to, the difficulties in trying to operate a seminary and a college in the

same location. As early as 1923, she had arranged to publish separate catalogues; "a thin plain grey one" for college announcements, and a "beautiful white and gold one" for the seminary.⁵⁰ The seminary catalogue contained the junior college course listings until 1925, when all those previously enrolled in that program had completed their work and the junior college designation was dropped. The matter of separating the faculty was not as easily done. Miss Higgins divided them into college faculty, preparatory faculty, and special faculty (i.e., piano, voice, violin, art, expression). She held separate faculty meetings with each group but was forced to report that the "special" teachers and officers (study hall, librarian, matron, practice hall, nurse, physician, and secretary) were shared by both preparatory and college students. Some friction between the various kinds of faculty inevitably developed. Miss Higgins reported that the college teachers were unwilling to undertake "governess duties."

Both seminary and college students shared the same infirmary, the same dining room, and the same library, in which college students were given preference. The upper floor of Academic was for college classes. The class period lasted one hour. The second floor housed the library, and the seminary students used the first floor for 45-minute classes. The college students had their tables in the center of the dining hall and did not have faculty seated with them, as did the preparatory girls. College students were placed in their own dormitories, Memorial, Hill Top, Chapel. Sky High and McClung were seminary dormitories, and different rules concerning chaperonage, town visits, and church attendance applied to each group. Nevertheless, Miss Higgins felt it necessary to include in all catalogue announcements between 1923 and 1929 the following statement: "We will not be able to offer full privileges usually accorded college students during the period that the college and the preparatory departments are conducted in the same plant."⁵¹

Then there were the matters of choosing appropriate forms for the college diploma, the abolition of the giving of certificates, prizes and medals for college students, changes in keeping academic records, admission and classification standards, separate commencement ceremonies; the details seemed endless, and one can only speculate about the reluctance and dismay that students and faculty must have felt as time honored customs gave way to new requirements and as, year by year, the seminary enrollments dropped and the college's increased. It is easy to see why, as early

as 1925, Dean Higgins was publicly asking the alumnae and friends to "hurry up the campaign" and to give Mary Baldwin College room " - physical, mental, social, moral and spiritual room" - to become a fully accredited institution.⁵²

Both Dean Higgins and Mr. King believed that it was absolutely necessary to maintain the seminary, and especially the "special students," not only for financial reasons, but because this seemed to them to be the essence of what Miss Baldwin's purpose had been. Dean Higgins had conscientiously upgraded the college faculty - all eight had Master's degrees, and three of them were members of Phi Beta Kappa - but she was convinced a good preparatory school background was the key to a successful college experience, and she fought to keep the seminary viable. Perhaps she was more comfortable with younger students, as most of her professional experience had been with them. The ambitions, demands and aspirations of college women in that bewildering decade of the 1920s must have been difficult for her and, although she speaks of giving them more responsibilities, their "privileges" were few and their social opportunities very limited. Many of the early college students were day students, and this helped to ease the situation, since social regulations did not apply to them. But it was obviously a situation that could not last. Perhaps no one was more anxious than the dean and principal to see the two schools in separate physical facilities.

But the next years, 1923-29 were full of frustration and disappointment, not only for Dr. Fraser and Dean Higgins, but for the board of trustees, the faculty, many devoted alumnae, the citizens of Staunton and Augusta County, parents and friends of the seminary, and for the students themselves. In all, four separate financial campaigns were undertaken. Only one of these succeeded, and most of the money raised by it had to be returned. The four campaigns grew naturally out of the process but in retrospect the multiple campaigns appear to have been unwise, often overlapping and imposing tremendous demands on the energy and time of Dr. Fraser and other board members.

The first of the fund-raising efforts was to be that of the Synod of Virginia. Indeed, it was pivotal to all the rest. The expectation had been that the Committee on the General Education Work of the synod would promptly provide the \$500,000 promised when it accepted the transfer of the seminary to its control. This would be the modest basis for a college endowment fund, the interest from which would help pay operating and building expenses. Tied

closely to this effort was the Staunton/Augusta County Chamber of Commerce pledge to raise \$100,000 to be used for landscaping on the new campus, to build a residence for the president, and to provide such necessary utilities as a heating plant, laundry. etc. The Chamber of Commerce pledges were contingent upon the synod's contribution, and the synod had accepted the seminary transfer contingent on the Chamber of Commerce's promises. Although the seminary had purchased the land for the college from its own current funds, more money would be required to build dormitories, dining hall, classrooms, laboratories, and a chapel, indeed an entire college physical plant. The board agreed that a major fund-raising effort should be undertaken among the alumnae, hoping to raise another \$500,000. If successful, the alumnae organization wished to name the principal building on the new campus in honor of W.W. King.

The fourth campaign is more difficult to explain. President Woodrow Wilson had died on 3 February 1924. Dr. Fraser had been a Davidson classmate and had remained a personal friend. It was Dr. Fraser who had been responsible for President-Elect Wilson's visit to Staunton and to the seminary in December 1912, at which time he had stayed with Dr. Fraser in the Manse where he (Wilson) had been born. Since the 1912 visit, and particularly after the war years and the bitter debates over the League of Nations (1919), more and more visitors had been coming to see where "President Wilson was born," and Dr. Fraser had found these intrusions difficult for his family. He had requested the First Presbyterian Church, of which he was the pastor, to consider purchasing another manse; but rather than sell the "Birthplace" to a private citizen, some Wilson supporters and friends conceived the idea of preserving the presidential birthplace as a "shrine" open to the public. Their ideas continued to multiply. The Chapel at Mary Baldwin Seminary, whose physical condition was so poor that public gatherings there had been forbidden by the police and fire departments, was the reputed scene of Woodrow Wilson's baptism. The chapel should be "restored" to its appearance in 1856, as a Wilson memorial. It should be noted here that the Chapel building had already been designated the Joseph A. Waddell Chapel by the board of trustees in 1911. Perhaps the new college, in distinction from Mary Baldwin Seminary, might be called Woodrow Wilson College, but the board refused this suggestion. In any case, one of the new college buildings could be called Wilson Hall. To accomplish these objectives, a fund-raising cam-

campaign was to be organized to raise \$500,000, to be run concurrently with the alumnae campaign.

Thus it was hoped (unrealistically as it turned out) that \$1,600,000 might be raised between 1924-1929 and that an entirely new institution, which would be Mary Baldwin College, could be constructed by the early 1930s.

The first of the campaigns to get underway was that of the Chamber of Commerce. A Citizens' Campaign Committee of 16 (15 men and one woman, Emily P. Smith) was organized by the spring of 1925, and in a whirlwind 10-day campaign raised a total of \$108,897.⁵³ Much of this was in the form of pledges to be redeemed over a three-year period, but the successful effort heartened the board and encouraged them to believe that the other efforts might be equally successful. It was said that Staunton/Augusta County had never before raised as much money so quickly; hence the disillusionment that followed was bitter and long lasting.

Dr. Fraser, as president of Mary Baldwin College, made an annual report to the Synod of Virginia. In 1924, after the college had officially been in existence for a year, Dr. Fraser bluntly reminded his church colleagues of their promise to raise \$500,000 for the college's endowment and to make annual payments of \$30,000. Only about \$1,459 had been received during the past year. This, Dr. Fraser reminded them tartly, was not a benevolence, but a "financial obligation," part of a contract made when the seminary became a synodical college. Nothing appeared to be planned in connection with the campaign. When would there be action? The General Education Committee report to the synod brought the answer. "We would advise the college that the Synod does not believe the time is opportune to launch a Synod-wide campaign to raise the \$500,000 by reason of the large amount still to be paid on the Million Dollar Educational Fund."⁵⁴

There appeared little that Dr. Fraser and the board could do other than continue their appeals, which they did in 1925, and to try through their own "network connections" to stimulate some action. By 1926, Dr. Fraser reported that the Staunton community was regularly asking, "When are you going to start your college?" "We are in serious danger," he declared, "of losing local confidence...and loyalty...and the unpaid parts of local subscriptions." This appeal resulted in the recommendation that the synod Ways and Means Committee have an early meeting with the Mary Baldwin trustees to discuss "steps for discharging Synod's obliga-

tion to Mary Baldwin College." However, the synod did not feel "a general campaign...at this time would be ...wise." Instead, Mary Baldwin College trustees should consider the possibility of employing a full-time financial agent to visit individuals who might contribute large sums to the college. The synod did not offer to provide any funds for this individual.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the annual payments of \$30,000 were never paid in full and were slow in coming. By 1929, only \$76,617 had been received. The total then due was \$180,000.⁵⁶

A painful meeting, "embarrassing to every man present," between the Ways and Means Committee on Church Education and the board of trustees of the college was held on 5 July 1927, in Staunton. The history of the synod relationship was reviewed. The synod committee acknowledged that promises had not been kept and recommended a three-year effort, beginning in 1928, to raise the half million dollars among their presbyteries, taking the requisite funds from the overall benevolence budget. If this suggestion was refused by the synod, they should turn the college back to its original trustees, although they suggested that the synod would wish to retain an "interest" in the "seminary."⁵⁷ The synod did not accept the recommendations of this committee report. Instead, while acknowledging their obligations, they continued to press the college to undertake the campaign itself, although again no money was put in the synod budget to support the attempt. The college trustees tried. They interviewed several individuals, but "repeated consultations" with those "most experienced" in raising church funds revealed that, without a campaign organization, the effort would not succeed. Since no funds were available to hire such a person, it was a moot point. The college could not fund it itself because it could not "place any more of its securities in jeopardy." In 1928, Dr. Fraser and 13 loyal friends visited or wrote letters to over 40 churches in the synod. They were authorized to spend up to \$2000 of college money for their expenses. First Presbyterian Church in Staunton secured a supply pastor to provide some relief for Dr. Fraser while these activities went on. Few additional funds were secured.⁵⁸

Concurrent with the Chamber of Commerce and the synod campaigns were to be the alumnae efforts. The Augusta Female Seminary Alumnae Association was formally organized in 1894, open to all former students, and in its early years focused on the "old girls'" reminiscences and love and support for Miss Baldwin and her school.⁵⁹ However, an alumnae scholarship and mission-

ary scholarship programs had been inaugurated, and the Bulletin reported with great interest the physical changes that took place in the early 20th century. In 1911, under alumnae auspices, a beautiful memorial window honoring Mary Julia Baldwin had been placed in the Chapel. As early as 1910, the alumnae had sought to have representation on the board of trustees but had been politely refused by that all-male body. Around 1912, the Graduates Council of the Association, representing the "full graduates," had begun to press for junior college status and, as had been seen, were exploring ways of supporting an endowment fund and becoming a four-year "Grade A" college even before World War I. By the early 1920s there were about 5,000 alumnae, of whom perhaps 500 were members of the association. There were six local chapters. The officers of the association appealed to the board for funds to secure a "field secretary," which would allow them closer contact with all their present and prospective members. The creation of the "Mary Baldwin System," seminary and college, and the new relationship with the synod were changes not easily accepted by all the alumnae. There was even an impassioned debate over what to call themselves, and finally the cumbersome name "Association of Alumnae and Former Students of Mary Baldwin Seminary and College" was chosen as reflecting all their constituencies.⁶⁰ As the various financial campaigns got underway, the alumnae were asked by Dr. Fraser to consider a campaign of their own. But the Alumnae Association had almost no infrastructure. All the work was done by volunteers. As Dr. Fraser pointed out, the former students were widely scattered, and many had been at the seminary for only a short time and had attended other educational institutions as well, and thus had divided loyalties. There had never been a previous appeal to them for financial support, and they were unaccustomed to "sympathetic cooperation in any common cause." Dr. Fraser might well have added the thought that all of the alumnae save one were seminary students, and they were being asked to contribute to the support of a college.

On the other hand, Dr. Fraser, always the optimist, continued, "When one considers the large number of students who have passed through this seminary, the aggregate of wealth represented by these students and the superior character of the women themselves, it looks as though the alumnae ought to be able to raise \$500,000...Are there not a number of alumnae whom Providence has blessed with large means, who have in the past received

some blessing from Mary Baldwin which no money can measure, into whose heart the Lord will now put it to do a really big part in the true spirit of Mary Baldwin?"⁶¹

The additional benefits of the campaign, he continued, would be a more professional organization of the alumnae and a greater awareness among all the constituencies of the needs of the "Mary Baldwin System."

The board of trustees had, early in 1923, interviewed some "professional" fund raisers and had finally settled on the New York firm of Ward, Wells, Dreshman and Gates to advise them in the matter of the local campaign. The alumnae were invited to coordinate their efforts with this group (the expenses to be borne by the trustees). B. M. Hedrick of the above firm worked closely with the alumnae effort. An alumnae campaign executive committee of 15 members was created; Lucille Foster McMillin of Nashville, Tennessee, agreed to act as general chairman, and Emily Pancake Smith of the local alumnae did "active, aggressive work." Ten national districts were created; there were to be zone and local chairmen within each district. Altogether 530 alumnae were to be actively involved, and hopes were high for the success of the effort.⁶²

That May, Dean Higgins had reported to the alumnae at their annual meeting that the members of the faculty and students had shown "vital and substantial interest in the college campaign." The girls were present at the final meeting of the local campaign and "added greatly to the life and spirit of the occasion by their singing and other youthful demonstrations." When the success of the Chamber of Commerce campaign was announced on 13 April 1925, the students were given a holiday and there was much rejoicing. The school itself was organized for its own mini-campaign, and by the end of the term pledges for \$10,000 had been made. A student was allowed to pledge only with her parents' consent, and an eventual goal of \$25,000 was set. The students hoped to use their money for either an athletic field or landscape gardening at the new site. The dean added that the faculty and staff had also contributed "generously" but did not specify the amount.⁶³

The students were also involved in another activity. At the suggestion of B. M. Hedrick, the trustees sponsored an essay contest on the subject, "Why Should a Girl Go to College?" The successful essayist was to be admitted to Mary Baldwin tuition-free for the next term. Miriam Palmer was later declared winner

of the contest, but the board was dismayed to receive a request from the young lady for \$150 in cash, the value of the scholarship, since she had decided to go to school "elsewhere." The board refused her request.⁶⁴ There is no record that they awarded the scholarship to anyone else.

The alumnae campaign was launched in June 1925, and from the beginning, the results were disappointing. The anticipated "large gifts" were not forthcoming, and the expenses of the professional organizers were exceeding the monies collected. In 1926, Dr. Fraser's report to the synod declared, "The efforts of the Alumnae ...have not so far been encouraging, but they are not at all discouraged and are laying plans with great care for a patient and determined campaign of organization and inspiration..." Sadly, the Newsletter for July 1927, reported that all active work on the campaign had ceased "for the present." At that point \$78,000 had been subscribed, representing 331 persons. A later notice told the alumnae that the collected money was invested at 6% interest and would ultimately be used to erect a building honoring Mr. King.⁶⁵

On 28 August 1924, the Board of Trustees of Mary Baldwin College voted to undertake a campaign to raise \$500,000 "as a memorial to W. Wilson." This campaign was to be coordinated with the other two - i.e. the Chamber of Commerce and the alumnae efforts - and it was hoped that the same financial advisors might supervise all three. Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, president of the University of Virginia, accepted an invitation to be the General Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Fund.

The campaign was an ambitious one. It was to be national in scope, with each state having its own committee, as well as each congressional district, on down to city and local levels. It would prove to be time-consuming to organize, since prominent individuals were to be approached, and expensive. The trustees voted to underwrite the expenses of the campaign with the understanding that the funds would be refunded to the college from the monies contributed. Formal announcement of the Wilson Memorial Campaign was made by Dr. Fraser on 12 June 1925, at the Manse, which was Dr. Fraser's home, to the 150 members of the National Editorial Association, who were having their annual meeting in Staunton. Dr. Fraser delivered a moving memorial to the former president and sought to thus gain national publicity for the fund-raising. Brochures were printed, mailing lists prepared,

much travel was involved as national leaders were sought in each state. The board was informed that the campaign expenses by mid-summer 1925, were already more than \$26,000, and the active phase had not yet begun.⁶⁶ Bayard Hedrick, the professional fund-raiser, had proposed that the actual campaign not commence until November 1925, since the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, a New York association, had been engaged in a campaign to raise \$1 million for scholarships and research and was actively seeking to complete its work by the early fall. It would be confusing to have two Wilson Memorial campaigns run simultaneously, so the Mary Baldwin effort should wait until the other effort was concluded.

The Mary Baldwin Wilson Memorial campaign was plagued with difficulties from the beginning. Immediately after Wilson's death, a number of groups and institutions had devised plans for various projects and building programs at a time when nostalgia and sentiment might help their cause. A group hoped to establish a university in Valdosta, Georgia, and publicity about this had been released in late 1924. The campaign of the prestigious Woodrow Wilson Foundation in New York had already raised about \$800,000 in 1924-5; friends of Woodrow Wilson proposed buying the "S" Street house in Washington D.C. as a memorial. There were several other, less reputable groups seeking publicity and funds in Wilson's name. The similarity of the names, timing and purposes of some of these groups, and the suggestions of fraud and corruption could only damage the Staunton effort. The proposed Mary Baldwin state committees hardly functioned. Even the Virginia committee headed by Harry M. Smith never seems to have been viable and, as late as April 1926, the executive committee of the board of trustees said the Virginia campaign was "still being organized."⁶⁷

The efforts to raise the funds for the Wilson "shrine" struggled through the remaining months of 1925 and through 1926. Ward, Wells, Dreshman and Gates insisted that more professional help was needed and recalled Bayard Hedrick, their representative. He was replaced by a succession of advisors (all expensive), none of whom stayed long enough to become familiar with the various constituencies. By April 1926, Dr. Fraser had become "general chairman" of the effort. By December of that year, the college had borrowed \$30,000 from various local banks and was forced to borrow more to pay the interest on the funds that had already been borrowed. By January 1927, the conservative "men of affairs" who

made up the college board of trustees voted to "postpone any further expenditures on the Wilson Memorial." But Dr. Fraser would not yet give up. The board authorized him to write letters to 700 "admirers" of Woodrow Wilson appealing for support. The letters resulted in several small donations totaling \$3,275.⁶⁸

Reluctantly, in January 1928, the board of trustees voted to abandon the original plan for the Wilson Memorial and to use the money collected (about \$26,000) to acquire the Manse, which would then be turned over to an independent "Woodrow Wilson Memorial Foundation" as soon as one could be organized. The Foundation would be responsible for raising additional funds, maintaining the property, and opening it to the public.⁶⁹

Why had the Wilson Campaign failed? In a letter written to Edith Wilson in 1929, Dr. Fraser wrote that the "difficulty seems to be an objection to having a memorial associated with an institution of learning." In his report to the synod in 1928, Fraser made a very similar observation. "An elaborate memorial identified with a denominational college has not met with general approval by the friends of Mr. Wilson throughout the country."⁷⁰ But surely there was more than that, although it seems a valid point. The campaign organization was far too complicated and elaborate, and no state or local committee was willing to begin work until the whole structure had been completed. The timing was most unfortunate; the multiplicity of campaigns with similar objectives; the suspicion of fraud; the general disillusionment of the country after the Senate refusal to approve the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, all these contributed to the lack of interest and support. Wilson's death in February 1924 had revived a flurry of interest in the wartime president but this quickly died, and the Mary Baldwin College Wilson Campaign was almost two years after Wilson's death in beginning its appeal.

The effort to create a Woodrow Wilson Memorial (the Manse, the Chapel, the new building or a new campus) ultimately cost the college about \$20,000 in outlay and carrying charges, plus untold hours of work and planning by the members of board of trustees, and particularly Dr. Fraser.⁷¹ One can only speculate about the depths of his disappointment and the diminution of his strength and vigor as a result of his vast efforts associated with all four campaigns. It is hard not to conclude that, from the viewpoint of the college, the Wilson campaign should never have been undertaken.

The year 1928 was a momentous and unpleasant year for

Mary Baldwin. It had been five years since the college had passed under the control of the Synod of Virginia- five years during which tremendous efforts had been made to raise funds for the Mary Baldwin "system," and these efforts had failed. Townspeople, friends, alumnae, faculty, staff, and students were all asking, with increasing persistence, "When are you going to start building the college?" It must have been embarrassing when Dr. Bell, whose property had been purchased as the site for the college, but whose home was adjacent to the tract, requested that the sign posted on the property which said, "Mary Baldwin College site" be removed because of the "annoyance to his household" by the frequent enquiries from the traveling public as to the location of Mary Baldwin College. Mr. King was ordered to remove the sign.⁷² Dean Higgins reported in January that the State Board of Education was adamant about not according recognition to Mary Baldwin as a "standard four-year college" until the physical separation of the two institutions had occurred. Moreover, after 1929, graduation from an accredited four-year college was necessary for teacher certification in Virginia. One can only empathize with the board members, especially Dr. Fraser, when, with great reluctance, at a special meeting of the trustees on 27 January 1928, they voted to discontinue the preparatory and primary departments - i.e., the old seminary - effective May 1929. Thus Mary Julia Baldwin's school would come to an end, and a college bearing her name would take its place.⁷³ There did not appear to be any other possible solution to their difficulties. College students exceeded the preparatory students in number, and the commitment to creating a "grade A" four-year college had been so determined and well-publicized that no return to the former condition seemed possible. Yet the decision left many friends of the institution embittered. Townspeople were loath to see the preparatory school close. They much preferred it for their daughters to the public schools which they mistrusted. Almost all the alumnae were former seminary students. They had been promised that the creation of the college would not imperil the seminary. Many felt betrayed. There must have been strong feelings among the faculty and staff. The executive committee in March felt it necessary to ask Dr. Fraser to write a letter communicating the feelings of the board about "certain indiscreet criticisms by certain employees of the college" and to confer with the dean and business manager about the matter.⁷⁴ But the best evidence of dismay came from the number of requests that donations made to the various campaigns be

returned, since the original proposal that a new college would be built was not going to be carried out.⁷⁵

When the Synod of Virginia met in September 1928, a resolution reflecting these demands and the threat they posed to the reputation of the synod and the college was passed. Inasmuch as the synod had failed to raise \$500,000 within the allotted five years, those individuals who had contributed to the local campaign were no longer bound to their pledges or obligations, and the board of trustees of the college was ordered to return to those who wished it returned any money already subscribed.

On 9 October 1928, the college board acted on the synod resolution. At first, it was suggested that the money already paid on the local pledges, amounting to \$48,000, be returned with interest and that all remaining pledges be cancelled. But H.B. Sproul suggested instead that a letter be sent to all subscribers, describing the present status of the college, "its progress and purposes," and offering to return the money "if desired." The letter was duly sent on 1 January 1929. One hundred fifty-one subscribers asked for refunds. Sixty-eight said they did not wish the money they had given paid back but wished their pledges cancelled. Approximately \$35,460 remained in the hands of the treasurer of the college as a result of the City Campaign - hardly worth the ill feelings that had been engendered.⁷⁶

The offer to return the local money, made in good faith and with the best of intentions, had a totally unanticipated result. Word quickly spread, at first in the community and then state-wide, that the college would be closed. Alumnae and other individuals who had pledged to the various campaigns began to request that their money be returned, also. At first the board resisted. "The local subscriptions were made under specific conditions...these conditions did not apply to any but subscribers in Staunton and Augusta County..." But, ultimately, a proposal was made to return to all alumnae the money they had contributed. It is unclear whether or not this was actually done, but the money that had been collected and retained from the alumnae campaign (about \$30,000) eventually was used toward the Centennial Building (1942) named for W.W. King.⁷⁷

The effects of the report that the college was closing had a serious impact on enrollment. Also, the closing of the preparatory division and the decline in the number of "special students" had severe financial consequences. In 1929, Mr. King reported that there were 139 fewer students than in 1928 and that the only

"special department" still operating at a profit was voice.⁷⁸ King had not been in favor of the college establishment. His devotion to Miss Baldwin and her seminary was fervent; he called her, "one of God's noblest women...[she] has been my guide and my inspiration." He warned at the end of his lengthy financial report:

I trust the Board of Trustees will not lose sight of the fact that we are passing through a critical period in the life and future usefulness of Mary Baldwin...schools to be successfully conducted require money just like any other business enterprise and I trust that this grave situation will be given due consideration.⁷⁹

Although it is difficult to assess all the direct and indirect costs and the results of the four financial campaigns attempted in the 1920s, the following summary is suggestive:

	<u>goal</u>	<u>result</u>	<u>realized</u>
Chamber of Commerce Campaign	\$100,000	\$109,000	\$35,460
Alumnae Campaign	500,000	78,000	30,000
costs \$54,000			
Synod Campaign	500,000	0	0
" Pledge to pay \$30,000 per			
year until goal met			
1923-1937	420,000		145,000
W. Wilson Memorial Campaign	500,000	30,000	25,000
costs \$20,000			
TOTAL GOAL	\$1,600,000		
TOTAL RESULTS		217,000	
TOTAL COSTS		74,000	
NET		143,000	⁸⁰

Although the original intention had been to complete all of these efforts in a five-year period, 1923-1928, three of them were opened. The Chamber of Commerce campaign exceeded its goal in less than a month; the synod campaign was never really implemented except for two months in the summer of 1928, when Dr. Fraser and his 13 associates visited some synod churches. Eventually it was decided that, the times still not being "right," the major effort would be delayed until a full-time "officer" of the board could devote all his energy to the effort. The Depression intervened, but the synod campaign was still being discussed in

1937 and did not come to an end until the charter changes of 1938. The annual payments (\$30,000) from the presbyteries never exceeded \$19,000, and in the 1930s averaged \$6-\$7,000 a year. The alumnae campaign was set aside "for the present" in 1927 but was revived for the Centennial year (1942). The Wilson campaign was concluded by board action in 1928. Ten years later, the permanent Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation was chartered.

On 9 October 1928, at a called meeting of the board of trustees, Dr. Fraser tendered his resignation as president of Mary Baldwin College, citing the criticism of his "lack of leadership" as one of the supposed reasons for the failure of the four fund-raising efforts. Although he acknowledged his lack of "experience," he pointed out that he had protested his election as president in 1923, citing a need for the "best college man in the South." He had accepted only reluctantly, feeling that, until the college and seminary were physically separated, someone who was familiar with the institution's "operations" and "officers" could avoid the "danger of complications." In the ensuing years he had offered his resignation several times and now, in the fall of 1928, he felt compelled to insist. The members of his church were "restless," and his own health had suffered. He would be willing to stay until a successor could be appointed and reminded the board that he had never sought "to shirk any duty."⁸¹ The board accepted Dr. Fraser's resignation and appointed a committee to seek a "Full Time Officer" for the college.

On 22 May 1929, the special committee of the board of trustees recommended that Dr. L. Wilson Jarman, the vice-president of Queens College in Charlotte, North Carolina, be elected president of Mary Baldwin College as of 1 July 1929. The report was accepted unanimously. Dr. Jarman, who was "in the city," met with the board and later the college faculty and staff. Although Dr. Fraser remained as president of the board of trustees, the major responsibility for the college had slipped from his shoulders. The transition from seminary to college was completed.⁸²

Notes

¹ Ella Claire Weimar (-1926) was born in Fauquier County, Virginia and was educated in Warrenton and Baltimore. She taught in Winchester, Virginia and in 1873-75 came to Augusta Female Seminary to teach English and History. Her other teaching posts included work in Alabama and Arkansas, and she returned to Augusta Female Seminary in 1889 as assistant principal and teacher of English. She was appointed principal pro tem in 1897, after Mary Julia Baldwin's death, and she was made principal in 1898, a post she held until 1916. She died near Warrenton, Va. 28 Dec. 1926. AN July 1927.

William Wayt King (1864-1939) was born in Augusta County and educated at Hoover Military Academy and Dunsmore Business College in Staunton, Virginia. After work in the County Treasurer's office, he was employed as "Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds and Assistant to M. J. Baldwin," 1890-98. The board of trustees made him the business manager in 1898—a post he held until 1930, at which time he became the curator of the endowment, a position he held until 1936. He lived at "Kalorama" (now the Staunton Public Library) and was married to Fannie Bayly, a very public spirited and active citizen of the Staunton community, who had a passionate interest in women's suffrage. Most alumnae remembered Mr. King for his "Red Head Club" and his personal and deep concern for each student. Waddell 47-48, 57, 59, passim. Watters, 216-20 passim.

² Minutes, BT 25 Jan. 1898.

³ In Virginia, Bridgewater College, formerly Spring Creek Normal School and Collegiate Institute, opened in 1880 as a coeducational institution.

⁴ Randolph-Macon Woman's College, 1891; Sweet Briar, 1906; Hollins, 1911; Longwood (State Female Normal School), 1884; State Teachers' College, Radford, 1910; State Normal College at Harrisonburg (James Madison University), 1908. See also: Anne Firor Scott, "One of the Most Significant Movements of all Time," Eleventh Annual Carroll Lectures, Mary Baldwin College, 15-16 Oct. 1984.

⁵ The new dormitories were named Baldwin Memorial and Agnes McClung.

⁶ It is to Mr. King that the credit must go for the decision that the new seminary buildings' architecture would conform to that of

Main (the Administration Building) and Hill Top—the lovely columns and painted brick of the neoclassical style beloved in the early 19th century. Credit goes equally to Dr. Samuel Spencer, who decreed that the expanded campus of the 1960s would continue in keeping with the traditional style of the old campus; hence the college today possesses a rare architectural unity and beauty few can equal.

⁷ See the annual reports of the business manager in successive issues of the board Minutes. For example, 15 June 1900. 15 June 1905. 15 July 1909. 9 Mar. 1910. 17 Jan. 1911. See also Catalogue, 1896-1900. passim. After 1909, Mr. King made semi-annual reports to the board of trustees, not only giving financial information, but long narratives about the physical plant and his suggestions for policies concerning tuition, enrollment, and investments. Before that date, his reports had been usually incorporated with those of the executive committee.

⁸ Enrollment figures are an approximation since students entered late, left early, often failed to return after Christmas, etc. The report of the executive committee to the board on 18 May 1898 shows that there were 182 students for the 1897-98 session (92 boarding, 90 day students). Minutes, BT 24 May 1898. On 18 June 1900, Mr. King reported that there were 220 students enrolled for the 1899-1900 session (128 boarders and 92 day students). Minutes, BT 18 June 1900. But, 16 years later, 18 Jan. 1916, Mr. King's report indicated 245 students (153 boarders and 92 day students). Minutes, BT 15 Jan. 1916. Additional figures include: 1905 – 292 students; 1910 – 298 students; 1912 – 230 students. Minutes, BT 16 May 1905. 18 Jan. 1910. 21 May 1912.

⁹ Minutes, BT 18 Jan. 1916.

¹⁰ AN 1910.

¹¹ Minutes EC 9 Jan. 1912. 13 Mar. 1912. 10 Feb. 1914.

¹² This group met on the Mary Baldwin Seminary Campus 3 Sept. 1912 with Sarah Meetze, a member of the seminary faculty, as hostess. Minutes EC 14 May 1912. AN 1913.

¹³ The Secretary of the Board, J. A. Waddell, wrote that they should be called "Alumni," because "the young ladies insist upon calling themselves Masters and Bachelors of Art and why not Alumni instead of Alumnae?" Waddell 66, 68.

¹⁴ AN 1913.

¹⁵ AN 1913. Augusta Female Seminary had awarded prizes, medals, certificates of "proficiency," diplomas, and from time to time, early in the 20th century, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of

Music, and briefly Master of Arts degrees. Miss Weimar recognized such degrees were no longer acceptable. After 1914, only diplomas were issued. The Catalogue, 1917-18 indicates graduates of the collegiate course receive a Junior College Certificate. Catalogue, 1917-1918.

¹⁶ Catalogue, 1911-12. In 1912, three were full graduates, nine in music, art and elocution; in 1913, seven full graduates, including Fannie Strauss, Luise and Katherine Eisenberg, six in art and music and one postgraduate.

¹⁷ Minutes EC 14 Oct. 1913.

¹⁸ Minutes EC 13 Jan. 1914. The "Committee of Teachers" may have been composed of Ella C. Weimar, Martha D. Riddle, Marianna Higgins, Mary F. Hurlburt and Nellie Smithey (undated manuscript in the college archives).

¹⁹ E. R. Chesterman, letter to A. M. Fraser, 12 Jan. 1915, enclosed in Vol. 1 of the board Minutes, College Archives.

²⁰ Minutes, BT 26 Feb. 1915. 16 Mar. 1915.

²¹ Catalogue, 1916-17.

²² Catalogue, 1916-17.

²³ Minutes, BT 18 Jan. 1916. 23 May 1916. 13 July 1916. Watters 264. It has not been possible to find out Miss Weimar's exact age. All publications mentioning her do not disclose a birthdate. She died 28 Dec. 1926.

²⁴ Watters 264.

²⁵ AN 1916.

²⁶ Minutes EC 16 May 1917. Minutes, BT 22 May 1917.

²⁷ Enrollment: 1917-235; 1918-276; 1919-276; Minutes, BT 16 Jan. 1917. 22 Jan. 1918. 21 Jan. 1919. So many applications were refused because of lack of space that Mr. King received permission from the board to recommend the overflow to Stuart Hall. Minutes, BT 13 Aug. 1918.

²⁸ It was traditional that the minister of First Presbyterian Church be on the seminary board. The earliest extant Board Minutes of 3 July 1897 list A. M. Fraser as a member, as does the Catalogue 1894-95.

A. M. Fraser was:

Minister, First Presbyterian Church 1893-1929

Chaplain, Mary Baldwin Seminary and Mary Baldwin College 1897(?) - 1929

Member, Board of Trustees 1894-1932

Member, Executive Committee of the Board 1897-1932

President of the Board of Trustees 1909-32
President of Mary Baldwin College 1923-29

²⁹ Two of his daughters, Margaret McIver Fraser (1917-18) and Nora Blanding Fraser (1920-25) were on the seminary faculty. Nora Fraser graduated from Mary Baldwin Seminary in 1901.

³⁰ AN 1915.

³¹ Catalogue, 1924-25.

³² Minutes, BT 19 May 1908. Marianna Parramore Higgins (?-Mar. 6, 1938): Career at Mary Baldwin:

Preparatory English teacher 1908-16
Principal of Mary Baldwin Seminary 1916-29
Dean of Mary Baldwin College 1923-29
Honorary LLD of Literature June 1925
Academic Dean of Mary Baldwin College 1929-30

³³ AN 1921.

³⁴ Hampden-Sydney College awarded Marianna Higgins an Honorary LLD in 1925. She was the first woman they had so honored. AN 1925. Minutes, BT 1 May 1916.

³⁵ Minutes, 16 Jan. 1923.

³⁶ Minutes, 27 Jan. 1918. 4 Aug. 1919.

³⁷ AN 1923.

³⁸ Minutes SV Sept. 1919. The institutions were Hampden-Sydney College, Union Theological Seminary, General Assembly's Training School and the Orphans Home of Lynchburg.

³⁹ Minutes, BT 24 May 1921. 11 Oct. 1921. The committee was composed of Hugh B. Sproul, Chair, J. W. McFarland, J. M. Quarles, and W. H. Landes. Dr. A. M. Fraser was added to it in October as the committee was then entrusted with the responsibility of setting terms and conditions for the transfer. It should be noted that both Lynchburg and Roanoke approached the synod requesting that they be considered as a site for a Presbyterian woman's college. Minutes SV 1922.

⁴⁰ General Assembly of Virginia, Acts (1844-45) 105; (1895-96) 5-6; subsequent charters were granted by the State Corporation Commission as follows:

3 Jan. 1923, 11 May 1923, 21 June 1939,

5 Dec. 1957, 5 Nov. 1970, July 1979, Apr. 1984,
14 Dec. 1988

City of Staunton, Charter Book 3, 403, 492; 4, 15; 5, 315; 7, 539. On 2 February 1916, the State Board of Education accredited Mary Baldwin Seminary as a Junior College. See also: Catalogue, 1896-97. Catalogue, 1923-24. Announcements. The Catalogue states that Mary Baldwin College is a "Standard College for Women" Catalogue, 1928-29. "Mary Baldwin College is accredited as a Standard College by...the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States" Catalogue, 1931-32. Announcements.

⁴¹ Minutes, BT 26 Oct. 1921. 2 Nov. 1921. It should be noted that the earliest version of the "conditions" asked only for \$200,000 endowment and \$12,000 annual payments. Upon reflection Mr. Landes (long-time treasurer of the board) felt that additional money should be requested (two and a half times as much) and the amended request was the one sent to the Synod of Virginia. See Minutes SV 1921.

⁴² Minutes SV 19 Sept. 1922.

⁴³ Minutes, BT 30 Oct. 1922. Apparently only six board members attended.

⁴⁴ H. D. Peck, letter to W. H. Landes, 16 Feb. 1923, College Archives.

⁴⁵ Minutes, BT 8 Dec. 1922. 16 Jan. 1923. The charters are dated 3 Jan. 1923. 11 May 1923.

⁴⁶ Minutes, BT 20 Dec. 1922. 16 Jan. 1923.

⁴⁷ Minutes SV Sept. 1923. Dr. Fraser accepted the presidency of the college "for a while." He recognized that a full-time professional educator and administrator would be necessary but "because of his long and intimate connection with Mary Baldwin Seminary and his acquaintance with its spirit and methods, he believed that for a while he might render it a service which a new man might not be in a position to render." Minutes, 173. He remained the full-time pastor of First Presbyterian Church as well as the chaplain of the seminary and the college.

⁴⁸ Minutes SV Sept. 1923. Minutes, BT 27 Apr. 1923. 26 May 1923. Eighteen different locations were considered in addition to the Bell site. The selection committee was made up of Dr. Fraser, J. B. Rawlings, R. F. Hutcheson, H. B. Sproul and J. A. Fulton. Advice was also sought from the presidents of VPI (Dr. Julian A. Burruss) and Washington & Lee (Dr. Henry Louis Smith) and

from a professional landscape architect, E. C. Whitney. Later, some preliminary site use plans were provided.

The financing of the site purchase was a bit involved. The executors of Mary Julia Baldwin's will turned over to the college treasurer \$25,000 in 1898—the residuum in cash of her estate which had been willed to the seminary. The money had been invested in the ensuing 25 years and had grown to about \$60,000 – sufficient to purchase the college site. Rather than liquidate these investments, however, the treasurer, W. H. Landes, was authorized to borrow \$20,000 from National Valley Bank to make the required down payment, then to use the funds of the maturing and past due investments to pay off in three equal parts over the next three years, the remaining \$40,000. This was done and the title to the college site was transferred to the trustees in July 1926. Minutes, BT 15 Jan. 1924. 6 July 1926.

⁴⁹ D. S. Lancaster (Secretary, State Board of Education), letters to Dr. Higgins, 17 Nov. 1927. 19 Nov. 1927. 25 Nov. 1927. Minutes, BT 17 Jan. 1928.

⁵⁰ The grey cover remained on the college catalogues until 1932, after Miss Higgins had resigned. It then became a brown cover and remained relatively plain and unadorned until 1958, when a picture was added. It was not until the late 1960s that the catalogue covers became brighter and illustrations plentiful as the catalogue became part of an aggressive recruitment package. See Catalogue, 1923. 1932. 1958. Minutes, BT 19 May 1925. 17 Jan. 1928.

⁵¹ Catalogue, 1925-26. Minutes, BT 19 May 1925.

⁵² CC 3 Apr. 1925.

⁵³ The members of the Citizens' Committee were: Judge William A. Pratt, Chair, Col. H. L. Opie, Hugh B. Sproul, A. M. Fraser, Julian A. Burruss, Rev. W. E. Davis, William H. Landes, James N. McFarland, J. M. Quarles, William H. East, Thomas Hogshead, Kimber H. Knorr, Campbell Pancake, Thomas H. Russell, Clarke Worthington, and Mrs. Emily Smith. Eight of these citizens were members of the board of trustees of Mary Baldwin College, and Mrs. Smith was a very active alumna. CC 3 Apr. 1925. Minutes, BT 7 July 1925.

⁵⁴ Minutes, SV Sept. 1924.

⁵⁵ Minutes, SV Sept.

⁵⁶ Minutes, BT 15 June 1929.

⁵⁷ Minutes, SV 1927.

⁵⁸ Minutes , SV 1928.

⁵⁹ The organization changed its name in 1896 to Mary Baldwin Alumnae Association, the school's name having been changed in 1895. Watters 199.

⁶⁰ AN 1924.

⁶¹ AN 1925.

⁶² AN 1925. The members of the executive committee were: Anne Hotchkiss Howison (Chair), resigned because of ill health and was replaced by Reba Andrews Arnold; Emily Pancake Smith (Vice-Chair), Mary Lou Bell, Augusta Bumgardner, Ruth C. Campbell, Annabelle Timberlake Hogshead, Margaret McChesney, Nancy McFarland, Carlotta Kable Morriss, Virginia Parkins, Jane Stephenson Roller and Fannie Strauss.

⁶³ AN 1925.

⁶⁴ Minutes, BT 19 May 1925. 7 July 1925. 19 Jan. 1926.

⁶⁵ AN July 1927. Minutes, SV 1926.

⁶⁶ Minutes, BT 28 Aug. 1924. 19 May 1925. 7 July 1925. An "Advisory Committee of between 80-90" prominent Americans included such names as Ray Stannard Baker, Josephus Daniels, John W. Davis, Charles W. Eliot, Douglas Southall Freeman, William Jennings Bryan, Charles Dana Gibson, Carter Glass, Armistead C. Gordon, Edward M. House, Charles Evans Hughes, Cyrus H. McCormick, Henry Morgenthau, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Alfred E. Smith . See Minutes, BT 7 July 1925. for the complete list.

⁶⁷ Minutes EC 2 April 1926.

⁶⁸ Minutes EC 4 Sept. 1925. 15 Sept. 1925. 12 Dec. 1925. 22 Dec. 1925. 19 Jan. 1926. 27 Jan. 1926. 29 Jan. 1926. 19 Feb. 1926. 2 Apr. 1926. 14 Dec. 1926. 11 Jan. 1927. Minutes, BT July 1928.

⁶⁹ Minutes, BT 17 Jan. 1928. Apparently the suggestion had been made that the entire project be dropped and the money (\$26,000) returned. Fraser described the "dilemma" this posed in the Board Minutes, BT 5 July 1927. There had been no really substantial gifts – much of the money had come from "school children" (unnamed) and thus could not be returned. On the other hand, a conservative estimate said that at least \$75,000 was needed to open and maintain the Manse after it was acquired. Minutes, BT May 1927. On 22 May 1929 (conditional approval of the sale had been made as early as 1 February 1928), the trustees of First Presbyterian Church agreed to sell the Manse to Mary Baldwin College for \$30,000 with the condition that the

college could transfer the property to a "society or corporation" which would preserve it as a "shrine." There was a specific provision that the Manse would not open to the public on Sunday. (This condition has since been rescinded.) The college paid for the property with the money collected in the campaign and the interest that had accrued during the intervening years. A subcommittee of the executive committee was responsible for the property, and Dr. Fraser lived there (rent free) until January 1931, when he was able to move elsewhere. Minutes, BT 22 May 1929. 16 June 1929. By 1930, a temporary Woodrow Wilson Birthplace "Memorial Society" had been created and on 1 July the property was transferred to them. The college, however, continued to provide annual payments toward the upkeep of the property, which was opened to the public on 31 Aug. 1931. Although many distinguished Virginians were associated with the "Memorial Society" (Harry Flood Byrd was the president; he had accepted on the condition that he not be asked to speak or to raise funds) and many devoted citizens of Staunton and Augusta County gave of their time and talents, the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace owes its existence today to three individuals; Brigadier General E. Walton Opie, Charles Catlett, and most especially Emily Pancake Smith, a devoted alumna of Mary Baldwin Seminary, President of the Garden Club of Virginia - which she persuaded to undertake to "restore" the gardens of the Manse (1931-34) - and the determined advocate of the preservation of the Manse. Finally, on 27 June 1938, the college was able to sell the Manse to the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation for \$25,000. What happens thereafter, while a fascinating story, more properly belongs to that organization's history. Minutes, BT 26 May 1930. 20 Jan. 1931. 21 Jan. 1922. 20 Jan. 1931. Deborah J. Atkinson, "Woodrow Wilson Birthplace: Preserving a Presidential Historic Site," MA thesis Wake Forest N. C., Aug. 1977, Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Archives.

⁷⁰ A. M. Fraser, letter to Edith B. Wilson, (n.d.), Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Memorial Foundation manuscript collection. Minutes SV 1928.

⁷¹ Watters 435. Minutes, BT 17 Jan. 1928. 9 Oct. 1928.

⁷² Minutes, BT 17 May 1928.

⁷³ Minutes, BT 17 Jan. 1928. 27 Jan. 1928.

⁷⁴ Minutes, EC 20 Mar. 1928.

⁷⁵ AN 1925. CC 15 Feb. 1925. It should be noted that both the alumnae and the student editorials expressed great dismay at the

closing of the seminary, but reached the same conclusion that no other course was possible.

⁷⁶ Minutes, SV Sept. 1928. Sept. 1929. Minutes, BT 9 Oct. 1928. 22 Jan. 1929.

⁷⁷ Minutes, BT 22 Jan. 1929. 15 Jan. 1930. Watters 557.

The difference between the \$78,000 "subscribed" by the alumnae (pg. 54) and the \$30,000 eventually realized (pg. 58) represents deductions for campaign expenses, unpaid pledges and the requests for the return of some monies donated because the campaigns had failed.

⁷⁸ Minutes, BT 2 July 1929. 22 Jan. 1929. Minutes SV Sept. 1929.

⁷⁹ Minutes, BT 3 July 1928. 22 Jan. 1929.

⁸⁰ Figures compiled from the Annual Reports of the Treasurer, (H. L. Landes) Minutes, BT 1928-1937.

⁸¹ It might be noted that at least one of Dr. Fraser's concerns was justified. Within two years of his appointment (1929), Dr. Jarman had essentially replaced the administrative staff and more than one-third of the faculty. Dr. Fraser had worked closely with Mr. King since 1897 and with Miss Higgins since 1916 and must have been saddened when they were so quickly (and perhaps unwillingly) replaced.

⁸² Minutes, BT 22 May 1929. It is of interest to note that the present president, Dr. Cynthia Haldenby Tyson, came to Mary Baldwin College (in 1985) from Queens College. She, like Dr. Jarman, had served Queens College as vice-president before coming to Staunton.



Lewis Wilson Jarman



Three

Another Beginning The Jarman Years 1929-1945

Dr. Fraser had tendered to the board his resignation as president of Mary Baldwin College on 9 October 1928, indicating that his term of office would expire 1 July 1929, but that, owing to the necessity of securing a "full time officer" of the college quickly so that the synod campaign might proceed, he was willing to have his resignation take effect as soon as a successor could be found. The board appointed a committee of five to consider the resignation and the proposed successor. Three months later, the committee felt it could make no recommendation about a new appointment without some guidelines. Must the new officer be a Presbyterian minister? What salary should be offered? Should the "whole situation of the college be laid before" the candidate? Should the proposed officer have administrative experience? Did they have an expense account? The board left much to the discretion of Colonel Russell's committee, requiring only that the "full time officer" be a Presbyterian minister or elder of the Presbyterian Church. No indication remains of how many candidates were interviewed or how they were nominated, but on 18 May 1929 the committee reported to the board that they recommended Dr. L. Wilson Jarman as a "suitable person" for the position of the president of the college. The recommendation was unanimously approved and Dr. Jarman agreed to take over 1 July 1929.¹

Lewis Wilson Jarman was born in Covington, Georgia, in 1880 and graduated from Emory College (today Emory University) in 1899. His later academic work was at Emory (MA 1925), where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and at Columbia University. He also held an Honorary LLD from Hampden-Sydney. There he was elected to membership in Omicron Delta Kappa (1931). He briefly taught mathematics at Granbury College, Texas (1899-92), married Laura Harris Martin in 1903, and spent the next 20 years on a Georgia plantation, farming, serving on the editorial staff of a farm journal, and involved in various banking interests. There were six children-two of whom, Laura and Alice, later graduated from Mary Baldwin College. He was an active elder in the Presbyterian Church, a commissioner to the General Assembly, and did educational survey work for the Synod of Georgia. In 1924, Dr. Jarman returned to the academic world. His interests were mathematics and astronomy and later economics and sociology. He also had pursued graduate work in administration while at Columbia. His first teaching positions were at Chicora College in Columbia, South Carolina, and then at Furman. In 1927, he was appointed vice-president and dean of instruction at Queens College in Charlotte, North Carolina. Two years later, at age 49, he was elected president of Mary Baldwin College. It was said of him that he had an "engaging personality," "splendid business ability," and a "rare combination of business administration and education." Were some of the board of trustees harkening back to their perceived memory of Mary Julia and her vaunted financial skills?

Dr. and Mrs. Jarman were energetic, active, innovative persons. Both enjoyed golf, and during his tenure the students of Mary Baldwin College were allowed privileges at the Stonewall Jackson Golf Club, of which Dr. Jarman was a member. He loved Irish setters, including one called "Scram." There were also occasional Jarman cats. He went automobile touring as far as Florida and Mexico, in an era when such long trips were still something of an adventure, and he enjoyed performing on the flute, with apparently creditable skill.² At first, the Jarmans were housed in a brick house owned by the college adjacent to the First Presbyterian Church, but in 1934, they moved into a newly redecorated "President's House" (Rose Terrace) at the top of Market Street. Here there was room for his large family, and here teas, garden parties, receptions and dinners were given for students, faculty, alumnae, parents and guests. The Jarman enter-

tainments became an integral part of campus life.³

It was something of an adjustment to have a president and his family living on the campus at Mary Baldwin College. True, Miss Baldwin, Miss Weimar, and Miss Higgins had lived there, but they were single ladies and acted as chaperones and advisors as well as principals.⁴

Dr. Fraser had been frequently on campus and had checked regularly with Miss Higgins and Mr. King. But he did not have an office on the grounds; he used his church study, across Frederick Street, for seminary/college business as well as church business, and he and his family lived in the Presbyterian Manse, later the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Museum. Dr. Jarman's initial contract in 1929 called for an annual salary of \$4500 and "home," and thus the president of the college and his family became a visible and constant presence.

This meant, of course, that office space and office staff as well would have to be found. With some shifting, Dr. Jarman was accommodated in the Administration Building, the matron's room being appropriated. It is apparent that this was accomplished only with some strain and misunderstanding. After all, Mr. King and Dean Higgins had held unchallenged sway over the office space, furniture, secretaries, college files, and financial records for many, many years. How did one divide them up? Within two weeks the executive committee of the board found it necessary to send a copy of the new by-laws "relating to the duties and power of the President" to all of the faculty and staff. The president of the college, the executive committee reminded them, is the "head" of the college, responsible for the operation of all of the departments and the official medium of communication with the board. He was to recommend to the board all faculty and staff appointments and their salaries. The executive committee thanked all members of the faculty and staff "for their splendid services in the past," and expected each "to support the new administration with complete loyalty and cooperation."⁵

Marianna Higgins found the new president difficult to work with, and apparently there was no clear understanding between them about whose responsibilities were whose. On 30 July 1929, at a special meeting of the executive committee of the board, Miss Higgins asked them to "instruct" the dean as to her duties. She appended to her request a listing of the functions she had been performing and retired to let the gentlemen discuss the problem, which was handled by asking three of their members (Sproul,

Campbell and Pilson) to meet with her to go over the by-laws.⁶ Dr. Jarman had then been president for 30 days.

Miss Higgins' difficulties were compounded by the fact that Dr. Jarman had appointed Elizabeth Pfohl as dean of women, thereby further eroding Miss Higgins' previous sphere of responsibilities. There has been the suggestion that Miss Higgins had agreed to resign after the 1929-30 term but, if so, there is nothing in the written records to confirm this.⁷ There was much on Dr. Jarman's agenda with which Miss Higgins could not agree. She was a proud woman who had been at Mary Baldwin Seminary and College since 1908 and had been, as Dr. Fraser said, the "virtual President" of the institution for six years. She had seen the seminary through World War I and through the difficult transition years of the 1920s. She had many community interests, including membership in King's Daughters' Hospital Board of Directors. She was widely known in state and regional educational circles and was respected and admired. There could be only one end to the clash of personalities and ideals, and it came on 10 March 1930, when Miss Higgins submitted her resignation to the board of trustees, not to President Jarman. She wrote, "I wish to assure you that I would do nothing to injure Mary Baldwin College, but, as you know, Mr. Jarman has taken over practically all the work which I have done in former years."⁸ The resignation was to be effective as of the first week of April, and Miss Higgins' secretary, Effie Bateman, and her "stenographer," Irene H. Wallace, resigned with her. Dr. Jarman, in response to the question of a newspaper reporter, said, "I have had no formal resignation from Miss Higgins, yet we are deeply interested in her plans for the future."⁹

It was not the custom in the 1930s to air internal college conflicts in public, and the academic community put on the best possible face in the awkward situation. J. W. H. Pilson, long-time member of the board of trustees and supporter of Miss Higgins, wrote a long, carefully worded Resolution of Appreciation in which he called her "reasonably conservative and sanely progressive." The board endorsed the Resolution and sent it to Miss Higgins.¹⁰ A sincere and somewhat emotional editorial and poem appeared in Campus Comments, indicating a "poignant sense of loss." An elaborate dinner in her honor was held at the college dining room on 31 March with Dr. Jarman acting as toastmaster, at which time Miss Higgins responded with a "brief word of thanks." However, she did not appear at the Junior-Senior Ban-

quet. The Alumnae News of April 1930 had only a restrained note of her leaving, but the Bluestocking of 1930 was dedicated to her.¹¹

Five days after the board of trustees received Miss Higgins' resignation, the Staunton News Leader announced that a new preparatory school for girls and young ladies, Beverley Hall, would open in September, and that Miss Higgins would become its principal and Miss Bateman its secretary-treasurer. The description of the curriculum reads much as the Mary Baldwin Seminary catalogue used to read, and it seems apparent that the local supporters of the old seminary hoped to revive and continue an institution that had been so much a part of Staunton and whose demise they deplored and resented. However, the early 1930s were not a propitious time to start a new school, and nothing further about Beverley Hall is mentioned in the records. It appears to have opened only briefly, and later references indicate Miss Higgins became Head Mistress of Collegiate School in Richmond (1932-33) before retiring to her home in Accomac County.¹²

One other bit of unpleasantness remained. Dr. Jarman appointed Louisa Simmons as acting registrar in April of 1930, and the executive committee of the board appointed a committee to examine the educational records of the college, which had, of course, been in Dean Higgins' keeping. They found the records woefully inadequate and "General Correspondence and Board of Trustees Correspondence destroyed...patron's correspondence gone in part...and past students' records incomplete." Miss Higgins, when consulted about this, replied in a lengthy, bitter letter, detailing her system of record keeping and explaining that she had shown all of this to Dr. Jarman before she left. On 12 May 1930, the executive committee noted that her letter and explanation had been received without further comment.¹³ Miss Simmons spent the next months organizing student records in a manner conforming to "college standard procedure."

W. W. King was the next of the Old Guard to feel the winds of change. He had been at Mary Baldwin since 1890 and was 65 years old when Dr. Jarman became president.¹⁴ No one had ever questioned his honesty, his energy, or his dedication to Mary Baldwin. Students were very fond of him, and admission to his famous "Red Head Club" was much prized. Alumnae were even more sentimental; they said, "he was a man with a loving heart." He was one of the remaining links to Mary Julia Baldwin and the "dear old Seminary." His financial reports to the board were detailed and

accurate and regularly encompassed many pages of the trustees' minutes. He single-handedly kept all the financial matters of the institution in order; operating costs, purchases, salaries and compensation, scholarships, maintenance and upkeep, the orchard, the farm, the various financial campaigns of the 1920s and the endowment funds, such as they were. It had long been the practice for the seminary, and later the college, to lend money to local individuals and businesses (usually secured by mortgages or real estate pledges) as a way of investing and profiting from surplus funds. The records seem to indicate that it had not been the practice to invest in stocks and bonds or indeed much besides local opportunities. Miss Baldwin had treated the school as an extended family, and her budget practices and financial preferences had been continued by Mr. King and the board of trustees. In the difficult decade of the 1920s, particularly as the various financial campaigns failed to reach their goals, Mr. King's reports had grown increasingly critical of the policy decisions made by the board. "I feel that it is my duty to again call your attention to the financial situation that will confront you in the operation of a college," he wrote.¹⁵ His records had been regularly audited by the treasurer of the board, but there had been no outside audits. The financial records of the college had not been kept separately from those of the seminary, and again the inevitable happened. In his mid-year report to the trustees 21 January 1930, when he had been president for six months, President Jarman recommended that the finance committee of the board survey other colleges' accounting and budget procedures and that they recommend for adoption a "system which is in keeping with the demands of modern college administration."¹⁶ On 1 July 1930, Mr. King resigned as business manager of Mary Baldwin College, but the board appointed him "Custodian of the Endowment" and manager of the orchard and outside properties, a position he held until September 1936. An outside auditor had been named for the college financial records, and Mr. King's duties in connection with the endowment were slowly eroded. He had to secure permission for any investments or changes he proposed from the finance committee, and the orchard was removed from his control in the spring of 1936.¹⁷ Mr. King died 15 April 1939, sincerely mourned by alumnae and the wider community. It is pleasant to record that, before his death, he knew that his long sought gymnasium-auditorium was in the final planning stages and would be named in his honor.

Many others on the faculty and staff found the new administration less than sympathetic with their old "seminary" ways and qualifications. In a report to the board of trustees on 26 May 1930, President Jarman indicated that out of 17 members of the faculty "eight have resigned and another's appointment would not be renewed." He added, "the result of these resignations renders possible the bringing into the faculty of men and women with the training and degrees necessary to meet the standards of the accrediting agencies....The work of the year," he continued, "had been attended with many difficulties. Entire coordination and hearty cooperation have been lacking within the organization."¹⁸ Certainly, most of these personnel changes were necessary if Mary Baldwin College were to become fully accredited, but they were obviously painful and frustrating to all concerned.

It should be stated that Dr. Jarman did indeed assume an almost impossible task when he accepted the presidency of Mary Baldwin College in July 1929. The college would embark, that September, on its first experience as a "standard" four year liberal arts college, without the enrollment and support of the seminary program. Enrollment figures were predictably down, as Mr. King had repeatedly forewarned. Dr. Jarman told the board that the college "may reasonably expect an operating deficit for a few years....," which, since the college depended almost entirely on student tuition and fees and the tenuous support from the churches of the synod, was seemingly an appropriate prophecy.¹⁹ Actually, the college operated throughout the decade of the 1930s and war years of the 40s without deficit, as it had since the days of Mary Julia Baldwin.

There were the unresolved synod-college relationship, the problem of the synod campaign, and the plans for the new college physical plant, which, in Dr. Fraser's ever optimistic phrase, "have not been abandoned...merely delayed by the failure to get the money...."²⁰ There was the still unsolved problem of the Presbyterian Manse which the college had acquired and must maintain. There were the strained community feelings over the failed campaigns and the closing of the seminary. Requests for refunds of the contributions made during these campaigns continued to be received and honored. There were faculty and administrative discontent, and student demands for more "adult" social regulations. And although no one in the summer of 1929 perceived it, there was soon to come the stock market crash of October and the ensuing decade of the Depression. The years immediately

after Dr. Jarman became president were, as he wrote, "a crucial period in the life and development of Mary Baldwin."²¹

The board of trustees and Dr. Jarman himself had their own agenda. The college had been recognized as a "standard four-year college" by the Virginia State Board of Education as soon as the seminary had been closed. But there still remained the matter of regional accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and then recognition by national accrediting agencies. Dr. Jarman understood the need for a strong, revitalized alumnae association and was most interested in instituting student government, in establishing an honor society (as a prelude to a Phi Beta Kappa chapter), and in strengthening and defining the Christian orientation of the college and its mission. He insisted on high academic standards, a dedicated, hardworking, moral faculty, and serious, committed students. Given the circumstances that existed in 1929 and the limitations of his own personality and administrative style, his and the college's successes were unexpected - and remarkable.²²

President Jarman's first task, as he saw it, was to have Mary Baldwin College accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). This required some major changes in the organization of his faculty and staff; an increase in the number and quality of the library resources; an increase to comparative minimum standards in faculty salaries; "adequate" laboratory and classroom resources; scholarship funds; an increase in the numbers of the student body and, most importantly, a "respectable" endowment fund. Within a year (by the end of the school term 1930-31), these requirements had been met. The library had expanded its holdings from 9,000 to 12,000 volumes. Since no money for additional library purchases existed, this was accomplished by appeals to alumnae, parents of students, and friends, many of whom made generous donations of books and periodicals which, when carefully winnowed, proved to be of a quality necessary for college work. The University of Virginia, Virginia State Library, and Hampden-Sydney College also sent contributions. A modest investment in more laboratory equipment was made. The faculty had been organized into departments, each headed by a "person with a Ph.D. or its equivalent." "These are teachers of broad experience and all Christian men and women," Dr. Jarman wrote. The administration now had a dean, Elizabeth Pfohl, a registrar, Martha Stackhouse, a business manager, John B. Daffin, and an assistant business manager, James T. Spillman.

The student enrollment gradually increased until by 1935 there were 308 students, and throughout the decade of the 1930s all the facilities for student housing were filled. Scholarship funds were available, especially for ministers' daughters and the daughters of Presbyterian missionaries. Faculty salaries were modestly advanced, although on several occasions in the 1930s faculty were asked to sign contracts with the provision that, if sufficient funds were not available, they would accept percentage cuts, applied equally to everyone.²³

The matter of the endowment was a bit more difficult. Dr. Fraser, as chairman of the board of trustees, reported to the Synod of Virginia in 1930 that the total assets of the college amounted to over one million dollars. Endowment from which revenue could be derived was \$442,000. The SACS required \$500,000 but agreed that they would "construe" the annual payments from the churches of the synod to the college as sufficient to make up the difference.²⁴ Consequently, Dr. Jarman made application for accreditation in the fall of 1930. A year's wait was necessary. A week's visit by an inspection team ensued ("We fed them well," observed the dean), and on 4 December 1931, when the college community was celebrating Dean Pfohl's birthday at dinner, she received a telegram from Dr. Jarman (who was off campus) announcing the application had been approved.²⁵ Formal approval came on 14 January 1932, and by 1935 (in a five-year report) President Jarman could report that the college now belonged to:

Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
 Association of America Colleges
 American Council on Education
 Athletic Federation of College Women

In addition, in 1932 the college became the second woman's college in the country to be allowed the privilege of making the annual Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award sponsored by the Southern Society of New York.²⁶

In 1938, the American Association of University Women accepted Mary Baldwin College as a member, thereby qualifying its graduates for membership.

Dr. Jarman had been hired, in part, to meet the demands of the Synod of Virginia that a "full time officer" of the college take charge of the synod's half million dollar campaign. For one reason or another, the synod campaign had been postponed annually

since 1923. Now, with their new president, the Mary Baldwin board of trustees recommended that the campaign be "held in abeyance" until Dr. Jarman had an opportunity to assess the situation. The synod agreed and recommended that individual churches continue their annual contributions, but with the provision that if they did not, no penalty ensued.²⁷ As the Depression deepened, it was obvious that no synod campaign would succeed and the matter was quietly dropped. Contributions from individual churches remained modest, and the synod - college connection became increasingly a matter of concern, in part, at least, because the synodical control of the college precluded Mary Baldwin from receiving funds from various educational foundations who preferred not to give to exclusively denominationally controlled institutions. Dr. Jarman, and before him Dr. Fraser, had repeatedly and specifically warned the synod that it could not expect to maintain a Christian woman's college of academic excellence without major financial commitments for buildings, library and laboratory space, and supplies and permanent endowment. The warnings were not heeded, and, in 1936, the board of trustees of the college requested that the synod appoint a committee to study the "origin and history" of the college-synod relationship and to "redefine and restate" the obligation of the synod to the college. The committee report in 1937 suggested further study, but presented three alternatives: (1) that the synod raise the half million dollars by 1942, the Centennial year; (2) that the synod sever all connection with Mary Baldwin and return the college to a board of trustees; (3) that Mary Baldwin become an independent college with an "affiliation" with the Presbyterian Church.²⁸ Finally, after more than two years of meetings, debates, and discussions, it was agreed by both the synod and the college that a new college charter would be sought from the Corporation Commission of Virginia and that Mary Baldwin College would be returned to an independent board of trustees, although "a close relationship" with the synod would be continued.

On 7 July 1939, the State Corporation Commission of Virginia approved the amended charter of Mary Baldwin College. Its principal provisions included the following:

(1) Mary Baldwin College was established "for the higher education of women in the various branches of literature, arts and science, including the Holy Scripture...under auspices distinctly Christian in faith and practice...all departments of the college shall be open alike to students of any religion or sect, and no

denominational or sectarian test shall be imposed in the admission of students."

(2) There were to be 28 trustees, elected for a four-year term; the board was to be self-perpetuating; trustees were all to be members in "good standing" in some "Evangelical Christian" church; two-thirds were to be Presbyterian. Ten members were to be nominated from within the "Bounds of the Synod of Virginia" and the said synod would approve their appointments. Two trustees should be nominated from the alumnae, and the Alumnae Association was to approve their appointments.

(3) All faculty were to be members in good standing of some "Evangelical Protestant" Church.³⁰

So, after seventeen years as a synodical college, Mary Baldwin returned to an independent status. The records do not show who were the principal supporters of the change, but it could not have taken place without the interest and consent of Dr. Jarman and his advisors on the board of trustees. The motive does seem to have been to secure a broader base for fund raising, and perhaps, on the synod's part, to remove an embarrassment that seemed to have no resolution. In no sense did the Synod of Virginia control any aspect of the college (curricula, appointments, financial policies, student life) after 1939, and there is little evidence to suggest that they did so during the years that Mary Baldwin was a "synodical" college. A "relationship" existed and has continued to do so. The various agencies of the church sought to encourage Presbyterian young women to enroll, and Mary Baldwin College graduates continued, as they had done in the past, to find career and lifelong commitments within the church structures as missionaries, directors of religious education, ministers' wives, lay workers, and, at a later date, ministers. The college made annual reports to the synod which were reviewed and filed. There remained modest financial contributions from the synod churches, and scholarships continued to be available for ministers' and missionaries' daughters. The church has participated, to the limit of its ability, in other financial campaigns, but essentially the college became an independent entity, charting its own path on the uncertain waters of the mid-20th century.

* * * *

Perhaps one of Dr. Jarman's greatest legacies to Mary Baldwin College was in his choice of administrative and faculty appoint-

ments. He had very definite ideas of the kinds of college personnel he sought and was fortunate that his administration coincided with a period when many well-qualified scholars and administrators were eagerly seeking work and would consider appointments to an institution with as problematic a future as Mary Baldwin College. But the truth is that there is no more difficult task than choosing faculty and staff who will "fit" the institution of which they are becoming a part, who will stay an appreciable number of years so that the benefits of experience and stability can be realized, yet who are willing to work at remaining current in their fields while enthusiastic in their commitments to good teaching. A significant number of the Jarman appointments fitted this pattern. For a school that had long been known for the excellence and dedication of its faculty, this had great importance. Almost all the old seminary ties were severed in the course of the Jarman administration, but a new generation of faculty and staff slipped into the vacancies left by Professor Eisenberg, Miss Nannie Tate, Miss Strickler, Herr Schmidt, and the others. The college was, as had been the seminary, blessed in its personnel.³¹

In many ways, Dr. Jarman was modern in his perceptions of faculty and staff. More men, including unmarried men, appeared on the faculty, and not just in the areas of music and science. Women who came to the college as single, but later wished to marry and retain their positions, were allowed to do so. Married women were hired. Husband and wife "teams" were employed. If families were begun, leaves of absence for the mothers were arranged, and the children became a part of the Mary Baldwin "family."

On the other hand, faculty were expected to be "role models" to a degree that present-day faculty would find restrictive. Modesty in dress, "moral" life-style, active church membership, wholesome recreations, community service, a willingness to participate in and support student activities outside the classroom, to be available—all of this was expected, as was the case for most small college faculties in the 1930s. However, it was Dr. Jarman who acceded to the request of the alumnae that they be represented on the board of trustees, a request which President Fraser had refused on several occasions.³²

In the early years of the Jarman presidency, the board of trustees, the administration and the faculty were all expanded, reorganized, and put on a more "professional" basis. The board, under the synod charter, had 20 trustees, divided into four

"classes." After 1939, the board had an authorized strength of 28 members but did not exceed 21 before 1946. There had been a five-member executive committee of the board since 1897, but the number and responsibilities of the standing committees grew in the Jarman years to include finance, audit, budget, dormitory, and building and grounds. The board met two times a year, in October and March. The executive committee, now six members, met five times a year, and often more frequently. As the Centennial of the college approached, President Jarman sought to engage board members more actively in the work of the institution. Attendance at the meetings was generally only fair, ranging from nine to 12 or 13. Seven was a quorum for usual business. During the restricted travel of the World War II years it was natural that those far away would have difficulty in being present, but even in the mid-1930s it was rare to have more than two-thirds of the members present. The control of the college continued to remain in largely local hands, as had been the case since the early days of the seminary. The term of office was four years, but reelection ad infinitum was possible, so board members tended to be de facto lifetime appointments. It was traditional to have the pastor of First Presbyterian Church of Staunton a member, and, in this era, he was usually president of the board. One unusual circumstance occurred: the Reverend Herbert S. Turner, pastor of Bethel Presbyterian Church in Augusta County, was appointed to the board in 1934. He remained a member until 1947, but became a part-time professor of Philosophy at the college in 1939, and full-time in 1946. He was a much-beloved member of the faculty until his retirement in 1964. It is far from customary for an active faculty member to serve on the board of trustees of the institution which employs him, but Dr. Turner was an unusual person, and apparently his dual role bothered neither him, the faculty nor the board. Indeed, he served as secretary of the board on several occasions.³³

The interest and loyalty of the members of the trustees showed that the college, as the seminary before it had been, was fortunate in its friends. Long-time members and sacrificial supporters during the Jarman years included H.T. Taylor, for many years the secretary, William H. Landes, treasurer, Charles S. Hunter, president of the National Valley Bank of Staunton, Henry St. George Tucker, Professor of Law at Washington & Lee and former Congressman, Colonel T.H. Russell, Superintendent of Staunton Military Academy, his wife, Margaret Kable Russell, the first

woman and first alumna representative on the board, Julian Burruss, president of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and H.D. Campbell, Dean of Washington & Lee College and grandson of Rufus Bailey. Dean Campbell was later succeeded by his son, Edmund D. Campbell, who served in several capacities from 1942 to 1976. Others included W.H. East, A. Erskine Miller, D. Glenn Ruckman, and Campbell Pancake, all locally prominent businessmen, J.D. Francis, President of Island Creek Coal Company, Dr. Frederick L. Brown, Professor of Physics at the University of Virginia, Mrs. H.L. Hunt, an alumna from Dallas, Texas, and the Reverend J.N. Thomas from Richmond.

Presidents of the board during Dr. Jarman's administration included The Reverend A.M. Fraser, until 1933, Hunter B. Blakely, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton until he became president of Queens College in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1940, and James D. Francis, from 1941 to 1944, then Edmund D. Campbell.³⁴ It must have been difficult to serve the first five years of one's college presidency with the former president serving as president of the board, particularly since both men, Fraser and Jarman, held strong convictions and rigorous opinions, but the records give no indication of friction between them. Certainly in the years before Dr. Jarman's health began to fail, he seems to have exerted vigorous leadership. The board evinced little criticism of his actions and perhaps felt a sense of relief that the acrimonious days of the 1920s were behind them.

As early as 1932, Dr. Jarman had projected the needs and hopes of Mary Baldwin as it prepared to enter its second one hundred years in 1942. He explained, warned, and appealed for board commitment for new buildings, new equipment, an expanded academic program, and a more diverse student body. All of these would be necessary if Mary Baldwin College were to meet the challenges of the mid-20th century. Unfortunately, the Depression and World War II imposed serious limitations on the capacity of the board to act on its president's recommendations, and the proposed actions often remained a blueprint for the future instead of a description of present realities. However, as the time approached when the synod would turn back the college to its own board of trustees, Dr. Jarman rightly perceived that board duties would increase. Not only would they now be responsible for the "program of the college," but also for providing a "continuing philosophy of education...in that the board will...through its choice...elect new members" of the board. "What," he asked, "were

the implications of membership on a board of trustees of a Christian institution of higher learning?" "There is," he answered his own question, "no more important and potential for good" than such a relationship. They and they alone assured an educational institution "permanence." They influenced its Christian orientation. "Christianity and education should be and are bound together inseparably," and the changing nature of the functions of home and churches made the role of the church colleges more significant than ever before. Church-related colleges in the near future were in "great danger" unless "men and women of consecration and vision do two things: provide intellectual and spiritual leadership...and provide funds for buildings, equipment and endowment..."³⁵ In time, Dr. Jarman began to sound like Dr. Fraser as his perception of the "acute and vital needs" of the college became more focused and his demand that the board find new sources of funding for the physical requirements of a college, which had not constructed a new building in 30 years, was heard more frequently. The average age of the buildings was 60 to 70 years, and some were much older.³⁶ Before the United States' entry into World War II put a temporary halt to these ideas, Dr. Jarman did see one major building program completed. How this came about belongs to the section on the "New Century" program.

Dr. Jarman likewise reorganized and enlarged the administrative staff, and it was here that he made some of his most fortunate appointments. In 1928, the staff had consisted of a president (who was also the chaplain), a dean, a business manager, and such support personnel as matrons, housekeepers, a nurse, etc.

In 1939, there was a president, a dean of the college, a dean of instruction, a registrar, two assistant deans of the college, a bursar/treasurer, an assistant bursar, and three secretaries. The office of chaplain had been dropped in 1929 when Dr. Fraser resigned the presidency, and it will be remembered that Dean Higgins and Mr. King both resigned in 1930. Dr. Jarman therefore had had a free hand in constructing an administration "more in keeping" with a modern college. In the early years, there was considerable blurring of duties and responsibilities among the dean of the college (who was, in reality, the dean of students), the dean of instruction, and the registrar, but gradually the functions of each were defined and the titles adjusted. In his tenth-year report to the board of trustees, Dr. Jarman reported that in 1929-31 administrative expenditures "amounted to 90% of the instruc-

tional expenditures." In 1938-39, he reported they were 40%, while the instructional expense had more than doubled.³⁷ Certainly, faculty numbers and salaries had been increased, but the administrative staff was twice as large while the student population had increased only moderately. The stage was already being set for the usual debate which is common in under-funded small colleges as to where available resources should be allocated - to faculty or administration? In the Jarman era, however, salary differentials between faculty and staff were small, and there is no evidence that the faculty or the trustees considered the administration to be top-heavy. That would come later.

Dr. Jarman had some difficulty in securing some permanency in his dean of students. He had brought Elizabeth Pfohl to the campus with him in 1929 as "Dean of Women" with the express purpose of establishing a student government association and an honor system. The following spring (1930), after Miss Higgins' resignation as dean, Miss Pfohl remained as dean of women, but no "Dean" *per se* was designated. Miss Pfohl was, however, given an "assistant," Martha Stackhouse, who came to Mary Baldwin in the summer of 1930. Both Elizabeth Pfohl and Martha Stackhouse were inexperienced and young, but enthusiastic and very gifted in both administrative and interpersonal relationships. They became good friends and worked closely and happily together. It is largely due to them that Dr. Jarman's early administration was not marred by much internal dissension. They acted as a buffer between the president and the often-disgruntled faculty and frustrated students; they softened what were unintentionally harsh pronouncements; they freed Dr. Jarman from much of the internal, day-to-day routine of the college so that he, who was a far better "outside" than an "inside" man, could get on with his agenda. But they both loyally supported his directives and joined with him in his dedication to raising academic standards and in securing financial independence for Mary Baldwin College.³⁸ Elizabeth Pfohl resigned in 1936, and there followed, in rather rapid succession, four more deans of students (often called "Dean of the College"). They were frequently members of the faculty first and often had acted as "assistants" before assuming full responsibility for student life and activities. They left to be married or to continue graduate studies or to participate in wartime duties. They were able and admired, but none had the lasting impact of Elizabeth Pfohl or Martha Grafton.³⁹



Martha Stackhouse Grafton

Dr. Jarman was fortunate far beyond his knowledge in the appointment of Martha Stackhouse (Grafton). In addition to acting as assistant to the dean, she was the registrar from 1932 to 1937, and in 1938 was appointed "Dean of Instruction," a post she held under various titles until 1970. Martha Grafton is the "Mary Julia Baldwin" of the 20th century, and the history of the college since 1930 could not be written without the inter-weaving of her quality, integrity, high standards, commitment, and common sense in all the events that have transpired since that date. There have been innumerable tributes paid to her over the years, but perhaps the one that comes closest to the truth was said by Edmund D. Campbell, as he thought back on his long association with her:

I really did not get to appreciate Martha Grafton in the fullest sense until I became a member of the Board of Trustees. I can say without equivocation that it was Martha Grafton who held the college together during this period [1940-1970]. Martha was not charismatic but she was solid. Her integrity was absolute. Her academic purposes were beyond reproach. No one could know her without trusting her. She could not do anything disloyal or "shady," she was simply incapable of doing it. And she had a love for Mary Baldwin which was something like the Rock of Gibraltar. Martha served as interim president on several occasions and the trustees always felt secure with her. I don't recall any instance in my long service on the board in which her recommendation was not followed. She was thoughtful and wise, generally wiser than members of the board, and she frequently kept us by her counsel from going on the wrong path. The college owes an outstanding debt to her.⁴⁰

Martha Grafton's task, particularly in these early days when she was also committed to home and family, was made infinitely easier by some of the other members of the administration. Marguerite Hillhouse, who came to Mary Baldwin College in 1931 as assistant registrar, was appointed registrar in 1938 and re-

mained in that position until 1970. Miss Hillhouse's passion for accuracy and detail became legendary. She and Mrs. Grafton communicated easily, worked well together, and in time could almost predict each other's thoughts. John Daffin was appointed as business manager and professor of Physics in September 1930. He now had the full load of responsibilities borne by W.W. King for so many years, and he was ably assisted by James T. Spillman, who would later succeed him. His financial and teaching skills were considerable, and his commitment to the college was unquestioned. This team, Pfohl (until 1936), Grafton, Hillhouse, Daffin, Spillman (and, after 1946, Anne Elizabeth Parker, who became dean of students), gave stability and continuity to the inner workings of the college that allowed it to survive depression, war, several presidents, and continued financial exigencies.

If there is much to admire in President Jarman's administrative staff, there is equally much to be said for his choice of faculty. After the first year, when eight of the 17 "teachers" resigned, and were sometimes pressured to do so, much more stability is apparent. Now appointees served a provisional year before winning full contracts and were carefully chosen based on their degrees and where their degrees were obtained, their skill in teaching, and their orientation toward a Christian college. By 1931, their number had grown from 17 to 26, with some administrators teaching one or more classes in addition. In 1945, at the end of the War, there were 28 full-time faculty members. The number of faculty holding Ph.D.'s had doubled since 1936, from 7 to 14. Some of the faculty from the Fraser era remained and provided a necessary transitional link between the old and the new. The Misses Abbie and Nancy McFarland, whose father, Daniel K. McFarland, had been pastor of First Presbyterian Church (1886-1892), had studied at the seminary and both were "full graduates." Nancy then went on to Cornell, and to Columbia for a Master's Degree, and later worked at Johns Hopkins. Abbie studied library science and administration at Columbia. Both sisters returned to Mary Baldwin Seminary in 1919 and remained until 1945. It is to Abbie that we owe a debt of gratitude for making the decision in the 1920s, that the library would use the Library of Congress system of classification. Nancy did yeoman service in revising the curriculum to meet college standards and taught Latin, Greek, and History to the college students. If the sisters found the transition from Fraser, Higgins, and King to Jarman difficult, they adjusted. Elizabeth Pfohl later said of them that they were

willing to "trust" and "try" new ways, and their adaptation was so successful that they were jointly awarded the Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award in 1939.⁴¹

Already a Mary Baldwin "institution" by the time Dr. Jarman appeared was Fannie Strauss – "Miss Fannie" to generations of students. She too, was a "full graduate" of the seminary, class of 1912. Later work at the University of Virginia and Chicago had secured for her a BA and MA, but she had joined the seminary faculty in 1918 and remained until her retirement in 1963. She taught Latin, German, Mythology, occasionally Mathematics, and mothered homesick students. Her academic standards were high, her patience legendary, her "brownies" memorable. A favorite treat for students and faculty children was to be invited for a ride in her horse and buggy, which she manipulated around the hills and corners of Staunton streets with masterly skill. As a child she had known Miss Weimar and Mr. King, and had worked under Miss Higgins and Dr. Fraser and was tied to Mary Baldwin College with rare devotion. For many years she was the faculty sponsor of the college annual, The Bluestocking, which regularly took high honors in intercollegiate competition. She was the treasurer and spark plug of the Alumnae Association; probably more former students wrote to her than they did to the alumnae secretaries; she sponsored the day students; she was "Miss Fannie."

Others who had served the seminary and later the college remained: Mary E. Lakenan, professor of Bible, Madmoiselle Clare Flansburgh, French; and Herr Schmidt, Music, whose chateausque home eventually was purchased by the college and is today known as Miller House.

Moreover, Dr. Jarman's administration was enriched by new faculty members, many of whom came as young men and women and chose to remain to the end of their teaching careers. Alumnae of these college years will remember with respect and admiration Mildred E. Taylor, who for many years, in addition to teaching Mathematics, Astronomy and Geology, was the college marshal. Innumerable students and even some faculty will remember being pulled out of the academic procession because shoes and dresses were not the right color, or Dr. Taylor's insistence that one's mortarboard be placed firmly flat on one's head. Her imperious whistle saw to it that all academic processions started on time, a practice that has become a Mary Baldwin College tradition. She was respected and admired by her colleagues and peers. Mary Swan Carroll taught History, Political Science, and Jour-

nalism. She sponsored Campus Comments, the weekly student newspaper which, like The Bluestocking, won innumerable intercollegiate awards, and she handled the college public relations. And then there were Thomas H. Grafton, Sociology, Economics and Religion; Carl Broman, Music; Andrew Mahler, English literature (students stood in line to sign for his Shakespeare course); Horace and Elizabeth Day, consummate artists and supreme individualists; Lillian Thomsen, who, with Mary E. Humphreys, was the Biology department. Dr. Thomsen was also the photographer for Campus Comments. There were others: Lillian Rudeseal, Economics and Commercial subjects; Catherine Mims, English; Marshall Brice, English; H. Lee Bridges, Education and Psychology; Vega Lytton, French; Elizabeth Parker, French, later dean of students (her Christmas trees were memorable); Herbert Turner, Religion and Philosophy; and Ruth McNeil, Music. This was the faculty legacy of the Jarman administration. No college could have asked for a richer inheritance.⁴²

Although Watters declares that "the question of academic freedom has never been an issue in Mary Baldwin; it is apparently taken for granted" and insisted that faculty were independent as to their teaching methods and subject content, some evidence would suggest otherwise.⁴³ Dr. Jarman, particularly in the 1930s, asked each faculty member to meet with him once a quarter to discuss his or her plans and classroom objectives. He even set aside a specific time in his schedule so that these appointments could be made. Later, as the pressure of his duties increased, he asked for faculty reports only once a semester, but he persisted. In 1934, an "Academic Council" was instituted. It was composed of deans, department heads, and the president and met irregularly to discuss curriculum and academic concerns. From time to time, Dr. Jarman would caution faculty about the necessity for a "loyal attitude" toward college regulations; i.e. they should not overlook tardiness or give make-up exams arbitrarily, or be lax in their attendance at chapel. It is true, as Watters suggests, that the Mary Baldwin faculty did not run to "agitators," and she commented that "in organization and procedure...Mary Baldwin faculty is a democratic body," but there are hints that any experiments outside a broadly accepted norm, or which clashed with Dr. Jarman's perception of a Christian college, would have been subject to criticism.⁴⁴ It would be three decades before a formal statement regarding academic freedom was included in a faculty handbook.

Dr. Jarman held faculty meetings once a month and sometimes more frequently. He presided, Miss Hillhouse kept the minutes, the deans reported, and matters of student discipline and academic affairs were discussed. After this business was concluded, members of the faculty took turns presenting programs and discussing matters of interest to themselves and their departments.

In 1930, the president had organized the faculty into 11 committees and appointed the members. Considering that there were fewer than 20 to 30 faculty members, this meant several assignments for each individual. Faculty were expected to attend chapel regularly and to contribute to chapel programs, except on Friday when, during student chapel, there was a coffee hour on back gallery. Once a year, after the May faculty meeting, President and Mrs. Jarman had the faculty to dinner, followed by some musical or other entertainment. Faculty-student relationships were encouraged by occasional "faculty shows," usually to benefit some student YWCA program, and faculty-student athletic or building fund contests, which the students usually won.

There is one curious circumstance recorded during these years of faculty minutes. Dr. Jarman became ill in November of 1937 and was absent from his duties until March of the following year, a leave granted by the executive committee of the board, which assumed his duties. But in December 1938, it was the faculty who were asked to approve a leave for Dr. Jarman for January 1939. Again, in the winter of 1940, Dr. Jarman requested the faculty to vote approval for his taking a month's vacation in February. Customarily, faculty would not pass on such matters; it would concern the board of trustees. No other such incidents appear in the records, and perhaps this was simply a courtesy request since the president had been away for extended periods - but it was unusual.⁴⁵

Although Dr. Jarman had upgraded faculty salaries to meet SACS standards early in his administration, the pressure of the Depression and the physical needs of the college were such that faculty salaries remained fairly constant. There were no automatic cost-of-living increases in those days. Once World War II began, all salaries and compensation were "frozen," and the board of trustees had to secure permission from the federal government when it sought to increase salaries by 10% in 1944-1945.⁴⁶

The era of "fringe benefits" had begun. After some discussion, a modest pension program for faculty and staff was introduced in

1935, and the retirement age was set at 65. A small sum of money (\$500) was made available for faculty research and summer study.⁴⁷ The Minutes of the faculty meeting in 1939 show that college faculty salaries were henceforth to be included in the federal Social Security Act, and faculty members were asked how they felt about it. Their answer was not recorded.

Perhaps prodded by the SACS requirements, much emphasis was placed on curriculum improvement and expansion. However, Dr. Jarman and his deans were careful to allow no courses to be offered for which suitable library and laboratory resources were not available, and some faculty were frustrated when their course proposals were denied.⁴⁸ Still, a number of experiments and changes were tried. Library Science was taught briefly (by a University of Virginia professor); a required senior course in Contemporary Thought, introduced in 1934, became the progenitor of special senior requirements that lasted until the 1960s; Latin was dropped as a graduation requirement; Domestic Science, which had been added during the early 20th century, was eliminated, as were orchestra and violin instruction. Typing and Shorthand continued to be offered but did not count toward graduation; Practice Teaching was introduced in 1930; Journalism had a good enrollment and acted as a base and resource for Campus Comments. Half-day Saturday classes were required after 1931. All students had to register for a course in oral English and had to demonstrate by their junior year competence in composition. A freshman orientation course was added. Psychology and social studies courses were expanded, as were Physical Education, and the Art Department blossomed under the supervision of the Days. By 1937, a senior comprehensive examination in the major was introduced. There were "historical pilgrimages" to Richmond and Williamsburg; art trips to Washington and New York City; an effort at exchange professorships with Hampden-Sydney; and a truly impressive annual offering of guest lecturers, musicians and political speakers, whose presentations the students were required to attend.

In 1929, Dr. Jarman proposed that the freshman, sophomore and junior students making the highest scholastic average in their respective classes be awarded modest scholarships for the following year. This is now a firmly established tradition, and the students so chosen are today known as "Hillhouse Scholars." To enhance the visibility of academic excellence, the faculty founded a "Mary Baldwin Honor Society" in 1932. Seniors and juniors were

elected by the faculty on the basis of their grade point average and their breadth of knowledge. Only ten percent of any given class could be chosen, and the importance of this selection was highlighted in a February program when a distinguished speaker addressed the entire student body. Dr. Jarman, himself newly elected to Phi Beta Kappa, undoubtedly hoped that this would pave the way for a Phi Beta Kappa chapter at Mary Baldwin College. It would, however, be almost forty years before that came to pass. In later years, an Honor Society breakfast was always given at Commencement weekend, honoring the new initiates and returning alumnae members.

By 1940 and the coming of the Second World War, Mary Baldwin College had achieved a respectable college curriculum, and the Bachelor of Arts degree (which was the only degree awarded) was well received throughout the Commonwealth.⁴⁹

There is one anomaly that seems curious. Although science and mathematics had been stressed since Mary Julia's "University" curriculum, the science tended to be of inanimate objects; i.e., Chemistry, Physics, Geology. Some early mention of "Botany" and "Physiography" at the preparatory level was made, but the first college Catalogue (1924-25) lists only Physics and Chemistry. It was not until the 1928-29 session that Biology was offered, and there was only one person to teach all three sciences - a woman, Jeannette Smith. By 1934, a pattern appears that continues until the mid-1940s. A resident physician, always a woman, was employed. Not only did she look after the students' health, but she taught Hygiene (part of the required Physical Education curriculum) and Biology as well. No man was employed to teach Biology during Dr. Jarman's tenure and for some years thereafter.⁵⁰

Dr. Jarman was totally committed, as Dr. Fraser had been, to the concept of a Christian college. This included the selection of Christian men and women as board, administration, and faculty members, and a selective admissions policy was designed to secure an "educationally efficient, socially selective, spiritually sincere" student body.⁵¹ In 1936, perhaps partly motivated by a report due to SACS and the Synod of Virginia, Dr. Jarman, the deans, and the faculty conducted an institutional evaluation which included a search for the answer to the question, "What in the total program justifies the use of the term 'Christian education'...?" While the question was difficult to answer in specific terms, some information emerged. Ninety-five percent of

the junior and senior classes said they believed the administration and faculty were "motivated by the spirit of Christian service." The features of required chapel and church attendance, required courses in Bible, the relationship with the synod soon to be modified - all of these were mentioned. One respondent suggested there was an "emphasis throughout the entire program on a Christian interpretation of life," but one paragraph sums up the earnest search for what was "unique" and "Christian" about the college:

Mary Baldwin is a small women's college in the South with an unusually cosmopolitan clientele for its size. It is housed in buildings carrying out a style of architecture representative of the Old South. Its campus is compact. The College maintains careful supervision in academic work to no neglect of the physical, social and spiritual sides of college life. It provides an atmosphere of Christian culture for the entire program. It upholds a dignified tradition with respect to the social amenities. It has a reputation for careful conservative progress in the educational world. ⁵²

At the center of all of this effort, planning, and concern was, of course, the Mary Baldwin student, no longer a seminary "girl," but a college "woman." This was perhaps the hardest transition of all for some to make and has continued to be in all the ensuing decades, as parental, community and faculty perceptions of college women shift and fluctuate. Mary Baldwin College, because of its location, is inexorably related to the City of Staunton and Augusta County.⁵³ It is located in the heart of the historic downtown. City hall is one block away from the entrance to the Administration Building, and the county courthouse only two blocks distant. Whatever goes on at the college is highly visible and viewed with proprietary approval, or disapproval, as the case may be. In the 1930s, major changes were obvious. Gone were the two rows of demure "maidens" in their uniforms and identical hats, walking sedately to church or to civic events. Now there were shortened skirts, although longer than in the 1920s, "bobbed" and permanented hair, golfers, hikers and horseback riders, young men "callers" in increasing numbers. There were students who

smoked, danced, and left town on weekends to visit men's colleges. The speed of the transition heightened the criticism of those whose memories stretched backwards to "Miss Baldwin's girls."

The students were, of course, older than the seminary students had been. Although for a few years some conditional freshmen had been accepted, most were high school graduates who presented strong liberal arts credits for admission.⁵⁴ They were usually 17-18 years old when they entered, and 21-22 by the time they graduated. Although most were Virginians, many came from other southern states, particularly North Carolina, Texas, Georgia and Alabama. Others came from Pennsylvania, New York and the Middle West. Total enrollment in 1929, Dr. Jarman's first year, was 193. Numbers declined a bit in the early thirties, but by the end of Dr. Jarman's first five years had reached 316, of whom 76 were day students. Boarding capacity in the 1930s was approximately 240, although the number fluctuated as various combinations of housing were found. Obviously, day students were of great importance to the college's financial health and academic respectability. By 1945, Dr. Jarman's last year, there were 320 students, of whom 50 were non-boarders. A problem common to many colleges of Mary Baldwin's ilk in this era was the large number of students who transferred or left college at the end of the freshman or sophomore years. Usually about 30% of the entering freshman class remained for graduation four years later, of whom a disproportionate percentage were non-boarders, i.e., local girls. The biggest attrition was always at the end of the sophomore year, and various efforts at retention occupied much faculty thought and discussion, without a marked improvement until the 1960s.⁵⁵

Soon after his inauguration, Dr. Jarman proposed that a student government association and a college honor system be instituted.⁵⁶ Miss Pfohl had been brought in for the express purpose of organizing them, and part of her difficulties with Dean Higgins stemmed from their differing views on how much responsibility for her own actions a young woman could be permitted to have. Miss Pfohl found that there was some foundation for student government already in place. Previous student organizations had provided an opportunity for experience in administration and planning. The student publications, Miscellany, dating from 1899; The Bluestocking, from 1900; and Campus Comments, from 1924, had all provided areas for student initiative. The YWCA (1894) was a very important organization in the early

years of the college; the entire student body were members, and carried on benefit fund-raising activities, sponsored public lectures and religious programs. The Athletic Association, the Literary Society, and the German (cotillion) Club had all provided occasions for student leadership. So Elizabeth Pfohl was able to move very quickly, and the first student government officers were installed on 23 October 1929. All students were declared to be members of the Association, which was governed by a council nominated and elected by the student body. No "electioneering" for office was done, the theory being that the small student body made such activity unnecessary, as everyone knew the candidates. The council had legislative, executive, and judicial powers and the responsibility of initiating rules and regulations which the students approved, governing dormitory life and social behavior. There was a faculty advisory board made up of President Jarman, *ex officio*, Dean Pfohl, Martha Stackhouse, and four faculty members, which acted as a court of appeals and as a consultative body; but the advisory board wisely allowed considerable latitude for student decision. Coincident with the student government association was to be an "Honor System," modeled on Pfohl/Stackhouse past experiences with Agnes Scott and Moravian Woman's College, and perhaps also the University of Virginia. Each fall, after freshman orientation, an impressive ceremony was, and still is, held, now called "Charter Day." As it has evolved, the ceremony now goes like this: The president of the college, having been authorized to do so by the board of trustees, gives to the president of the student government association the "Charter," extending to the students the responsibility and privilege of governing themselves as they live together in a community of college women. All entering students are then asked to pledge by their signature their agreement with the following statement:

Believing in the principles of student government, I pledge myself to uphold the ideals and regulations of the Mary Baldwin Community. I recognize the principles of honor and cooperation as the basis of our life together and shall endeavour faithfully to order my life accordingly and to encourage others to fulfill the ideals of the honor system.⁵⁷

The creation of the student government and the expansion

of its areas of influence were done slowly and deliberately. Dean Pfohl later noted that "it was interesting to me to see how careful these young women were...to be sure that they didn't expect more of the students than they thought they could really monitor." Since the student council would be concerned with regulations about dormitory living and penalties for the breaking thereof, for rules concerning social activities and dating procedures, as well as requirements for honesty in academic and personal matters (no "lying, cheating or stealing"), their area of concern was broad. Dean Pfohl continued,

...we spent many hours discussing the honor system, how it would be really implemented...I have great respect for the integrity of these students who were officers of the association. They took this more seriously than anything else they did...They were the leaders in the college and as such were looked up to with respect by the rest of the student body.⁵⁸

The honor system, particularly in regard to academic affairs, was, from the first, nourished and emphasized. Each professor was and is expected to make clear to his classes each fall how tests, projects, reports, term papers, laboratory exercises are to be done; i.e., whether with open or closed books, independently or working with others. Great care was taken to stress proper library procedures and to define plagiarism. At first, the Handbook noted, "The presence of a member of the faculty or her representative during an examination lends dignity to the examination and hence is desired," but in 1935 the faculty voted "not to remain in the rooms." Since then, tests and examinations have been given without proctors or faculty supervision. Of all the privileges and responsibilities of the Mary Baldwin College honor system, this is the most cherished and has continued to have almost unanimous support.⁵⁹

The student council included, in addition to the usual officers, six "house presidents," the presidents of the YWCA, the Athletic Association, and the Day Club, plus a freshman representative chosen after the first semester. The council met weekly and the association (all the students) met monthly. Missing an association meeting was a "call down" offense. In addition, a president's

forum, made up of class and organization presidents, met to coordinate activities and calendars. Because there were many opportunities for leadership on the campus, an elaborate point system for office holding was devised so that no one would be overburdened with non-academic responsibilities, and so that more students could participate. By 1945, the burden of council duties led to the creation of an "Executive Council" made up of three faculty and four students, a social committee, and a committee of freshman advisors. In addition, there still remained an advisory board of faculty and deans. The student government association in the 15 years of the Jarman administration moved beyond the duties of setting and enforcing regulations to active participation in freshman orientation, a major role in the "New Century" program, and to the directing of the college's World War II activities. It was an integral part of Mary Baldwin College.

Although he had originally proposed a student government association, a concept which had been part of modern college life since early in the 20th century, Dr. Jarman, who had "very strict ideas as to the conduct of students [and]...what kind of privileges should be allowed..." would frequently interpose his own wishes on the fledgling student council. The best example of this behavior comes from the prolonged debate over student smoking policies. At the very first meeting of the student government association held 14 September 1929, the constitution, or charter, and the regulations which had been proposed by the council, with the assistance of a faculty committee, were discussed and approved. The problem of students smoking arose, and was "thoroughly discussed." The minutes of the student government association best describe what happened next: "Dr. Jarman was recalled. He put the question directly, frankly, and quite fairly to the students; 'Is smoking consistent with the ideals of Mary Baldwin College?'...By a unanimous vote the student body decided that smoking was not consistent with the ideals of Mary Baldwin College and would not be indulged in while students were under the jurisdiction of the college." The students were, obviously, at a considerable disadvantage here, but Dr. Jarman did not always prevail. By 1931, after several other attempts to modify the absolute prohibition had failed, the council, although avoiding a positive statement in support of students smoking, declared that college rules prohibiting it would not be "imposed" in the Alumnae Club House, private homes, or in restaurants.⁶⁰

Other social and dress regulations changed slowly over the

years but did respond to the broader changes in society's standards. There were impassioned debates over whether or not socks (as opposed to hose) could be worn "downtown." No one in this era would have suggested bare legs. By 1945, students could "skip" breakfast, but attendance at lunch and dinner was still compulsory. They were likewise expected to "dress" for dinner. All meals were eaten together at family style table service, although by the mid-1930s faculty had a faculty area and no longer were required to act as table hostesses. One's presence at a church service of one's choice on Sunday was required, as was attendance at college chapel five times a week. Not all "chapel" services were religious. Every Monday, when he was on campus, Dr. Jarman discussed the current events of the week. Friday chapel was used for student government association business and reports. Religious services, led by faculty, students or outside speakers, were held on the other two or three days. Class rank and academic standing determined many privileges, from the number of class cuts to "away" weekends and overnights. As late as 1945, students were allowed to ride in automobiles only with approved chaperones, and students attending dances at neighboring colleges had to stay in approved houses. There was an elaborate system of "sign outs," chaperones, and parental permission slips. Perhaps the greatest change came in the activities permitted on Sundays, which had previously been reserved exclusively for Sunday school and church. Quiet hours had been from 2 to 4 pm. No victrolas were to be played, and only relatives or approved out-of-town guests could be received. But, by 1945, walking with "dates," meals in town or private homes, and afternoon tennis were allowed. A "date" was defined as a "conversation with a young man covering a period longer than 15 minutes."

Dancing had long been a part of the seminary's activities, and in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, formal "soirees" and "cotillions" had been held. Later teas, receptions, "open houses," and other formal occasions had male guests (with proper introduction), and as the college years began, carefully regulated "dating" was approved. It was not until 1936 that mixed "informal dancing," to radio or victrola, was allowed on upper back gallery. Two formal dances had been held in the dining room in Chapel Hall during 1941-1942, but it was not until the opening of the King Building, in 1942, that formal dances regularly became part of Mary Baldwin College's social calendar. Students had been permitted to attend dances elsewhere, with chaperones, since 1936.

Penalties for violations of social and dormitory regulations included "call downs," "restrictions," "campus," and for major offenses, probation, suspension and dismissal from the college. Major offenses were defined as dishonesty in academic work, drinking, being absent from the campus at night without permission, and riding in automobiles with men without permission. Major offenses were considered by the student council and the faculty advisory board, and in cases of "severe discipline" were referred to the entire faculty.⁶¹

Most of the social regulations and some of the academic ones appear quaint and even demeaning to the young women of 1990, but they were very similar in scope and expectation to those of other women's colleges of this period, and not too dissimilar to university regulations for their women students. The concept of *in loco parentis* was alive and well in the period before the 1960s. Parents and society expected a protected environment and appropriate behavior for young women. Dr. Jarman expected even more, but as long as the machinery for bringing about change existed and as long as some changes could be perceived, the students do not seem to have been particularly restive.

The 1930s also saw a changing attitude toward day students. Mary Baldwin was and is a residential college. All students were expected to live on campus in supervised housing and to eat in the college dining hall, with the exception of local young women who lived at home and were classified as "non-boarders." These day students had always played an important role. The seminary had begun primarily as a day school, and it was not until 1857, when the two wings were added to the Administration Building, that there was room for more than a few boarders. After the Civil War, the reputation of "Miss Baldwin's school" had attracted students from many southern states and elsewhere, and the "boarding" character of the seminary was established. By the time that Mary Baldwin College was chartered, in 1922, it was increasingly obvious that the "non-boarders" were an important part of the student body, financially as well as in other ways. Therefore, efforts began to incorporate them more fully into the college as a whole.⁶² Instrumental in this was Fannie Strauss, herself a "townie" and seminary graduate (1912); and, as a faculty member since 1918, she became the advisor and friend to the day students, who organized themselves into a club in November 1929. By 1930, they had a constitution, a room in the Administration Building, and were represented on the student council and the YWCA

Board. In the ensuing years, they played an increasingly important role in various college activities. They assumed responsibility for one chapel program a year, they entertained the faculty, and in the spring sponsored a tea for senior girls from the local high schools. Invitations to their homes were prized by the boarders as one means of circumventing some social regulations.⁶³

The college, as the seminary before it, had many student organizations: some of ephemeral character; others with long-lasting impact. In this era, the YWCA had "the most important influence...perhaps because we are constantly in contact with it." It had begun in October 1894, and by the 1920s Dr. Fraser could report to the synod that the entire student body belonged, although membership was "voluntary." The YWCA undertook fundraising activities for missionary and local charities, supervised the "Big Sister" program in the fall, published the Handbook yearly, sponsored the "peanut/shell" pre-exam stress relievers, held vesper services on Sunday evenings at the Chapel, gave Saturday night parties in the gym, and organized visits to the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind, Western State Hospital, the Bettie Bickle home, and the Queenie Miller orphanage. It was the YWCA which began the custom of many years' standing of students singing Christmas carols on the last evening before Christmas vacation. Only seniors were allowed to leave the grounds, and they carolled at various churches, at the hospital, and ended at Staunton Military Academy, where Mrs. Russell invited them in for hot chocolate. For several years the YWCA ran a bookstore, and World Fellowship groups encouraged consciousness of national and international issues. The YWCA president was a member of the student government association council, and its officers were among the most respected student leaders on campus.⁶⁴

Another campus-wide organization was the athletic association, organized (after some false starts) in 1919 and expanded in 1931. All students were automatically members and were at one time divided into "yellow" and "white" teams. Later there were "Irish" and "Scots" clans. Since there were no intercollegiate sports programs, the students had to be content with intramural and class contests. In 1942, the sports listed were field hockey, basketball, track, hiking, swimming, golf, tennis, horseback riding, archery, softball and baseball. These sports had "leaders" and "varsity" teams were chosen annually. Student-faculty games added to the interest. At the annual Athletic Banquet,

monogrammed sweater letters were awarded and much-prized. In addition, bowling and ping pong were available, and, at a pool table in the upper back gallery, instruction in billiards was provided by Dr. Martinez of the Spanish department. Since three years of Physical Education were required for graduation, with the third year's requirement being satisfied by participation in "elective sports," there was a ready pool of students, and college policy encouraged student voluntary participation as a means of promoting good health and providing skills which would bring enjoyment in later life. Among these could be counted horseback riding, which was very popular in the 1930s. A riding club was organized by Mr. King, who had been a skilled and devoted horseman, and some students were invited to participate in the Glenmore Hunt Club events. Dr. Jarman was an enthusiastic golfer, and during his administration students and faculty were encouraged to develop skills in this area. Tennis, which has been of major interest since the 1960s, had been introduced before 1900 and had a steady but small following. Perhaps the sport that excited the most enthusiastic support in the 1930s and which would appear a curiosity to our students of the 1990s was "tramping" or hiking. Campus Comments regularly reported Saturday afternoon expeditions and adventures, as groups of thirty or more students and faculty walked to the "Tea Room" at the "Triangle," to Betsy Bell, Fort Defiance, the "Orchard" (now Baldwin Acres), or simply started out on Churchville Avenue and went across country wherever their spirits took them. It was not unusual to hike for 10 or 15 miles and to enjoy a picnic supper at the end. In the later 1940s, student groups would even occasionally hike to "Chip Inn" at Stuarts Draft. There were fewer automobiles on the roads, the Valley had great beauty, no particular skill was involved in these walks, and they were very popular. The students of the 1990s who jog along our crowded streets and scarce sidewalks are the inheritors of this tradition.⁶⁵

During these early college years, there were many student clubs and associations, some of which had originated in seminary days, others emerging as appropriate for college life. Several were associated with academic subjects, such as the Art Club, the Dramatic Club (previously called "Sock and Buskin" "Curtain Callers" and "Green Masque"), the Glee Club, the Modern Language Club, the Science Club, the Psychology Club, the Music Club, and the Garden Club which was associated with Botany classes. For several years a Debating Club, sponsored by Martha

Grafton, flourished and provided a touch of intercollegiate competition as teams from Bridgewater, Hampden-Sydney, the University of Virginia, and even Cambridge, England, on one occasion, earnestly presented the pro's and con's of such questions as "Is co-education desirable?"; "The emergence of women from the home is to be deplored," "Should utility rather than culture be the basis of a college curriculum?"; and "Should students help achieve world disarmament?" Eventually the debaters were absorbed into the International Relations Club. Mock campus elections were held in 1936 and 1940. Franklin D. Roosevelt won on both occasions.

Each college class was organized with appropriate class officers, and classes were paired as "sisters" (freshmen-juniors; sophomores-seniors) and sponsored teas, receptions and dinners for each other. In the beginning of the college years, there had been state and regional clubs, but they were disbanded in the early 1930s. However, "Little Sisters/Granddaughters Clubs" flourished in these years. Another monthly event was the birthday dinner given for all students born in that month. Tables were decorated, horoscopes were read, and "Happy Birthday to You" was permitted on this occasion - and on this occasion only.⁶⁶

One tradition that had begun in seminary days was "Rat Day." This involved sophomore "hazing" of the freshman class and took place shortly after freshman orientation was completed. The freshmen had to make the sophomores' beds, clean rooms, shine shoes. They had to wear black stockings and red and gold ribbons in their braided hair, carry eggs and have them autographed, eat their meals only with a knife or their hands, and generally "hop when the sophomores said hop." By 1940, such activities did not seem in keeping with the seriousness of the year's events nor the dignity of college students, and the sophomores instead invited the entire college to a picnic honoring the freshman class. Classes were dismissed for the day, and there were athletic contests, skits and songs. The freshmen were then declared full-fledged members of Mary Baldwin College. At first, the picnic was held at Crafton's Park, Sherando, or Massanutten Caverns, but by 1942, with wartime labor shortages inspiring the change, the picnic was moved to the college orchard and the students, having walked the two miles there, then picked over 1,000 bushels of apples. Although the term "Apple Day" was not yet applied to this event (students were at a loss as to what it should be called and referred to it as "freshman-sophomore day"), this is the origin of one of the

most popular fall events at the college.⁶⁷

There were three major publications (four if the Handbook is counted) directed and organized by the students. The oldest was the yearbook, beginning as the Augusta Seminary Annual. Its name was changed to Souvenir in 1899, and it was renamed The Bluestocking in 1900. Apparently the name was not favored by Miss Weimar because the following year it was entitled "Baldwin's"; but in 1902, the student preference prevailed, and it has been The Bluestocking ever since. Traditionally it had been the responsibility of the junior class, and for many years Fannie Strauss was the invaluable advisor.

The Miscellany (the title appeared in 1899) was the student literary magazine. Like The Bluestocking, it was the child of the seminary Literary Society (1898-1929). In the early years, class essays, alumnae news items, poems and parodies appeared, but by the college years, the present format as a magazine had emerged. Exchanges with other college magazines had been arranged, and it was an important avenue for student artistic and literary expression.

Campus Comments made its rather hesitant appearance as the student newspaper in 1924, claiming to be the "child" of the Miscellany. Apparently, Dean Higgins had some doubts about the wisdom of this venture. Her report on the matter to the board of trustees says that the student newspaper "calls attention to the eccentricities of all of us living on the campus," and the first editorial says, "In order to carry out our policy of freer expression of our thoughts, the circulation is to be limited to the campus only - no circulation outside the walls, and no exchange..." After the first year, no issues appeared until 1926, but as the college identity emerged, the publication became more valued, and by the 1930s was requesting parent subscriptions, so apparently the prohibition of circulation beyond the campus had been dropped. In the 1930s, the sponsor of Campus Comments was the indefatigable Mary Swan Carroll. After 1939, Dr. Lillian Thomsen provided most of the photographs used in the newspaper.

The editors and business managers of all three publications were elected by the student body and were members of the president's forum. Their budgets were met in part by portions of the students' activities fees, and in part by various fund-raising activities, such as waffle and strawberry breakfasts. As college publications, all of them were members of the Virginia Intercollegiate and National Associated Collegiate Press Associa-

tions and in the Jarman era won many first place and high honor awards.⁶⁸

As if all this activity were not enough to keep about 300 young women busy—presumably they were also studying, as well—there were annual "special events," which provided a break in the daily routine and reinforced the college's efforts to adapt and absorb the seminary traditions. Some of these events would not seem appropriate college activities today, and have since been discontinued, but they were again very similar to the activities at other women's colleges of this era. When one talks to alumnae, there is no doubt that these special times are cherished in their memories.

Early in October, the college celebrated what came to be known as "Founders' Day." Since 1898, the year after Mary Julia Baldwin's death, the seminary had observed a holiday on the 4th of October, which was her birthday. There were carriage rides, picnics, hikes, wreath laying at Miss Baldwin's grave, and songs and prayers. By 1904, the alumnae decided to use this occasion as their "Homecoming," and there were reunions, reminiscences, luncheons and tea parties for the "old girls." On the centennial of Miss Baldwin's birth, and coincidentally the first year without the seminary, the Jarman administration decided that this would be an appropriate time to invest the 14 seniors, the class of 1930, with their caps and gowns. An elaborate ceremony was held in front of Hill Top with the entire student body present. Each senior had two attendants dressed in white; the faculty processed in full regalia; and the seniors were robed and capped by the president. The seniors thereafter wore their caps and gowns to Chapel five times a week. By 1932, the "Ivy Ceremony" was added, in which the class officers planted ivy as a symbol of enduring values and the "Ivy Song" and class songs were sung; in 1933 the first outside speaker, Bishop J. K. Pfohl, was added to the program. Partly because Dean Henry D. Campbell (the grandson of Rufus Bailey) was chairman of the college's board of trustees, and because the college's centennial was approaching (1942), the first "founder" of the college was "rediscovered." The orientation since the latter part of the 19th century had been toward Miss Baldwin, but by 1941, the October 4th investiture ceremony was called Founders' Day, honoring both Rufus Bailey and Mary Julia Baldwin.⁶⁹

The next major event on the college calendar was Thanksgiving. Only Thanksgiving day was a holiday. Students who cut classes before or after a holiday were charged double cuts; but, in

any case, few of them were able to go home, given the transportation realities of the 1930s. The college always had a family style Thanksgiving dinner, athletic contests, especially basketball, and a special chapel service. Queenie Miller, a black woman who had begun an orphanage in Staunton in 1910 and had cared for more than 200 children in the intervening years, was always invited by the YWCA to bring some of the children with her for the Friday Chapel after Thanksgiving. They sang and presented skits, and it was universally agreed that this was one of the favorite chapel programs of the year. The YWCA made regular donations of food, clothing and funds to the Miller Orphanage.⁷⁰

Close on Thanksgiving festivities came the Christmas observances. In addition to carolling, there was a party given by the faculty and students for all the college employees; Christmas baskets were collected for needy families and for mountain children, and there was an elegant, formal Christmas dinner, with prizes for the best decorated tables. Then, there was the excitement of packing and train tickets and the first visit home for many of the students since they had left in September.

Examinations were held toward the end of January, a new semester was begun, there was a week's spring vacation (until the war years, when it was curtailed), and the year culminated in the four-day commencement activities, which were reduced to three days in the 1940s. All of the students remained, unlike the custom of today, and, in the more leisurely world of 50 years ago, the event proceeded with dignity and decorum, except when youthful exuberance burst forth. There were art exhibits, faculty and student concerts, a "high tea" given by the Jarman and the deans, and a garden party on the front terrace. The seniors were entertained at a breakfast by their class sponsors. There were elaborate "class day" and "May Day" ceremonies. The May Queen, her attendants, and her court consisting of all the seniors were entertained by the remainder of the student body in an elaborate pageant, combining acting, dancing, singing, oration - an effort that took most of the spring to devise and rehearse. The themes were varied and appear to us today as very "non-collegiate," such as Mother Goose, Alice in Wonderland, Pandora, Virginiana, Americana, and Fiesta. Class Day involved a laurel chain, white dresses and red roses, and attendants who held shepherds' crooks forming a flowering aisle through which the seniors marched. The class gift was presented. One such gift, in 1929, was a stone bench to be placed on the front terrace, whose use was reserved only for seniors. It

is still there, but as the center of the campus has shifted inward and upward, it is now seldom used. The class colors were presented to a representative from the incoming freshman class, and class songs were sung. Sunday Baccalaureate, with full academic procession and the seniors in their caps and gowns, was held at the First Presbyterian Church, followed by Sunday dinner for family and friends and a "senior farewell" vesper service conducted by the YWCA. Monday was Alumnae Day, and the seniors were entertained at their banquet, and on Tuesday the Commencement exercises were held, with everyone kept in order and on time by the faculty marshal, Dr. Mildred Taylor. These events were somewhat compressed during the war years, but the May Queen and her pageant, the shepherds' crooks and the passing of class colors, continued through the decade of the 50s.⁷¹

This long, lingering farewell is perhaps indicative of one of the great strengths of the early years of the college. These were young women of the depression and war years, and there are many indications that they were serious about their responsibilities, their futures, their careers, their marriages and their obligations as citizens. But they were also young and healthy and fun loving. They developed lifelong friendships. They gave each other surprise birthday parties, shared boxes from home, attended football games and dances, anxiously waited for young men to call, gossiped and laughed. They played bridge in the Club, haunted the post office for mail, cried over movie heroines, worried about their weight (the use of a rolling pin was suggested as a help in reducing), and kept careful note of the engagement rings that appeared after each holiday. One cannot help but be impressed with the many long hours they spent decorating for their social occasions, creating "tableaux," finding properties for plays, preparing programs and fudge. Their relationships with the faculty, who frequently had teas and suppers for their classes, were often close, and alumnae never return to the campus without looking up their favorite "teachers." There was also real affection for the college employees — Mary Scott, Mr. "Bill" Crone (everyone's friend), "Fru" (a maid in Hill Top), and Carrie, the head waitress for fifteen years. All were, from time to time, featured in Campus Comments. Mrs. Stollenwork, the hostess who met the young men who called for their dates, was respected and admired and hoodwinked when possible, though it seldom was. The successive deans became friends rather than authority figures, and some were recalled with love by alumnae a quarter century or more

after they had left the college. In many ways, it was a small, closed world—the college campus of the 30s. There were not the modern distractions of automobiles (an early Campus Comments article describes the automobiles owned by five faculty members with something akin to awe), of television, of rapid transportation, of social freedoms, then undreamed of. Their world was themselves, and it is impossible to read their records without a touch of nostalgic sadness for a time of innocence long vanished.⁷²

* * * *

It should not be inferred from the above comments that the college was indifferent to the momentous events of the 1930s. By means of visiting lecturers, chapel programs, faculty efforts, the debate teams, the International Relations Club, the YWCA and Campus Comments, students were encouraged to broaden their social and political concerns, and many did. Their attention focused on the Depression, the "race problem," the missionary efforts in China and Korea, the "peace" movement, as well as knowledge and better understanding of "Bolshevism," the Chinese civil war, and European culture and crises.

Comments about the Depression largely centered on the elections of 1932 and 1936 and how the respective candidates would remedy the situation. Dr. Jarman's chapel lectures on causes and cures and on working hard at college so that one's education would justify one's parents' "sacrifices" continued the theme. A student analysis in 1931 indicated that, among the students' fathers' occupations, there were three in the Army/Navy; 64 in "general business"; four teachers; five dentists; 13 medical doctors; nine "railroad men"; 12 bankers, five in real estate; six newspaper editors; eight ministers; eight manufacturers and 16 lawyers - a middle class group, who could still afford to send their daughters to a private college. Mary Baldwin did provide modest scholarship help and free tuition for Presbyterian ministers' and missionaries' daughters, and by the mid-1930s some students received FERA and NYA funds. There were very few other scholarships derived from some generous alumnae trust funds, but Dr. Jarman quickly began to stress the need for more scholarship money.⁷³

If there is not a great deal of evidence that the Depression was a frequent topic of conversation among students – faculty, administration and board of trustees were naturally very con-

cerned—the same is not true of the "Peace Movement" of the 1930s. In the years between the wars, Armistice Day had always been an important occasion. It was not a school holiday, but there were always special chapel speakers, and in the early 1930s students would participate in the parade held in downtown Staunton. However, as the decade progressed, Armistice Day became the focus of the "Peace Movement"—a largely college student inspired effort to reject any U.S. participation in future wars. Sponsored by the American Youth Congress, a controversial organization at one time supported by Eleanor Roosevelt, it sought to curb ROTC units on college campuses, held yearly conventions, parades, and demonstrations, and used tactics not unlike those employed in the 1960s and early 70s – if somewhat more subdued. Mary Baldwin students were not immune to these views: chapel programs on disarmament and peace were presented; telegrams were sent to the President of the U.S. and the Secretary of State; Mary Baldwin students attended the National Student Federation of America meetings and reported back on "peace efforts." A Campus Comments editorial expressed the opinion that colleges were "used" in World War I. (One assumes this refers to propaganda efforts.) We should "refuse to support the American government in any war they undertake," the editorial continued. In 1937, the opinion that "any war is wrong" was expressed; we are against "militaristic and jingoistic propaganda." In October 1939, a month after the war in Europe began, a reprint editorial from California, "Why should I fight - I ain't mad at anybody," appeared. There is no way to gauge how much these editorial opinions were shared by the student body as a whole and how much they merely reflected the isolationist sentiment prevalent in the country in the 1930s. Certainly there were no sit-ins or demonstrations, and Mary Baldwin had no ROTC to criticize. There were no letters to the editor pro or con, and perhaps it can be inferred that the majority of the students were non-committal. By 1941, the orientation was changing. A Campus Comments editorial (2 February 1941) declared that the American Youth Congress was "one of the most unpopular youth organizations in America," and on 4 April 1941, a later editorial criticized women who had protested the passage of HR Bill 1776 (Lend-Lease); the protest "made women as a whole...[look like]...foolish sentimentalists as well as brainless ninnies." Fathers, brothers and fiancés were subject to the draft after 1940, and campus opinions changed rapidly after the "blitzkrieg" victories of that year.⁷⁴

If Depression and peace were largely student editors' concerns, there does seem to have been a somewhat broader interest in a subject most Americans in this era paid little attention to; the concerns of America's black citizens. The chief spark plug of this awareness was the YWCA, which, as early as 1930, sponsored a discussion led by the World Fellowship Committee on "race relations." In 1931, a student representing Mary Baldwin attended the Virginia Student Volunteer Union meeting in Farmville, Virginia, where addresses on India, China, the Muslim World and U.S. relations were discussed—the latter by William M. Cooper of Hampton Institute. This implies a racially-mixed meeting, which at this early date in a southern state was unusual. By 1934, the National Student Federation of America, of which Mary Baldwin College was a member, was calling for an end to racial prejudice, and in November of that year Mary Baldwin delegates attended an interracial Youth Council meeting at Randolph-Macon College, where they hoped to plan a state-wide meeting, no further mention of which is made. The YWCA's relationship with Queenie Miller and her Franklin Hill orphanage has already been noted and, during World War II, Mary Baldwin students packed special kits for black soldiers and declared "racial justice" to be a war aim; but they suggested that economic and political justice could come without "intermingling" on the social scale. These perceptions, not unlike those of most of Middle America, do suggest an increasing sensitivity to the "American Dilemma."⁷⁵

The student interest likewise focused on the special ties which the seminary, and later the college, had long had with some specific missionary efforts. In 1882, Charlotte Kemper, who had taught at the seminary for eleven years, felt called to a missionary life in Lauras, Brazil, where she stayed until her death in 1926. She was later joined by Ruth See, an alumna. The seminary and later the college girls remained interested and supportive of the Brazil "connection." Perhaps even greater concern focused on the activities of Mary Baldwin alumnae in China, Korea and Japan. Founded in 1912, in Kunsan, Korea, by alumna Libby Alby Bull, the "Mary Baldwin School for Girls" was a major factor in spreading the Christian faith and intellectual activities to girls and women in a society that did not consider females worthy of such attention. The Kunsan school was forced to close in the early 1940s during the Shinto Shrine Controversy. Reopened in the late 1950s, the school's original buildings were destroyed during

the Korean War, and thereafter it was run under Korean ownership. In China, Agnes and Lily Woods worked and supported the Martha Riddle School (named after a beloved seminary history teacher) in Hwaiianfu. It, too, became a victim of war, in this case the Chinese Civil War of the 1920s and the Japanese invasion of the 1930s. Pictures of the ruins appeared in the Alumnae Bulletin, and letters describing the turmoil appeared in Campus Comments and piqued the students' interest and support. There were many alumnae who were missionaries. In 1924, the Bulletin listed over 25 who were at that time active in the mission field, and there had been many before them and since. Their daughters and granddaughters frequently returned to attend the seminary and college and often became second and third generation missionaries in their turn. With the help of the YWCA, these schools and many other missionary activities were supported by Mary Baldwin College students in the 1930s. The Second World War put a temporary end to these activities, but many were later resumed.⁷⁶

Other stimuli led the students toward an interest in the world around them. The faculty had recommended in 1932 that two foreign exchange students a year be allowed to attend Mary Baldwin, and arrangements made through the Institute of International Education brought Ruth Laue of Konigsberg, East Prussia, and Jeanne-Renee Campana of Paris to the college in 1933-34. There was much student interest in them and they were vocal and assertive—far more interested in international issues than their American counterparts. It is possible to suggest, as one reads the Campus Comments and the Miscellany, that German-French animosity was reflected in their relationships. They joined the debating team, they gave programs to civic clubs, wrote for college publications, and enlivened dormitory conversations. Jeanne-Renee defended the French position on the war debts controversy, and Ruth had pictures of Frederick the Great, Paul von Hindenberg, and Adolf Hitler in her room. This was 1933, and what was occurring in Germany became, of course, a matter of increasing concern. But Professor Schmidt, who made frequent visits to Germany and Austria, and other college faculty and students who visited there, failed, as did most of their contemporaries, to recognize the implications of National Socialism. One later exchange student, Rudolfa Schorchtova (1935) from Prague was deemed to have enough college credits to be allowed to graduate from Mary Baldwin in 1936. She returned to Czechoslovakia to begin graduate work. As Dr. Watters reports, she wrote

back to her friends in Staunton, "I wish I could come back again...one does not meet so much goodwill anywhere..." and Watters adds (in 1942) "and now - one wonders." In April 1946, word had come from Ruda, the first since the German occupation of her homeland in 1938. She wrote, "This is a letter of thanks to all American women who by their courage and high ideals of democracy have helped to win the war. After the years of hell we have gone through...I want to tell you that the ideals of Mary Baldwin have helped me carry on; and have inspired me to 'high endeavor', as we sang...we are happy - happy in our newly found sense of freedom..." Poor Ruda - her sense of freedom was soon shattered (this time by the Russians). Brief reference to her death is noted in the Alumnae Newsletter of 1954.⁷⁷

Other exchange students came in the 1930s; another French girl, one from Uruguay, from Puerto Rico, from Mexico. They helped with French and Spanish and set a precedent for the years after World War II, when others would follow in their footsteps.

The faculty and administration did take seriously their responsibility in teaching their students about the purpose and function of the church related liberal arts college education for young women. Dean Elizabeth E. Hoon's report in 1936-37 declared:

It was to reflect the right of a woman to the highest possible individual development intellectual, moral, social and physical to the end that she may be the best kind of woman; secondly, the right of a woman to the highest social development in the sense of responsibility to and realization of the group in which she finds herself the family, the community, and the state.⁷⁸

Pursuant to this aim, Dr. Jarman reported to the seniors that Mary Baldwin alumnae were teaching, involved in social work, were librarians, musicians and "designers"; a later program discussed salary levels for those working with and without a college degree and concluded college did "pay." Two-thirds of all women college graduates who were in the labor force were employed either in teaching or "clerical work," it was reported. In 1935, a series of chapel programs brought speakers to the cam-

pus to discuss "Women in Journalism," "Women in Medicine," careers in fashion, retailing and business women as an "asset to the world." In 1938, another two-week chapel series discussed vocations for women (including teaching, which provided a "kind of immortality") and "homemaking" by former Dean Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell. Dr. Jarman concluded the series with some pithy observations on "Education as a Vocation." Seventy-five percent of all Mary Baldwin girls "eventually marry," he reported, but "twenty-five percent will never marry...Each added degree decreases the number of men you would be interested in and who would be interested in you...teach in a town that is not too large if you want to get a husband," he advised. In a later report to the board of trustees, Dr. Jarman expanded these views:

The goal of Mary Baldwin College, is to foster a type of personality; the goal is neither a business woman, nor a mother or even the scholar, but the person, resourceful, attractive and service minded, fitted with habits and attitudes, interests and ideals that qualify her for the good life in her chosen community... Thus it is through their influences on their husband and children that their lives count in society at large.⁷⁹

The Mary Baldwin College women of the 1930s seemed to be getting some mixed signals about careers and marriage, and it is apparent that Dr. Jarman and Dr. Fraser had similar views about women's roles, even if Dr. Jarman's was a bit more flexible. But in the 1940s (if briefly) many new fields of endeavor opened for women, and the college encouraged them to take advantage of these opportunities.

* * * *

An indispensable partner in the well-being of any college is its active and dedicated alumnae. Dr. Jarman and Margaret Kable Russell worked very hard during these early college years to organize and expand alumnae activities. In 1925, Dr. Fraser, while dealing with the uncomfortable realities of the alumnae campaign, had perceptively pointed out the handicap under which

the Alumnae Association labored. All of the alumnae (until 1924) were graduates of the seminary, not the college. Many had attended the school for two years or less; others had entered as "little girls" and had gone elsewhere for their more advanced education. Thus, almost all alumnae had divided loyalties, having attended more than one school. And, of course, they were women, most of whose husbands had their own colleges and universities to support. Until very recent years, family support for educational institutions has very heavily favored the husband's alma mater. The Mary Baldwin alumnae were widely scattered geographically which made the formation and sustaining of local chapters difficult, and limited those who had the time and energy to visit their old school. Until the campaigns of the 1920s, the alumnae had never been asked to do anything for the college; their meetings had been for fellowship and reminiscence. Their dues were \$1.00 a year, and there had been no other sources of financial support. There was not even a satisfactory directory or record of previous students, and many were "lost." Although valiant efforts had been made during the 1925-28 fund-raising projects to create an alumnae association more in keeping with a college, the failures of the campaigns (particularly their own) had dampened alumnae spirits and lowered their morale. In 1926, there were about 5800 living alumnae. Addresses had been secured for a little more than half of them, and only 700 were dues-paying members. By 1929, when Dr. Jarman came, the active members numbered about 1,000, due largely to the determined efforts of Margaret Kable Russell, president of the National Association, and Fannie Strauss, treasurer; but the organization desperately needed a sense of purpose and direction.⁸⁰ This they received from the new president, who was keenly aware of the need to revitalize alumnae spirit. The board of trustees continued to provide \$1200 a year support (a practice begun in 1927), and Dr. Jarman provided office space, at first in the Administration Building and later in a rented and eventually purchased building which became the Alumnae "Club House." In addition, a full-time "executive secretary" was employed and the alumnae records were made part of the official archives of the college. Mrs. Russell had insisted that an "educated Alumna is an interested Alumna" and regular publications, called variously "Newsletters" and "Bulletins," with illustrations, messages from the administration, chapter news, and other pertinent information were created to make this slogan a reality. A new constitution had been approved

in 1929, and another in 1932. A Directory was published in 1930. A program of sending birthday cards (begun by Mary Benham Mitchell Black and Dorothy Hisey Bridges) was continued and expanded. Alumnae were invited to return to the campus on two special occasions during the year: Mary Julia Baldwin's birthday (October 4th) and Commencement Weekend.

In 1935 and again in 1936, a very ambitious program called "Alumnae Weekend" was introduced. This was held in March with a series of lectures by faculty and others, concerts, exhibits and chapel programs. The first "weekend" had the theme of "America in a Changing World." Eighty-four alumnae attended. The second, called "Toward an Understanding of our Present World," had 61 registrants. The scholarly papers were published in the Bulletins, as was a reading list, and this attempt at "adult education" was launched with idealistic hopes and energies. Unfortunately, the numbers of those who were able to come were not sufficient to support the costs, and no other "weekends" were held until after World War II, although the idea has never been totally abandoned and many variations have since been tried.⁸¹

Local chapters have waxed and waned in number and enthusiasm. In 1928, there were 15 "active" local chapters. Forty-two chapters were listed in 1941, but due to war conditions only four of these (Washington, Norfolk, Richmond and Staunton) survived by 1945. By far the most active chapters were, naturally, the local ones—Staunton, Waynesboro and Augusta County (variously combined and separated). Although not officially organized as a "chapter" until 1914, the local alumnae were the center of the "Home Association," and in the early years distinguishing the local from the "national" organization was often difficult, since the same women participated in both groups.⁸² The Staunton chapter had taken the lead in supporting the alumnae campaigns of the 1920s and was an ever-present help in the 1930s. The distinguished lecture and concert series of that decade were often initiated and subsidized by them. They brought Amelia Earhart, Helen Keller, Lowell Thomas, and the Don Cossack Chorus to the campus. They entertained the "granddaughters and little sisters" (legacy students), acted as hostesses for the annual alumnae meetings, and were the bridge between the college and the community. Many were local women who had been seminary "girls"; others were seminary and college students who met and married local men. Indefatigable in their loyalty and devotion to the college were Margaret Kable Russell, Emily Pancake Smith

and Fannie Strauss, and so many of their contemporaries that listing is impossible.

One of the most important projects of the Alumnae Association in the 1930s was the "Club House." It is hard to imagine how the students' need for a social center could have been met without it, although the original purpose seems to have been more as office space for the alumnae executive secretary and a quiet room for visiting alumnae, than as a student club. The house was on the corner of New and Frederick; it later became the Biology building, and later the home of the Adult Degree Program offices. It had belonged to Margaret Cochran, an alumna, and in 1931, when the college loaned the Alumnae Association the money to rent it, it became a student haven, as well. Although they could not entertain "dates" there, there was a "tea room" which served sandwiches, Coca-Cola, and desserts; one could play bridge, read magazines, smoke (the only place on campus where a student could), and listen to the radio. In 1936, an "automatic Victrola," which a later generation would call a "jukebox," was installed, the club receiving 25% of the proceeds of the nickels charged for each record. This soon proved to be one of the largest sources of revenue. Upstairs bedrooms were rented to visiting alumnae, and "The Club" was used for alumnae chapter meetings and social occasions, and just as a place to "drop in" while shopping downtown. There was much painting and papering. In 1937, two new davenports, three overstuffed chairs, two mirrors, two single beds, two chests of drawers, and curtains cost \$137.15, plus some old furniture which was traded in, and when the college purchased the property in 1937 for \$14,000, the alumnae could report they were out of debt and had sufficient income to pay a full-time manager and to cover operating expenses. There was a student government committee which shared with the alumnae the making and enforcing of house rules, and the alumnae perceived the student contact as a very useful way of encouraging students to support the college after their graduation. Other than "The Club," student social life was confined to the college parlors which were also redecorated in this decade with alumnae assistance; the Upper Back Gallery; the "long room" where they played Ping-Pong and billiards; the stairways in the Administration Building; and the outside front terraces. So the "Club" was a much-needed asset, and the alumnae undertaking of this ambitious project was much appreciated.⁸³

Money was scarce during the Depression years. Often the one-

dollar-a-year alumnae dues dropped off alarmingly, and the publication costs of the Bulletin were hard to cover. In an effort to raise additional funds, the Association devised one of its most successful projects: Emily Smith was chairman of the "Plate Committee," and, in 1936, arrangements were made to secure Wedgwood dinner plates in four colors, blue, mulberry, green and sepia, with a floral border and a picture of the Administration Building in the middle. They were to be a "sentimental reminder of happy school days—ideal for...wedding or Christmas presents." They were \$1.50 each or \$15.00 a dozen. They were an immediate success, and several reorders were made before World War II temporarily brought the supply to a halt.⁸⁴

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Returning alumnae would see modest changes and improvements to the physical plant in the 1930s, although no major building program could be undertaken. The college campus, four acres in size at the time of Mary Julia's death, was not much greater thirty years later. One of the priorities of the Jarman administration was to acquire ownership of all the remaining non-college properties bounded by Frederick, New, Academy and Market Streets. In the 1930s there were small privately owned frame houses behind Memorial, all along Academy and between Rose Terrace and Academy Street. All of this property was finally purchased by 1940. In addition, the college held title to and provided upkeep expenses for the Manse (the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace) from 1929-39. The college still owned the 200+ acres on the north end of town—the apple orchard—which had been the hoped-for new site of the college and was to be sold in 1944, and the property on North Augusta Street which had been Miss Baldwin's "farm."

There was also a house across Frederick Street, next to the First Presbyterian Church, called the "Teachers House" (later Fraser Hall) which had been owned by Miss Baldwin.

As the student enrollment increased, it became imperative that more dormitory space be secured. Students were housed in Fraser Hall, where the Graftons occupied a downstairs apartment, in the Chapel building, in Main, in Sky High, which also housed the totally inadequate gymnasium and the pool, and after 1935, in Riddle Hall, a large house across New Street, purchased for \$15,000. Still, the need for new dormitory space was an ever-

present concern throughout the Jarman era.

Even more necessary was more classroom and laboratory space and room for expanded library needs. Something absolutely had to be done to relieve the congestion and the noise in Academic, which not only housed the library (on the second floor), but music and practice rooms, lecture rooms and laboratories! The first to go were the music rooms, moved temporarily to two small buildings on North New Street, later to Riddle, and then in 1941, to the Schmidt House, which is now called Miller and is used for Development and Institutional Planning. The laboratories for Chemistry and Physics were housed, after 1936, in a building on the corner of Market and Frederick (originally the Beckler House), simply called the Chemistry, or Science Building, and the library was allowed to expand to part of the third floor of Academic, where some faculty offices were also provided. After 1942, Business and Speech classes were moved to Sky High, which further helped to relieve some of the pressure on Academic. The Art department eventually found a home in the Pancake House on Frederick Street. The total of all of these purchases, made from current funds and bought year by year as funds allowed, was approximately \$100,000. Considering that the income-producing endowment funds of the college had suffered considerable depreciation during the years of the Depression (Dr. Watters shows a net gain in endowment funds of only \$154,350 for the ten years, 1929-39), one can appreciate how carefully these purchases were made and how hard it was to predict from year to year what funds would be available.⁸⁵

Other money was spent during this decade to provide more modern conveniences and safety for students and faculty. Showers and laundry facilities were installed in the dormitories, a mail room with boxes for each student was provided in 1931 (ending the old familiar "mail call"), the entire physical plant was rewired in 1935, and a limited system of automatic sprinklers was added to some wooden structures. The students were delighted with the changes in the Chapel building and contributed materially to bringing them about. Gone were the "circus benches" and the study desks. The stage was widened, a hardwood floor was installed, stage lights were provided, brown velvet curtains hung, and an organ installed for use in chapel programs. "Opera seats" were set on a sloping floor, and for several years each student purchased one seat, as did many faculty and alumnae. The floor of the Chapel was reinforced and strengthened, the dining room

on the lower floor was remodeled and redecorated, with some insulating material added to deaden the noise and rubber tips fastened onto the chairs, so that when 300 students arose simultaneously (no one could leave until the dean folded her napkin and stood up), the noise would be less deafening. Late in the decade, two large mirrors were installed, which helped to give the appearance of greater space than actually existed in that very crowded facility.

Campus Comments in 1936 makes mention of "Little House," beloved for years as the "home" of the junior class president. It called it the "smallest dormitory on a college campus."

Throughout the decade of the thirties, Dr. Jarman, with the help of generous gifts, sought to secure boxwood to replace those trampled and destroyed during Woodrow Wilson's 1912 visit and to add them elsewhere on the campus. There was also a modest bookstore, at first behind the dining room and later in the "post office gallery" in Main. Some clay tennis courts were placed behind Rose Terrace for student use.

There was considerable shuffling of office space in the Administration Building. In addition to the rooms for day students, the expanded administrative staff needed office space and more "college-appropriate" equipment. Somehow this was managed. The parlors were redecorated with the help of a gift honoring Elizabeth Hamer Stackhouse (a seminary student of 1882), the alumnae, and the senior classes of 1934 and 1938. Even a new front door was provided as the class gift of 1935!⁸⁶

Throughout all of these improvements, the same careful standards of upkeep, maintenance and cleanliness which had characterized the King era continued into the next generation. One of the outstanding features of the seminary and then of the college was the beauty of the physical plant and the park-like atmosphere of the tranquil inner courts. The students themselves prized this highly, as do the current students, and while the modern-day bulletin boards are filled to overflowing, and occasionally the lounges are a bit rumpiled, generally graffiti is at a minimum, and the "homelike" atmosphere so cherished by Miss Baldwin and her successors has continued. Until recent years, when the campus is occupied year-round, every summer as soon as the students left, the paint buckets and ladders emerged and the "usual summer refurnishing," as Dr. Jarman called it, began. Without this care, our venerable campus would look its age; instead, it projects architectural charm, cream paint, green ter-

ances, and mature trees and shrubs.

All of these efforts were, at best, temporary solutions to long-range problems. With an enrollment of over 300 students and with the increasing requirements of accrediting agencies for facilities to match academic offerings, Dr. Jarman and his deans recognized early in the 1930s that a building program would eventually have to be undertaken. But the college had such limited financial resources (and seemingly no place to secure any more) that this appeared, in the strained years of the Depression, an impossibility.⁸⁷ It is difficult to imagine how Dr. Jarman and the board had the courage even to conceive such a scheme, with painful memories of the 1920s campaigns still so vivid, but Dr. Jarman persisted. As early as 1932, he had proposed a 10-year program of physical expansion, which would culminate in the centennial in 1942. It would include building a new gymnasium, a new dormitory, and a music building, and called for increasing the endowment and adding scholarships. On 26 February 1937, Dr. Jarman appointed a faculty committee to study the physical needs of the college, to invite student suggestions, to visit three other Virginia women's colleges and to return with a priorities list. The final report listed a science building, then a gymnasium (auditorium), a fine arts building, a dormitory, and a dining room as immediate basic needs. The list continued with at least 10 further suggestions and was given added urgency by the refusal of the Association of American Universities to place the college on its approved list until more classroom/library space was available. But, the AAU relented in 1938, and the college was fully accredited by 1940.⁸⁸

Appearing in the *Catalogue* for the first time in 1936-37, and for many years thereafter, was an insert called "An Enduring Investment—The Needs of the College." This listed the various buildings needed for college expansion as well as the land on which to erect them, and special academic areas which needed endowed support. These included Sociology, Science, as well as Bible and Religion (as a memorial to Mary Julia Baldwin). A bequest form was included and additional inquiries invited. This public effort at attracting parent, alumnae, corporation and foundation support lagged far behind that of competing colleges, but it was the beginning of modern development campaign techniques which Mary Baldwin desperately needed.⁸⁹ One can assume that the process of redefining the synod-college relationship also stemmed from the perception that "outside" sources of

revenue would have to be secured and that a limiting church relationship could no longer be afforded.⁹⁰

In 1938, the board of trustees appointed a Committee on Survey and Planning, with Dr. Jarman as chairman (in spite of his absence of several months the year before owing to ill health). The committee worked diligently and presented to the board in May 1939 a plan for a "New Century" of the college's existence, which the board approved. Its most immediate recommendation was to build an auditorium-gymnasium, to be placed at the corner of Academy and New Streets and to be completed by 1942 as the "Centennial Building." (Three months later, in September 1939, Hitler's and Stalin's tanks rolled into Poland, and World War II began.) By giving approval for the building of a major new facility on the "old" campus, the board gave tacit consent to the concept that the downtown location of the college was permanent. In fact, they had been moving to this position since the mid-1930s when they had begun to acquire the real estate bounded by Frederick, New, Academy and Market Streets.⁹¹ In April 1937, Lucien P. Giddens was appointed as "Director of Public Relations," to be in "full charge" of the Centennial plans and programs, and as assistant to President Jarman. He soon named the project "Ensie" (New Century). The girls enthusiastically embraced the concept of "baby Ensie" and pushed a student, Ruth Peters, around in a baby carriage as a symbol of their support. Mr. Giddens embarked on an ambitious program of alumnae solicitation, community and church support, and faculty, staff, and student contribution. It almost seemed as though the campaigns of the 1920s had been revived, but the goals were far more modest, the organization far better and the immediate results much more quickly apparent.⁹²

To assist Mr. Giddens, a faculty member, Karl E. Shedd, Professor of Modern Languages since 1934, was given some released time; the alumnae executive secretary, Winifred Love, coordinated her efforts with theirs, and Margaret Kable Russell agreed to another term as president of the Alumnae Association to help. She was ably assisted by Anvilla Prescott Schultz, later president of the Alumnae Association (1942-44), and by President Jarman.

The decision to build an auditorium/gymnasium was not made lightly. The need for more physical education facilities had been recognized since the junior college days, and Miss Higgins, in the 1920s, had frequently importuned Dr. Fraser and the executive committee of the board for such a facility. The swimming pool in

Sky High was hardly more than an oversized bathtub—today, if there had been hot water circulating, it would be called a jacuzzi—and the gym had hardly room for two basketball teams, much less spectators. In the 1930s the Mary Baldwin College students used the facilities of the YMCA a block from the campus for swimming, bowling, and other sports activities. They took taxis (the college had briefly considered buying a bus but had been unable to afford it) to the "athletic field," or the old seminary farm for field hockey and softball, and transportation for golf and horseback riding was even more complicated. An excellent physical education instructor, Mary Collins Powell, sought odd corners for calisthenics, for modern dance, for archery; and there were yearly contests for the student with the "best posture."

Equally obvious was the need for an auditorium. The college had outgrown the old "chapel," refurbished though it had been, and the physical condition of the building meant only limited attendance could be permitted at community events such as lectures, plays and concerts.

Although the pressures were great on the board Committee on Survey and Planning to build instead a Fine Arts Center or a dormitory or new eating facilities, in the end they opted to build the gymnasium/auditorium first, to be followed "immediately" by a new dormitory. Their choice was perhaps made a bit easier by the acquisition of the Beckler House, which provided laboratory and classroom space for Physics and Chemistry and which might be considered to meet these needs for at least a decade. An engineer surveyed the existing campus, and a planning architect was hired who presented a plan for the future growth of the campus after the gymnasium/auditorium, which suggested that any further new buildings would have to be located across Market Street. The decision was made that the student body would remain at approximately 350. "...a student body much larger than the present one would so dilute the personal message of the faculty and the administration that the general tone and tradition of the college would be changed." The committee also noted that, in 1939, there were only 600 dues-paying alumnae out of 5000 and that the annual income from the college endowment was \$14,305. The committee agreed that it was primarily the duty of the board of trustees to "procure the funds for the building and the endowment" but warned it would depend on "the earnestness, the enthusiasm, the persistence, and the cooperation" of everyone.⁹³

How did the board of trustees propose to raise the money?

Unless some major gifts materialized (and none, at this time, did), it would have to come from the same sources to which Dr. Fraser had appealed: the alumnae, the students, parents and faculty, and from the community and college "friends." There was a modest financial foundation. The \$30,000 left from the alumnae campaign of 1925-26 had been retained. Interest on that account had added \$6,000 more. The money had been intended to pay for a building to be named in honor of W. W. King, but the alumnae in the 1930s had allowed the funds to be counted toward the college endowment in order to qualify for the various accreditations. Now this money could be used for the first new building to be erected on the campus since 1911; the Board of Trustees agreed it would be called the "William Wayt King Gymnasium-Auditorium." There followed a vigorous campaign to appeal to and to activate the alumnae. President Jarman, Lucien Giddens, Karl Shedd and Winifred Love "visited alumnae from Michigan to Texas, from Florida to Boston." In the end, a personal appeal was made to almost the entire 5,000 alumnae, with gratifying results. Another \$57,000 was pledged, which combined with the \$36,000 made the alumnae contribution a possible \$93,000. In the spring of 1940, a well organized campus campaign raised another \$20,000 from faculty, students and their parents and, in 1941, the Staunton Chamber of Commerce consented to sponsor a local campaign as well. It was agreed that the new auditorium would be available for community events (but not community dances) on a limited basis, and with the understanding that this would provide a civic facility as well as a college one. The local campaign, assisted with vigor by the local alumnae and board of trustees members, raised nearly another \$20,000.⁹⁴ All the expenses coincident to these campaigns were borne by the college from current expenses.

An architect, Henry C. Hibbs of Nashville, Tennessee, was engaged in 1941, and the plans for a three story, brick, cinderblock building (60' x 130') were approved, as was the location on the corner on New and Academy Streets. The swimming pool and necessary locker rooms were to be on the ground floor; the auxiliary gymnasium (soon to be called the "Mirror Room"), classrooms, a "social center" and offices on the second floor; and the auditorium-gymnasium, seating up to 1,000 with a raised stage at one end, on the third floor. The exterior style was to match the rest of the college architecture, described inaccurately as "southern colonial." The estimated cost of construction was \$150,000, and in view of the possible shortfall in funds because

pledges were not always paid on time or in full, the board agreed that "one unit at a time" should be built with a "pay-as-you-go policy" not to exceed (at first) \$100,000. The assumption was that the swimming pool floor would be left unfinished if necessary.

The board was aware of the psychological advantage the "New Century" program provided to the fund raising; they also were appreciative of the necessity of proceeding quickly lest the rising costs of a war economy, even though the United States was not yet an active participant, swallow up what financial advantage they had achieved. It was also, with considerable foresight, pointed out that building materials might be scarce unless they were ordered immediately, and they felt, since "we have discussed a building for fifteen years..." to delay longer "would be disastrous to the long term building programs." Consequently, a decision was reached to begin work in June of 1941, lay the cornerstone in October of 1941, and complete the building, or as much of it as could be paid for, by October 1942, on Founders' Day.⁹⁵

The seminary had not, for various reasons, observed previous chronological milestones. There had been no mention in 1892 of the 50th anniversary of its "founding," and the 75th, in 1917, had coincided with World War I, so some proposed plans for that had been set aside. But Dr. Jarman was determined that the 100th year would be observed with dignity, commitment, and celebration- and so it was, even though World War II was in progress and the United States had been actively involved for nine months by the time the ceremonies were concluded.

Three occasions were selected: 4 October 1941; the Centennial Commencement, 5-8 June 1942; and 4 October 1942, as special highlights of the Centennial year. In the first such ceremony since the cornerstone of the Administration Building had been laid in 1843, the cornerstone for the King Building was duly put in place with the help of the Masons, the Governor of Virginia (whose two sisters were alumnae), the Mayor of Staunton, and relatives of Rufus Bailey and Mary Julia Baldwin. Congratulatory telegrams came from President and Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt and Mrs. Cordell Hull, wife of the Secretary of State and an alumna. The former dean, Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell, gave the Senior Investiture address, "We March as We Remember." The pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, the president of Hampden-Sydney, representatives of the Synod of Virginia, of the alumnae, of the board of trustees, all were participants. The beauty and care with which the ceremony was observed signaled that Mary Baldwin College

had indeed come of age.⁹⁶ Two months later, Japanese bombers attacked Pearl Harbor.

Inevitably, some plans for 1942 were curtailed, but the King Building was rising rapidly on the corner of New and Academy, as most of the supplies ordered so hastily in 1941 had been delivered, and the board and college administration decided that "there will be a Centennial...changed not in kind but in degree". Even the "scaled down" version of Commencement, 5-8 June 1942, is enough to make a college administration, 50 years later, wince. The events covered a four-day period and included solemn addresses, historical pageants, class gifts (large boxwoods for the front of the new building), a May Queen and her court, bands, tableaux, banquets, a baccalaureate sermon at First Presbyterian Church, a garden party at Rose Terrace, a Commencement speaker, Herbert Agar, who assured the 64 graduates of the largest class to date that "Our Men are Not Dying in a Charade," and an exuberance of awards. Dr. Jarman presented the non-student Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award to "all the Alumnae" in recognition of their generous contributions and long struggle to erect a building to honor their dearly loved Mr. King. Later, preceding the Open House at President Jarman's home, the 90 alumnae graduates of the old seminary "university course" were admitted en masse to the Mary Baldwin Honor Society. No one could deny that Mary Baldwin College had entered upon her "New Century" in style.⁹⁷

In September of 1942, the Synod of Virginia had its annual meeting on the Mary Baldwin College campus in honor of the Centennial, and, on 3 October 1942, senior investiture was followed as usual by the Ivy Ceremony. This time the ivy was planted in front of the King Building. The president of Davidson College, Dr. John Rood Cunningham, delivered the dedicatory address, followed by comments on the service of W. W. King by Dr. Jarman. There was an academic procession, but by no means the elaborate one that had been previously planned. The celebrations concluded, the college turned its attention to the concerns and decisions that the Second World War had brought.

* * * *

The shock of Pearl Harbor brought Dr. Jarman back to the campus in January, 1942, from his usual Florida vacation. He and Dean Grafton attended conferences in Richmond and Lynchburg

in which the presidents of the four-year colleges in Virginia discussed their response to the war emergency. Meeting with the students at Chapel, in those bewildering days of January 1942, Dr. Jarman told them that they and their country were in a "total war," that all must make a "united effort to win this war so that we all can make a new start toward a better world." Women in wartime, he continued, often take over many tasks "ordinarily assigned to men," but women's primary role will continue to be the conserving of the "intangible, the spiritual values of life, centering...around the home." Women's task is to keep and expand morale—"all of you must be cheerful, hopeful and helpful." Secondly, Dr. Jarman told them what their principal task would be when the war was finished—"your generation must win the peace...College women must be ready for the opportunities and responsibilities of peace..." To do this, women must commit themselves to "more and better" education than ever before, where sound training in liberal values would be the best contribution one could make to the war effort.

It was agreed that there would be no "accelerated program" at Mary Baldwin College, although approved summer school credit secured elsewhere would be accepted; academic standards would be upheld; the commitment to men faculty members (up to one-third of the total faculty) would be maintained, if possible; student and faculty efforts to help the war effort would be encouraged; and vacation schedules would be adjusted to transportation realities. (Students living west of the Mississippi were given two or three extra days to return to college after Christmas.) Spring vacation became an "Easter Weekend." Accommodation for students who left before graduation, either for marriage or service, would be arranged. Men faculty members who were subject to the draft or who volunteered would be given leaves of absence. Dr. Mahler, Mr. Day, Dr. Broman, and Dr. Vandiver all departed for military assignments, as did Winifred Love, the Alumnae executive secretary, who became one of the first WAVES in the country. The Alumnae News Letter and Campus Comments reprinted letters from these and other absent friends. Fathers, brothers, fiancés were soon on far-flung battlefields, and there was an undercurrent of sadness and tension in much that transpired in the next four years.

Although there had been much uncertainty about the impact of the war on enrollment (and those "provisional" contracts were again issued), the college continued to operate at boarding capac-

ity during the war. It is not exactly clear as to why this was so; perhaps parents felt their daughters would be "safe" in a rural area far from military camps and urban centers. By 1943, however, a military hospital had been erected less than five miles from the campus, with some college interaction not previously anticipated. Nor did the war appear to affect the number of seniors, which, except for 1942, the Centennial year, remained relatively stable at about 43 each year. There does not seem to have been a major geographical impact, either. If anything, the number of students from Virginia declined (from 122 to 101); the number from southern states gradually increased; those from the northeast and the midwest peaked in the early war years (at 78) and then declined. Those from Staunton and the immediate vicinity remained relatively constant.⁹⁸

There was, however, a decided impact on the curriculum and on the living style of students and faculty. Pursuant to government direction, and with newsreel pictures of the bombings in Coventry, Liverpool and London on their minds, blackout curtains were devised for the buildings, and an air raid alert system using junior and senior students in the dormitories was put in place. Dr. Mildred Taylor was appointed chief Air Raid Warden for the college, and her efficiency and enthusiasm were predictable. Extracurricular courses in first aid and automobile mechanics were introduced and were immediately popular. Seven faculty emergency committees were appointed in the spring of 1942; Books for Soldiers, Defense Savings, Academic Consideration, Publicity, Physical Fitness and Health, Safety and Spiritual Preparedness and Morale. After the situation clarified, many of these committees became inactive or merged into the work of the Victory Corps. The faculty and staff voted that, "for the duration," all would commit themselves to buying up to two percent of their yearly salary in Defense Bonds and Stamps and, in the first wave of patriotism, voted that they would "share" any "risks and burdens incident to the war situation." The board later interpreted this to mean that the faculty would accept cuts in salary if it were necessary. Fortunately, although salaries were not raised until 1944, they were not cut, but the regular teaching load was increased to 16 hours. As some custodians were drafted and maids left for more profitable war work, they were not always replaced. "Students will be used to do some of the work," it was announced, although exactly how this was implemented is not clear. By 1943, the faculty were prepared as a "wartime measure" to give aca-

demic credit for "secretarial courses"; up to 12 semester hours toward graduation for accounting and business law were to be granted, but not typing unless taken in conjunction with stenography. The board of trustees "dubiously" agreed. Vocational guidance efforts were expanded and course sequences for "pre-nursing," laboratory technology, and professional education appeared in the Catalogue. Beginning in 1943 and continuing until 1946, a "War Supplement" was included, committing the college to the two-fold task of preserving the "fundamental objectives...of the liberal arts tradition" and making "such adjustments in requirements, courses, emphases and procedures as will permit early specialization...and preparation for practical service to our country." "War courses" were added: "Refresher Mathematics"; foods and menu planning; community recreational leadership; medical laboratory techniques; "contemporary literature as propaganda"; current world history; and introduction to social work. Advice on how to qualify for civil service positions in personnel work, military cryptography, meteorology, public administration, consular and diplomatic services, newspaper writing, translating, and also in the various branches of the armed services open to women (WAACS, WAVES, SPARS, Marines) and the Red Cross were included. By 1943, individual students were allowed to "accelerate" their work by taking overloads and attending summer school, and to take examinations early. In addition, various non-credit "war classes" were held on Friday evenings, Saturday afternoons, and Saturday night. They included Home Nursing, Home Mechanics, Photography, "Propaganda Through Posters" and "Keeping up with the War."

By 1943, a student-faculty group known as the "Victory Corps" and directed by Dr. Mary Humphreys coordinated student volunteer efforts. Bandages were rolled, salvage collected, and war bonds and stamps sold regularly. Excerpts from letters from men in the armed forces to their sisters and fiancées at Mary Baldwin College regularly appeared in Campus Comments. Information about how many cartridges (five for ten cents), guns, helmets, and jeeps, war bonds would buy, along with diagrams of anti-aircraft guns and maps of war-zones regularly appeared.

By June 1943, the Mary Baldwin Victory Corps had raised enough money to buy a "jeep" (\$1,049), and in 1944, proposed to buy an airplane. Eventually they did raise the \$3,000 which was required to buy a small "spotter" airplane called a "grasshopper." By the fall of 1943, arrangements for student donations of blood

had been made (parental permission was required), and a chapel address focused on women's responsibilities "after the war." The list is interesting. Women should demand equal pay for equal work; there must be "racial justice"; volunteer work should be continued and expanded; and the family unit must be kept strong.⁹⁹ At least as far as the latter commitment is concerned, Mary Baldwin students did their part. Campus Comments, as well as the Alumnae Newsletter, was regularly full of wartime marriages, both of recent graduates, as well as of some students who left before completing their degrees. At least one day student was allowed to return to classes after her marriage for the remaining months of her senior year, her husband having left the country.

In April 1945, a memorial service honoring Franklin D. Roosevelt was held, but there was no mention of President Truman, and V-E Day was acknowledged in a Chapel service in a muted fashion. However, student participation in war bond drives continued, culminating in at least two raffles in which wounded veterans from the Woodrow Wilson Hospital were auctioned for war bonds and stamps. There followed dances in King, with the highest bidders claiming their dates. Earlier, the regular "spring dance" had been held in honor of the United Nations. The college was still closed for the summer on V-J Day, and the first postwar edition of the student newspaper focused on campus events, some of which had great portent for the future.¹⁰⁰

And yet, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that life at the college, at least for the students, continued on during the war years relatively uninterrupted. The customs and traditions of the previous decade were observed: Openings, Founders' Day, guest lecturers, concerts, YWCA installations, religious emphasis weeks, dances, plays, comprehensives, fund raisers, holidays and exams, May Day and graduation—all remained on the college calendars. As one student wrote in an open letter to the alumnae:

[The war] has affected us too, but hardly as much, I think, as it has affected you [the alumnae]...of course we have our meat rationed somewhat, but not heavily rationed. Every now and then we skip dessert. No one minds...Almost every Monday in Chapel we hear a news summary...(but) It seems we have our own little world here...we have more or less not

gotten ultra-serious over the situation. We hear a great deal about it, but really it all seems so far away that it has been hard to realize.¹⁰¹

Certainly the administration was affected by the war and by their perceptions about the needs of the college in the postwar years. As difficult as the funding of King Building had been, the building itself was immediately put to full use - and it was hard to imagine how the college had managed without it. Not only were community war bond drives held there, but since Physical Education was now required twice a week for all students, the building was regularly filled with classroom activities. College formal dances were held in the auditorium; teas and receptions were given in the Mirror Room; the YWCA undertook to operate "The Nook" as a means of relieving the pressure on the alumnae Club House and raising money for YWCA projects. "The Nook" occupied a corner of the Mirror Room, sold sandwiches and drinks, and provided yet another place for the bridge games. By 1946, plans were underway to allow the formation of community lecture-concert programs, to be called the "King Series," using the auditorium facilities. These later became very successful college-community events. All students were automatically members of the King Series and were required to attend the programs. There was always a special dinner held in the dining room before each performance, and the students were formally dressed and given the choice seats. The distinguished series continued for many years, only coming to an end when fire regulations in the 1970s, coupled with student demands for relaxation of enforced attendance, brought about the demise of the program.¹⁰²

Wartime inflation, in spite of wage/price controls, put pressure on the administration to increase the long static salaries of faculty and staff. In 1943, the college, having received permission from the federal government, raised faculty salaries 5% for the year 1943-44 and another 5% for the following year, with the eventual goal of reaching a basic minimum salary for a full professor of \$3,300. In addition, individual merit increases, as determined by the president, could bring the maximum paid a full professor to \$3,600, which would put Mary Baldwin College in line (barely) with its competing sister institutions. By 1945, all administrative and clerical personnel had shared in the 10% raise. Soon thereafter, it was considered necessary to raise student fees. For boarding students in 1945-46, the annual tuition

fees would be \$950. Day students would pay \$260, and, because the number of students withdrawing after they had paid the registration fee but before the college began in the fall was increasing, it was agreed that the non-refundable registration fee would be raised to \$100 beginning in 1946-47.¹⁰³

In spite of the war, some physical plant improvements continued. New refrigerators and gas cooking units were installed in the summer of 1944, which helped immeasurably in solving the rationing and ordering problems of the school's dietitian. And a continuing committee of the board of trustees pursued its goal of meeting the future space needs of the college. By common consent, a new dormitory was considered to be the next priority, and the planning for this had advanced to the stage of hiring an architect. One of the difficulties was where to put a new dormitory. The college site was already very crowded, and plans to add contiguous real estate (mostly to the east of Market Street) had been halted by the war, by the lack of funds, and by the reluctance of some private owners to sell their properties to the college. Then, in the winter of 1944-45, an opportunity to sell the college's 210 acres north of the city arose. There were several offers, and the property was eventually sold to Joseph F. Tannehill for \$65,000. It was intended that the money would help in the acquiring of additional land closer to the downtown college site, and perhaps help with the final payments due on the King Building.¹⁰⁴

Within a year, a "secret and confidential" meeting had been held between the executive committee of the board and Mrs. W. Wayt Gibbs and Mrs. Frank Black, representing King's Daughters' Hospital, in which a possible exchange of property was discussed. King's Daughters' Hospital was located on Frederick Street, less than half a block from the college science building. In addition to the principal building, a contiguous "nurses' home" existed. The hospital (a community non-profit institution in existence since 1890) was feeling the need of new and modernized facilities, and it was hoped that Mary Baldwin College might be willing to acquire the present hospital building in exchange for the college property on North Augusta Street. The old hospital could be remodeled for the badly needed "new" dormitory, housing up to 85 students, at much less expense than building a new one, and a "small committee" representing both institutions was appointed to work out the details. By April of 1946, public announcement of these plans had been made, with an appeal directed to alumnae and friends for \$150,000 to be raised by April 1947. Thus the

process was under way which finally resulted in Bailey dormitory. It opened for student use 10 years later, in 1955.¹⁰⁵

As World War II approached its dramatic conclusion, some unexpected personnel changes came to the college. Mrs. Bessie Stollenwerck, for so long the able assistant to the dean of students, was forced to retire in December 1944, due to her health. At about the same time, Dr. Karl E. Shedd, head of the Modern Language Department, abruptly resigned, effective June 1945. He had been at Mary Baldwin College since 1935 and had assisted Dr. Jarman with the New Century Campaign. He had actively supported faculty programs, particularly those concerning Latin America, and he and his family had contributed generously to the library acquisitions. Apparently a quarrel with Dr. Jarman precipitated this resignation, but the origin of the disagreement is not clear.¹⁰⁶ Then, Dean of Students Katherine Sherrill, who had been at the college since 1943, resigned in May 1945 due to a change in her family situation, and Anne Elizabeth Parker (1941) was appointed the new dean of students, a position she held until her retirement in 1972. That same year Miss Abbie and Miss Nancy McFarland were each granted a year's sabbatical at full salary, "in appreciation of approximately thirty years of service to the college by each." The following year, both ladies retired. In the fall of 1945, Dr. Mary Watters, who had written the centennial college history, was granted a leave, which eventually became a resignation, and in May 1946, Dr. Mary Latimer (English, Speech and Drama) also left the college.¹⁰⁷

But the most unexpected change came during the first week in September 1945, when Dr. Jarman suffered a crippling stroke. He had been present at the executive committee meeting the week before and had appeared as well as usual, but his illness was severe, and it soon became apparent that he could not return to his duties for many months. At a special called meeting of the executive committee, those responsible for the college's welfare turned over the administrative duties of the president to Dean Martha Grafton, to be assisted by Dr. Turner and Mr. Daffin. She was later named "Administrative Head of the College" and then "Acting President." Dr. Bridges would act as academic dean. The executive committee itself would assume the president's external duties. Although Dr. Jarman recovered to some extent, he and the board agreed that he could not return, and he resigned in March 1946. He was named "President Emeritus," and although he retained his interest in the college until his death, he was never

again to be actively involved.¹⁰⁸ Dean Martha Grafton generously summarized the accomplishments of Dr. Jarman's 16 years as president of Mary Baldwin College for the student body on 19 March 1946:

The library increased from 12,000 to 33,000 volumes and the space available for library resources had almost doubled.

The William Wayt King Building had been financed and constructed.

Martha Riddle Hall, Fraser Hall, the Music and Chemistry Buildings, the Club House and Rose Terrace were added to the campus and renovated.

The dining room and kitchen were renovated.

The student body had gone from 180 to 320.

The endowment fund had increased from \$444,550 to \$588,994.

The total value of the college had risen from \$1 million to \$1,611,429.

The faculty had increased from 20 to 34 and 17 of these had earned Ph.D.'s.

The curriculum had been broadened to meet the demands of college women in Depression and War; an Honor Society had been founded.

The student government association and the honor system had been instituted.

The Centennial History of the college had been written.

The "charm" of the campus had been retained by additional plantings, shrubs, trees, flowers and walkways.

The Alumnae Association had been strengthened and "professionalized."

The college was governed by its own self-perpetuating board of trustees, which now included women and which had been reorganized to give greater service to the college.

Plans for the future of the college had been projected.¹⁰⁹

So, an era had ended, and the college faced an uncertain post-war world without the only full-time president it had ever had. It was fortunate, as it would be on other occasions in the future, that Martha Grafton and Edmund Campbell, president of the board of trustees, were determined that it would grow and prosper.

Notes

¹ Minutes, BT 9 Oct. 1928. 22 Jan. 1929. 22 May 1929. The committee was composed of Col. T. H. Russell, chairman; Dr. H. D. Campbell, W. H. Landis, H. B. Sproul and M. M. Edgar.

² Watters 409-10. Laura Martin Jarman Rivera became the first Mary Baldwin College graduate to earn a Ph.D. (Spanish and French from Duke); Margaret Jarman Hagood later earned her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of North Carolina, Watters 410. CC 17 Jan. 1930. Staunton News Leader 10 Jan. 1930.

³The house next to the church was called "Teachers' Hall." In the 1930s the Graftons lived there and also eight to ten students. Rose Terrace was built in 1874, reputedly the "most costly house in Staunton," for a Holmes Erwin. Later it had been Augusta Sanatorium, a private hospital owned by Dr. Whitmore and Mr. Catlett. By 1919, when Mary Baldwin Seminary purchased it for \$10,000, it was known as the "Bruce" property. It was rented in the 1920s to Professor W. R. Schmidt, for over 40 years Professor of Music at the seminary. It served as the "President's home" in the 1930s, '40s and early '50s, became a student dormitory in 1958, and was the French House in the 1960s. It is currently used as a dormitory.

⁴Many female faculty, almost all of whom were single, occupied rooms or apartments in various college buildings; their contracts always called for (modest) cash salaries and "home," which included board as well as lodging. Teachers (and some deans) ate with the students and acted as hostesses at student tables, in addition to their academic duties. Naturally, male faculty and male employees lived off campus (and were paid higher salaries in consequence). It was not until the mid 1940s, when dormitory space was very limited due to a large enrollment, that most faculty lived off campus. Their places were taken by dormitory hostesses and female administrators in the dean of students' office.

⁵ Minutes EC 13 Sept. 1929.

⁶The "list" is no longer in existence. Minutes, EC 30 July 1929.

⁷Taped interview. Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell and Irene W. D. Hecht, 22 Jan. 1984. Edmund and Elizabeth Campbell and Patricia H. Menk, 8 Oct. 1987. It was certainly Elizabeth Pfohl's (Campbell) belief that Miss Higgins would be leaving at the end of the 1929-30 term. She found her intimidating and resentful. MBC Archives.

⁸ Minutes, BT 21 Mar. 1930. Minutes SV 1929.

⁹ Staunton News Leader 15 Mar. 1930.

¹⁰ Minutes, BT 21 Mar. 1930.

¹¹ CC 21 Mar. 1930. 18 Apr. 1930. Staunton News Leader 30 Mar. 1930. AN Apr. 1930. BS 1930.

¹² Staunton News Leader 15 Mar. 1930. AN July 1938. Miss Higgins died 7 March 1938. A memorial service in her honor was held at a regular chapel service at the college, Dr. Jarman spoke and Miss Abbie McFarland and J. W. Pilson of the board of trustees attended the funeral in Accomac. CC 11 Mar. 1938.

¹³ Minutes EC 8 Apr. 1930. 31 Mar. 1930. Deposits at Montreat. Almost no manuscript records of the seminary's 19th century history remain; sadly, it has only been in the last generation that an official archives of the college has been established and many 20th century records are incomplete or inadequate. Perhaps as an outgrowth of this, Dr. Jarman arranged that many of the early printed records of the institution, (Catalogues, Bluestockings, Miscellany, and selected photographs) be deposited with the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches at Montreat, North Carolina.

¹⁴ Watters 216-20; Waddell 47-48, 57, 59.

¹⁵ Minutes, BT 21 Jan. 1930.

¹⁶ Minutes, BT 21 Jan. 1930. 18 July 1933. 20 Feb. 1936.

¹⁷ Minutes, BT Sept. 1930. Mr. King was succeeded by Mr. John B. Daffin, who was appointed business manager and professor of Physics in September 1930. James T. Spillman was named assistant business manager at the same time. Both were worthy successors of W.W. King and served the college faithfully and efficiently for many years. See also: AN July 1930. Mr. King was awarded the Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award in June of 1934, and the entire Alumnae Newsletter of March 1935 was dedicated to him. AN July 1934. On 14 Dec. 1934, the alumnae presented to the college an oil portrait of W.W. King, done by Bjorn Egeli, who, in the 1930s, did several outstanding paintings for the college. This portrait now hangs in the King Building. AN Mar. 1935. See also: AN Mar. 1939 (also quoted from Staunton News Leader 16 Apr. 1939). See also: Minutes, BT 18 July 1935. Note that title and numbering of the Alumnae Association Publication vary; sometimes it is called "Newsletter"; sometimes "Bulletin" and the volume numbers are sometimes, in these early years, out of sequence.

¹⁸ Minutes, BT 26 May 1930. In addition to the faculty resigna-

tions and those of Higgins, Bateman and Wallace mentioned above, Miss Lucy (1920) and Miss Gertrude Edmondson (1919), matron and supervisor of practice, resigned. Faculty resignations included Professor C. F. Eisenberg, Music, who had been at the seminary since 1885, and Gertrude Ellen Meyer, Art, who had been on the faculty for 10 years.

¹⁹ In the 1927-28 session, there had been 250 students; in 1928-29 after it was known that the seminary would close the following year, there were 245. In 1929-30 there were 203 students enrolled, including a number of "certificate students" completing the work begun at the seminary level before 1929. There were 21 seniors. Minutes, BT 15 Jan. 1929. 2 July 1929. 26 May 1930. 1 Aug. 1930. Minutes SV 1930.

²⁰ Minutes SV 1930.

²¹ Minutes SV 1931.

²² President Jarman's personality was controversial. Essentially authoritarian, self-willed and determined to achieve the goals he had set, he often seems to have been unaware of the verbal and body signals he sent. His administrative staff members, Elizabeth Pfohl and Martha Grafton, acted as buffers between the faculty, the student body and the president. He was, however, much respected and well known in the Presbyterian church bureaucracy and was comfortable in professional and business circles, attributes very valuable to the college.

²³ Minutes SV 1930. passim. Minutes, BT 21 Feb. 1933. passim. 21 Feb. 1935. Also, comments made to author by Dr. Mildred Taylor (nd). See also: Minutes, BT 20 Mar. 1942. Salaries ranged from \$3,300 (Daffin) to \$1,600 (McFarland—librarian). Most female salaries included \$500 "living." Minutes, BT 21 Feb. 1933. This concept, provisional contracts, occurred in both the World War I and World War II periods, as well as in the early years of the Depression—illustrating how uncertain of the future the college administration was, and how close a financial operating margin there was.

²⁴ This was based on an assumption that the synod churches would make an annual contribution of at least \$30,000. Minutes SV 1930. In practice, synod contributions rarely amounted to more than \$6,000 a year, which were used largely for scholarship funds. Dr. Jarman's brother-in-law was Dr. James R. McCain, who was President of Agnes Scott College and who held office in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Dr. Jarman's wide acquaintance with the association officials and other influ-

ential educational leaders may well have helped the accreditation process. Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell and Patricia Menk, interview, 8 Oct. 1987. Dr. McCain and Dean H. D. Campbell (a member of the Mary Baldwin College Board of Trustees) were both members of the Commission of the Institutions of Higher Education of SACS. In addition, Dean Campbell was on the SACS executive committee. Proceedings of the 1935, (and 1938) Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States. 4-5 Dec. 1930. 3-4 and 7-8 Dec. 1931.

²⁵ Elizabeth Campbell and Patricia Menk, interview, 8 Oct. 1987. MBC Archives. Dr. Jarman took a long vacation / business trip in December and early January each year. This coincided with the annual meetings of SACS, which he attended faithfully, and he also visited private and public high schools in an effort to recruit students. But he always spent time in Florida or Mexico, leaving the college in the capable hands of his administrative staff. He was usually back by the time the second semester began at the end of January.

²⁶ Minutes EC 25 Apr. 1932. Watters 460. Customarily, the Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award is made annually to a graduating senior and a non-student (often an alumna or faculty member). In the 1930s, Dr. Fraser, W. W. King, Margaret Kable Russell, Elizabeth Pfohl (Campbell), the Misses McFarlands, Rosa Witz Hull, and Dr. Hunter Blakely were among the honorees. But, in 1942, in the exuberance of the Centennial celebration, Dr. Jarman presented the award to "all the alumnae."

²⁷ Minutes SV 1929. 1930.

²⁸ Minutes SV 1936. 1937. They suggested a relationship similar to that of Agnes Scott College and the Presbyterian Church. The report indicated that in the 13 years that the college had been controlled by the synod, \$134,499 had been contributed, an average of \$10,346 a year. It acknowledged that there had been a decline in recent years "due to the Depression." (If the synod churches had paid \$30,000 a year, the total amount would have been \$390,000, but the committee report did not mention that fact.) The synod claimed that its control of the college had led to an "increase" of students and made the somewhat questionable claim that "the seminary would never have become a college had not the Synod assumed ownership and control." Minutes SV 1937. Minutes, BT 10 Mar. 1938.

²⁹ Minutes SV 1938.

³⁰ Charter of Mary Baldwin College—Charter Book #3. 21

June 1939. City of Staunton, Virginia.

³¹ It should be acknowledged that no president makes appointments totally on his own. He relies heavily on the advice of his deans and senior faculty. With this in mind, the fact still remains that the Jarman appointments ensured the success of the college for the next quarter century.

³² Minutes, BT 18 July 1933. The records show that Dr. H. D. Campbell proposed the "wisdom and propriety" of having women on the board of trustees. The resolution was approved and, in 1934, the Synod of Virginia approved the appointment of Margaret Kable Russell, who for many years had been president of the Alumnae Association. Her husband, Col. T. H. Russell (who had died in 1933), had been a devoted member of the board of trustees. In 1939, Mrs. Russell became the first woman to serve on the executive committee of the board. In 1939, two other women, both alumnae, were elected: Mrs. W. R. Craig, and Mrs. H. L. Hunt. Catalogue, 1933-34. 1939-40. 1940-41.

³³ Dr. Turner became a full-time faculty member in 1946. He resigned from the board of trustees the following year. He also acted as a counselor and chaplain.

³⁴ Catalogue, 1929-45. passim. Edmund Campbell had acted for the college in a legal capacity (a matter of a disputed legacy) as early as 1938. Minutes EC 8 Sept. 1938. He also married Dean Elizabeth Pfohl in 1936, and both have remained devoted friends of Mary Baldwin College even after their period of active service ended.

³⁵ Report of the president of the college to the board of trustees of Mary Baldwin College for the session of 1937-38.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Report 1938-39. Dr. Jarman gives the following figures to substantiate his claims:

1929-30 - Instructional expenses:	\$36,300;
Administrative expenses	\$32,900;
1938-39 - Instructional expenses:	\$77,900;
Administrative expenses	\$31,600;

It has not been possible to ascertain where Dr. Jarman got his 1929-30 figures, since Mr. King's accounts did not break out administration from faculty. Dr. Jarman had access to records that no longer exist, so one must accept their accuracy-although it does raise some interesting questions.

³⁸ Dr. Jarman learned about Elizabeth Pfohl from mutual friends in North Carolina. The Pfohl family was highly thought of in Winston-Salem, with many connections to the Moravian Salem College located there. Elizabeth Pfohl had graduated from Salem and had done additional work at Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania; she had also been dean of the Moravian College for Women in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Martha Stackhouse was newly graduated from Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia, and Dr. Jarman knew about her (she had been the president of the student body) from his brother-in-law, Dr. James Ross McCain, President of Agnes Scott College. Both Elizabeth and Martha had worked with college honor systems and student government. Edmund Campbell and Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell and Irene Hecht. Interview. 22 Jan. 1984. Edmund and Elizabeth Campbell, and Patricia H. Menk, interview, 8 Oct. 1987. MBC Archives. Elizabeth Pfohl remained as dean of women until 1936, when she resigned to marry Edmund D. Campbell. Although Mr. Campbell's law practice necessitated that the couple live in the Washington area, they remained in close contact with the school. Elizabeth Campbell expended much energy and service in helping with the preparation for the Centennial celebration. She was a frequent visitor and guest lecturer. Her husband provided legal services for the college, became a member of the board of trustees in 1943 (as his father had been before him), and served as chairman of the board after 1944, for many years.

Martha Stackhouse served as assistant to the dean (Elizabeth Pfohl), and from 1932-38 as registrar, as well. In December 1932 she married Thomas Hancock Grafton (they had met while Martha was still a student at Agnes Scott), who joined the Mary Baldwin College faculty in September 1933 as Professor of Social Sciences and Education (later Professor of Sociology). Dr. Jarman approved the marriage, made arrangements to hire Dr. Grafton, and gave leaves of absence to accommodate the birth of twins, and later that of a third daughter. Martha Grafton was appointed dean of instruction (later called academic dean and/or dean of the college) in 1938. In 1942, she was designated assistant to the president and virtually ran the internal affairs of the college during the difficult war years. In 1945, she was named acting president, as she was in 1953, 1965, and 1968. She retired as dean in 1970, but both she and Thomas Grafton remained good and loyal friends of the college. The library, completed in 1967, is named in her honor.

³⁹ Other deans of women were: Elizabeth E. Hoon, 1937-38; Mary Elizabeth Poole, 1938-41; Anne Inez Morton, 1941-42; Katherine Sherrill, 1943-45; Anne Elizabeth Parker, 1945-71. Catalogue. passim.

⁴⁰ Edmund D. Campbell and Patricia H. Menk, interview, 8 Oct. 1987. MBC Archives.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell and Patricia Menk, interview, 8 Oct. 1987. Mrs. Campbell added that Miss Abbie had come to her several times during the period when the library had to be reorganized to meet SACS standards, protesting that the faculty were choosing the books in their respective disciplines for purchase. She said that she, as librarian, had a much better sense of what was needed and that she should make the final purchase decisions. Dean Pfohl was able to persuade her that the new standards required faculty choice.

⁴² Catalogue, 1939-45. passim. In addition, there were memorable faculty members who stayed several years during the Jarman administration and then moved on. They made a real contribution to these early college years but did not have the longevity and therefore the impact on generations of students that others had. Included among these were Kenneth L. Smoke, Psychology; Mary Collins Powell, Physical Education; Karl Eastman Shedd, Romance Languages; William E. Trout and Juanita Greer, Chemistry; Mary E. Latimer, Drama; and Mary Watters, research historian and assistant dean.

⁴³ Watters 443. Minutes, Fac. 6 Dec. 1938. 9 Jan. 1940.

⁴⁴ Minutes, Fac. 9 Jan. 1940. Usually, the academic dean would be the person to evaluate classroom procedure and performance, but Dr. Jarman apparently wished to be personally involved.

⁴⁵ Dr. Jarman did appear faithfully at major college events, such as opening Chapel, Founders' Day, Apple Day, Christmas celebrations, and Commencement week activities, and he regularly gave current events programs to the student body. In the last few years of his administration, Dr. Jarman's activities were restricted by his poor health, and he was often absent for long periods of time.

⁴⁶ In 1931, the salary range was \$1,500 to \$3,000; in 1945, the range was \$2,000 to \$3,600. Men and women of equal ranks were paid equally, although one couple, Elizabeth and Horace Day, occasionally shared one position. Minutes, BT 27 May 1930. 8 Mar. 1945.

⁴⁷ Minutes, Fac. 9 Dec. 1935. 12 Apr. 1938.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Campbell and Patricia Menk, interview, 8 Oct. 1987. MBC Archives.

⁴⁹ Watters 446-58, gives an excellent summary of these curriculum changes. See also: BS 1942. Report of the president, Jan. 1931, in Minutes, Fac. 2 Mar. 1931. Among the speakers and programs presented at the college during these years were such distinguished persons as Peter Marshall, Will Durant, Carl Sandburg, Amelia Earhart, Virginius Dabney, John Mason Brown, Douglas Southall Freeman, Cornelia Otis Skinner, Arthur H. Compton, Francis Pickens Miller, Efrem Zimbalist, Arthur Fiedler and the Boston Sinfonietta, and Alexander Kerensky.

⁵⁰ The pattern of the woman physician teaching Biology came to an end when the "team" of Dr. Lillian Thomsen and Dr. Mary Humphreys became the Biology faculty—a happy relationship that existed until 1963, when Dr. Thomsen retired and Dr. John Mehner became the first male to teach Biology at Mary Baldwin College. There is no question that the decision to have women physicians teach Biology was originally a deliberate choice, but the long persistence of the pattern may well be happenstance. Minutes, BT 21 Feb. 1935. 18 July 1935. 21 July 1936. It says something about the plight of women physicians that Dr. Amelia Gill (BA Westhampton, MA Duke, MD Medical College of Virginia) was paid \$2,000 and "living" (valued at \$500), and her successors similar amounts. The Thomsen-Humphreys team worked well together, and there was neither the demand nor the resources to expand the department beyond the two members (and an occasional lab assistant) for many years. See Catalogue, 1924-25. 1935-36. 1963-64. passim. In April 1936, Campus Comments recorded the fact that all classes had been dismissed and the entire student body had gone to the Strand Theater to see a special (closed) showing of a movie called "Life Begins" (about the development of a fetus) CC 24 Apr. 1936.

⁵¹ Annual Report of the President. However, the charter of the college stated (and has continued to do so) that "all departments of the college shall be open alike to students of any religion or sect, and no denominational or sectarian test shall be imposed in the admission of students," Charter Book 3, 492, City of Staunton.

⁵² Reports to Fac. 1935-36. Minutes, Fac. 1935-36.

⁵³ The seminary and then the college have always had a major economic impact on the community. MBC has been one of the biggest employers in the city. Faculty, students and their parents are a mainstay of the downtown commercial enterprises and

hotels. Until more recent times, much in the way of cultural events and entertainment for the city was provided by the college. Townspeople were invited to concerts, lecture series, and art exhibits; faculty were members of and shared their talents with many civic groups; downtown churches benefited from student and faculty attendance. This is not to suggest that "town and gown" relationships have always been free from strain. Staunton is (socially and otherwise) a very conservative community and student exuberance and mores often clashed with community concepts of appropriate behavior, never more so than in the 1960s and 1970s.

⁵⁴Sixteen units from accredited high schools were required for admission, including four units of English, one of History, two and one-half to three of Mathematics, three to four of Latin (this requirement changed in 1930-31), two units of Modern Language and one unit of Science. Catalogue, 1928-29. By 1945, entrance requirements were three units of English, one unit of History, Algebra, and Geometry and two units of Foreign Language. Catalogue, 1944-45. Was the lowering of admissions requirements due to the need to attract students in the Depression era, or were requirements merely being brought in line with admissions standards of comparable colleges? The records do not reveal the reasons for the change, but Dean Higgins' departure (March 1930) might have provided an opportunity to bring the college more in line with competitors.

⁵⁵Registrar's Reports. passim. Bound in Fac. Minutes 1930-45. Enrollment of 320-335 students remained fairly constant throughout the Jarman era.

⁵⁶Although Mary Julia Baldwin had relied heavily on Professor McGuffey for advice about her curriculum, and although the early catalogues state that "the plan of instruction" is "that of the University of Virginia," no effort appears to have been made to introduce in the seminary the famed University of Virginia Honor System which had been in existence there since 1842. For example see Catalogue, 1896-97. There does appear to have been briefly, in the early days of Mary Julia Baldwin (or perhaps before), a scheme whereby students would publicly "confess" their violations of rules and regulations; but this appears to have been short-lived, and in any case, did not apply to academic concerns. Watters 158. It would appear that an effort toward student government began even before President Jarman appeared. Dean Higgins proposed that students in McClung "institute" student government, and

the student Council began in May 1929. Jarman and Pfohl arrived in July 1929. The aim was to support a "strong Christian College" providing the students with a "trained intellect and womanly courage." CC 8 Feb. 1929. 4 May 1929.

⁵⁷The wording of this pledge has evolved, but the principle has remained intact for over 60 years and has been one of the most deeply held and preserved traditions of the college. See HB 1929-30. 1930-31. 1988-89. Catalogue, 1988-89.

⁵⁸Irene W. Hecht and Elizabeth Campbell, interview 22 Jan. 1984; Patricia H. Menk and Elizabeth Campbell, interview, 8 Oct. 1987. MBC Archives.

⁵⁹HB 1930. Minutes, Fac. 15 Jan. 1935.

⁶⁰Minutes, SGA 14 Sept. 1929. Watters 471, 478.

⁶¹HB 1933-34. 1945-46. Watters 521-23. The list of "major offenses" stayed very much the same from 1930-45 (and for some time thereafter), with the exception of the prohibition of drinking alcoholic beverages. This was first noted in the Handbook in 1932, almost as an afterthought, and became a part of the major "offenses" list only in 1940. HB 1932. 1940. The Handbook specifies that a student might be "dismissed" because her general character and behavior "bring discredit" or deviated from "the recognized standards" of the college. There did not need to be a specific offense, an all-encompassing power included at the insistence of President Jarman. The records, however, do not indicate any dismissals without actual violations of written rules. HB 1941-42. Watters 475.

⁶²Watters 154. Out of the first six college graduates (1924-25), four were "town girls". BS 1923-24. 1924-25.

⁶³BS 1942. (Centennial issue)

⁶⁴Minutes SV 1924. 1925. CC 3 Apr. 1925. BS 1942. (Centennial issue) Today, the Christmas program is called "Christmas Cheer" and involves a Christmas concert by the college choir at First Presbyterian Church on the first Sunday in December, after which the college hillside is lighted by "luminaries" and a reception for the college community and townspeople is held at Spencer dormitory.

⁶⁵Watters 482-88. BS 1942.

⁶⁶See CC 1930-45. passim. The device of the monthly birthday party evolved as a means of preventing "Happy Birthday" from being sung on innumerable occasions throughout the year. A particularly useful source for this information is the Centennial Bluestocking 1942. See also: HB 1930-45. passim.

⁶⁷ CC 2 Oct. 1931. 13 Nov. 1931. 27 Sept. 1940. 23 Oct. 1942. Baskets of apples placed outside the doors of the dining hall and in the mail room were a long-standing tradition at Mary Baldwin. In seminary days many of the fresh vegetables and fruits used in the dining hall came from the seminary "farm" (now the site of the main Staunton Post Office) and the apples were provided as a means of ensuring students' health. The seminary had acquired an extensive apple orchard in 1923 (as a site for the new college), and Mr. King had not only marketed the apples but provided an apple a day for each girl. On at least one occasion, when apple cores were not disposed of properly, the baskets were left empty for two days; presumably this lesson did not have to be repeated. Students were also admonished by Mr. King not to take more than one apple a day (he carefully counted them). Even after Mr. King's death, the custom continued. The orchard was sold in 1944, but by then the connection between the fall picnic and apples had been established and other orchards were visited. The records show that the first use of the words "Apple Day" does not appear until 1 Oct. 1946. Minutes, Fac. 1946-47. The Alumnae Association sells apples for Christmas gifts, members of the board of trustees and other boards are presented baskets of Virginia apples, and the modern student paints apples on her face, wears "apple" tee shirts and welcomes the freshman class on the annual Apple Day.

⁶⁸ BS 1942. (Centennial issue) Watters 363-70. CC 15 Dec. 1924. Minutes, BT 20 June 1925. The Handbook was begun in 1929, sponsored by the Student Government Association, the YWCA and the Athletic Association. By the 1940s it was undertaken by the Student Government Association and the dean of students' office. HB. passim. A curious episode involving Campus Comments was revealed in March 1941. Without explanation or references in succeeding editions, the space for the editorial was left blank except for a big black "Censored" printed in the middle of the column. The editorial the week before had been a reprint of a student editorial from the University of California regarding student rights to "free thought"; it was not particularly controversial. No reference to censorship is made in succeeding issues, nor are there any further examples of administrative control. CC 28 Feb. 1941. 7 Mar. 1941.

⁶⁹ Today Founders' Day is held on the first Friday in October. The Ivy Ceremony no longer is observed, the senior "attendants" are gone, and the alumnae reunion is now held in May during Commencement weekend. There is still an address (usually by

someone associated with the college), seniors, already robed, stand and put on their own mortarboards at the invitation of the president, and various academic awards and recognitions are acknowledged. One important custom has persisted. For 35 years, Dr. Fraser had read the 121st Psalm at the opening exercises of the school. After his death, Dr. Blakely had continued the practice and as Founders' Day became institutionalized, that Psalm became part of the program. It has been read annually since 1898. CC 4 Oct. 1932. This is also the occasion for senior and freshman parents to visit the campus, and weekend lectures, excursions and faculty conferences are planned. Simultaneously, the Fall Alumnae Leadership Conference is held. See program, Founders' Day Convocation, 7 Oct. 1988. MBC Archives.

⁷⁰ CC 25 Nov. 1933. passim. Watters 493.

⁷¹ College calendars are found in the Handbook, 1930-45. passim. Watters 527-29.

⁷² These comments are taken from the various issues of Campus Comments, 1936-45. It would be wearisome and repetitious to cite all the individual sources. In his president's Report to the Board, Dr. Jarman reported that 70% to 80% of the students had "dated." 75% married within five years of graduation. CC 4 May 1929 refers to the stone bench. CC 4 Oct. 1932 refers to the five faculty automobiles, including Dean Pfohl's Buick called "Delight."

⁷³ CC 3 Oct. 1931. 27 Nov. 1931. 15 Oct. 1932. Watters 466. Tuition and expenses in 1930 were \$675 per year (extra for "special" courses, laboratory fees, etc); in 1944, tuition was \$950 (and there were still some special fees). Catalogue, 1930-31. 1944-45. At the same time, salaries had remained constant from 1930-43.

⁷⁴ CC 1 Nov. 1935. 15 Nov. 1935. 14 Feb. 1936. 5 Feb. 1937. 5 May 1939. 1 Oct. 1939. 20 Oct. 1939. 4 Apr. 1941. Of course, the editor of Campus Comments changed yearly (although the sponsor, Dr. Carroll, was a constant), and a student generation changes every four years. Consistency of editorial viewpoints is not characteristic of college newspapers.

⁷⁵ CC 17 Oct. 1930. 6 Mar. 1931. 28 Apr. 1934. 24 Nov. 1934. 22 Oct. 1943. 16 Oct. 1944.

⁷⁶ There is a very interesting folder in the college archives with letters, pictures and mementos of these missionary activities. See also: CC 16 Feb. 1935. 27 Apr. 1935. 11 Nov. 1933.

⁷⁷ Minutes, Fac. 6 Dec. 1932. CC 27 Nov. 1931. 21 Oct. 1933. 15 Nov. 1933. 13 Jan. 1934. 28 Oct. 1938. Watters 465. AN Apr. 1946. Campus Comments notes that the YWCA sent Ruda a box of "selected clothing" in 1949. 8 Apr. 1949. In 1954, Rudolfa Schorchtova (class of 1937) is listed in the In Memoriam column. There is no further information given. AN Nov. 1954.

⁷⁸ Report of the Dean of Mary Baldwin College, 1936-37.

⁷⁹ CC 14 Nov. 1930. 12 Dec. 1930. 24 Feb. 1934. 17 Mar. 1934. 9 Feb. 1935. 25 Nov. 1938. 9 Dec. 1938. President's Report to the Board of Trustees, 1938-39. Recent, rather casual study suggests that in 1989, 50% of the alumnae of the previous 10 years have married since leaving college, reflecting a nationwide trend for later (or no) marriage among educated middle Americans.

⁸⁰ AN 1925. This is not to suggest that the alumnae did nothing but social activities. They had been active in first suggesting junior and then full college status. They had collected records, reminiscences and mementos of the seminary days (without which Dr. Watters would have found it hard to write her History); they had established a scholarship for missionary daughters; they had commissioned and paid for the Mary Julia Baldwin Memorial Window in the Chapel; they had helped recruit new students. However, the fact that, in the 1920s, only 331 alumnae had contributed to the college campaigns indicated that, while a few had worked very hard and sacrificially, most of the alumnae were not yet persuaded that their "loyalty and service" were needed by the college. Watters 536-54.

⁸¹ AN Mar. 1935. Mar. 1936. Gloria Jones Atkinson of the Staunton Chapter was largely responsible for organizing this project. The executive secretaries in this era were Eugenia Bumgardner and Dorothy Morris Fauver (part-time). After 1924, Mary Houston Turk, Constance Curry Carter, Mary Moore Pancake, Winifred Love and Nancy Gwyn Gilliam were full-time executive secretaries. Watters 543.

⁸² AN Oct. 1941. Oct. 1946. Watters 538.

⁸³ AN Apr. 1932. July 1936. July 1937. Dean Pfohl recalled having to paper the stairwell outside her apartment each summer because the boys' heads pressed against the wall left hair pomade stains on the wallpaper. Watters 543, Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell and Irene Hecht, interview, Jan. 1984. MBC Archives.

⁸⁴ In 1937, it was decided that the News Letter would be sent only to dues-paying and life members. AN July 1937. July 1936. July 1937. Jan. 1938. The Wedgwood plate project was revived

after World War II and continued until the 1960s. One of the Sesquicentennial committee's projects has been to secure a re-issuing of the plates and also the Ham and Jam bookends.

⁸⁵ Watters 422-31. Real estate (lots with no houses) on Academy was purchased in 1933, and 1934 for \$9500; two more lots and houses on North New Street were acquired in 1936, for \$5,000 and \$7,500; and the remaining property on the college side of New Street was purchased in 1940, for \$20,000. (The buildings were all razed to make room for King Auditorium.) In addition, Martha Riddle Hall was acquired in 1936 for \$15,000, and the Alumnae House ("The Club") in 1937 for \$14,000. In 1936, the "Beckler House" (the Science Building) was purchased for \$5,900, and in a somewhat complicated transaction involving annuity payments to Professor Schmidt, Miller House was secured for \$19,600 (over a seven-year period). None of these buildings (which had been private homes) was, in reality, suitable for the uses to which the college put them. They were simply the best that could be provided under the circumstance. Some of them are still standing a half century later and are still in use.

⁸⁶ See note 72. *CC passim*. Much of the credit for this physical appearance rests with "Bill" and Richard Crone and their able assistants over the almost 90 years they have been associated with the seminary and college.

⁸⁷ It had been the college's proud statement (going back to Mr. King's annual reports) that the institution had operated since the Civil War with "no debts, and no deficits." Mr. King had also proudly added - no "outside help," but, as has been noted, that part of Mr. King's claims had been revised in the 1920s although very little "outside help" had emerged. The executive committee minutes reveal how close indeed, the college was to deficit financing in the 1930s. Dr. Jarman had criticized the "perfunctory" audits of Mr. King's accounts and had, since 1932, provided the board of trustees with a yearly projected budget which never indicated more than a few thousand dollars surplus. The finance committee of the board and its advisor, National Valley Bank (after 1935), began cautiously to move the college's endowment funds into stocks and bonds (including Pennsylvania Railroad, Chesapeake & Ohio, Virginia Railroad, Bethlehem Steel, Commodity Credit Corporation Bonds, American Telephone & Telegraph) and away from the local real estate investment and local bonds (most of which were liquidated at a loss) so dear to Mr. King's heart. Minutes EC 20 Aug. 1936. He protested bitterly. But the cash flow

was so poor that, in 1932, Dr. Jarman had to pay \$200 for gas heat in his home "until such a time... [as] the college shall have sufficient funds to reimburse him." Minutes EC 10 Sept. 1932. Almost every year throughout the decade of the 1930s \$5,000 to \$15,000 was transferred from endowment to operating funds (to be repaid when tuition fees were received in the fall). Money was spent for the purchase of the property "abutting on the campus" but salaries remained unchanged for over 10 years. The risks of Dr. Jarman's proposals were, in retrospect, staggering. It would not be the last time such risks were taken.

⁸⁸ Minutes, Fac. 5 Apr. 1932. Reports to Fac. 1937-38. See p.77.

⁸⁹ Catalogue, 1936-37. passim.

⁹⁰ See pp 77-79.

⁹¹ The complete 25-year plan called for \$2.5 million to be raised by 1965; half for endowment, half for campus development. A five-year plan to raise \$500,000, divided in the same manner, was to be instituted immediately. Nowhere in the records does it appear that a clear-cut decision not to move the college plant was ever made. It does not even seem to have been debated. Once, however, the new building, "King," was erected, the sale of the 200 acres (the orchard) at the north of Staunton was inevitable and probably wise. It was sold in 1944 for \$65,000; the college achieved a \$5,000 "profit" after holding the property since 1922. With the wisdom of hindsight, it would have appeared wiser to have held the property longer; it now constitutes some of the most valuable private residential property in Staunton. But the needs of the 1945-50s were immediate and pressing, and the decision was made to sell it then. Minutes EC 28 Nov. 1944. See also note 104.

⁹² Lucien P. Giddens was a Birmingham Southern and Vanderbilt graduate (MA 1937), a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford (1928-31), and had begun work on his Ph.D. at Peabody College in Nashville. He was an enthusiastic lacrosse player, with varied travel and administrative experience and obvious academic credentials. It was a considerable disappointment that, within a year, his health forced him to resign. His appointment, in part, had stemmed from a desire to ease some of Dr. Jarman's burden, as the president's health was somewhat impeded, and had been since 1937. CC 10 Mar. 1939. AN March 1939. Martha Grafton was made an assistant to the president until June 1942, presumably to help fill the vacuum left by Mr. Giddens' departure. Dr. Bridges assumed the role of acting dean. Minutes, BT 31 Oct. 1941.

⁹³ AN March 1939. The physical characteristics of the Mary Baldwin campus are a challenge to any builder or architect. Market Street (so often referred to) was one of the steepest hills in Staunton; New Street, parallel to Market and one block farther west, is almost as bad. The campus has very little flat ground, except that derived from terraces, artificially created. It makes for great beauty, but is a nightmare when it comes to providing handicap access or even lawn mowing or snow removal from the sidewalks. An architect told a later president, Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., looking at the lots east of Market Street - "... This is a mighty rugged place to build... But it has character!" Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., letter to Patricia Menk, 11 Feb. 1988. MBC Archives. The "Beckler House," acquired in 1936, remained the Science building until 1966, when Grafton Library construction necessitated its removal.

⁹⁴ It will be remembered that in 1924 the Staunton Chamber of Commerce had raised \$110,000 in six weeks—much of which was eventually returned.

⁹⁵ Actually, the funding was more complicated than this account suggests. As President Jarman pointed out, the college contributed \$10,000 a year (for two years) for campaign and startup expenses; the money should have been returned to the endowment fund to help compensate for the \$36,000 withdrawn by the alumnae. To that should be added the \$32,500 cost of acquiring the building site; the \$300 Sam Gardner wanted for demolition of the existing structures so construction could proceed; the cost of Mr. Giddens' salary (\$3,600 a year), and the released time for Dr. Shedd; the extension of the heating and plumbing. No money had been earmarked for furnishings. Alumnae chapters later provided curtains for the stage and a lectern; Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Francis, (chairman of the board of trustees) gave the auditorium folding chairs. Later, when people asked why the pool that was built in 1942 is "so small" (it is 60' x 20'), Mrs. Grafton replied, "we had no money," which this simple analysis shows was true. Eventually, the building cost approximately \$153,000. The college paid, for several years, out of annual income the \$46,000 necessary to complete the project, and the endowment account remained minus at least \$70,000. Minutes, BT 26 Oct. 1940. 13 Mar. 1941. 21 Oct. 1943 . By present standards, this timetable was very ambitious, but it was met. Actually, the first public use of King Auditorium occurred in September 1942, when Greer Garson appeared there at a Defense Bond Rally.

The difficulties of the gymnasium occupying the same building as a college/civic auditorium had been recognized by the faculty committee as early as 1937. "A number of colleges have their main auditoriums in the gymnasium," they wrote. "While we recognize that this is not an ideal arrangement, it is a possible combination to be used for a few years". Reports to Fac. 1936-37. Actually, the arrangement proved to be very awkward, indeed. The auditorium was on the third floor (second from the front of the building). Handicapped access not often considered in the 1940s was extremely difficult, if not impossible; parking was on a hill and severely limited; and without a graduated floor, sitting on removable seats persons in the back rows had poor visibility. None of this mattered in the euphoria of 1942, but it limited the use of the auditorium after the mid-1970s when more stringent fire safety regulations restricted its use to 500 people. The "gymnasium" was used until 1990. The Drama department also found a home in King Building and remained there in uncomfortable juxtaposition with Physical Education until the opening of Deming in 1983 partially solved its problems. King Building is presently being renovated for new and more appropriate uses.

⁹⁶ For an extended account of the ceremonies, see: CC 31 Oct. 1941. AN Feb. 1942. BS 1942. (Centennial issue—the entire annual is a valuable summation and illustration of the first 100 years). Watters 557-64.

The cornerstone contains a copy of the original charter of Augusta Female Seminary; a picture of Rufus W. Bailey; Seminary records; a copy of the Bible (also included in 1842 Administration Building cornerstone, as the "first textbook of Augusta Female Seminary"); a copy of the charter of Staunton; a city history; and Waddell's History of Mary Baldwin Seminary. Also included were sketches of Mr. King, alumnae records, a catalogue and viewbook, the Student Handbook for 1942, and a copy of the Staunton News Leader for that date. Watters 558.

The masons were from Lodge No. 13, A. F. and A. M.

⁹⁷ Not all of the 90 inducted into the honor society were living. Actually, 24 were present for the induction ceremony and "several others" were inducted the following October. Watters 561. AN July 1942.

⁹⁸ The following figures reflect these conclusions:

<u>Enrollment:</u>	<u>Virginia</u>	<u>Southern States</u>	<u>Other States & Countries</u>
1941-332	120	134	78
1942-336	122	138	76
1943-341	118	149	74
1944-327	111	149	67
1945-318	105	168	45
1946-349	101	196	52

<u>Seniors</u>	<u>From Staunton</u>	<u>From Virginia Includes Staunton</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Other</u>
1941-43	5	21	14	8
1942-64 (Cent.)	11	23	23	9
1943-43	5	15	15	10
1944-34	11	13	13	4
1945-44	6	16	13	15
1946-43	8	20	16	7

These figures mostly reflect normal yearly variations. 1942, the Centennial year, obviously encouraged many students to stay to graduate (64). The next year there were 21 fewer seniors and nine fewer than that in 1944; but then the numbers increased again. The worst year for the enrollment was the hardest year of the war, 1944-45 and as the war years lengthened, the enrollment from the northeast, mid-and far west declined, perhaps due to transportation difficulties. But, for a "tuition-driven college," Mary Baldwin survived the war years very well and even felt confident enough to plan another building campaign when the war should end. Catalogue, 1941-46. passim.

⁹⁹ CC 20 Feb. 1942. 7 June 1943. 22 Oct. 1943.

¹⁰⁰ CC 11 May 1945. 5 Oct. 1945.

¹⁰¹ AN Feb. 1943.

¹⁰² CC 29 Sept. 1944. AN July 1945.

¹⁰³ Minutes, Fac. 2 Nov. 1943. Minutes, BT 9 Mar. 1944. 26 Oct. 1944. Minutes EC 6 Oct. 1945.

¹⁰⁴ Minutes EC 28 Nov. 1944. 8 Dec. 1944. The terms of the sale involved \$30,000 in cash and \$35,000 in bonds secured by a first lien deed of trust on the real estate conveyed, at an annual rate of 4%, payable over the next 10 years. See note 91.

¹⁰⁵ The committee consisted of Edmund Campbell, Campbell

Pancake, John B. Daffin and F. L. Brown, representing Mary Baldwin College, and Mrs. W. Wayt Gibbs, Mr. Fred Prufer and Mrs. Charles S. Hunter, Jr., representing King's Daughters' Hospital. Minutes EC 18 Dec. 1945. 31 Jan. 1946. AN Apr. 1946.

¹⁰⁶ Minutes EC Dec. 1944. 28 Nov. 1944. By March, Dr. Shedd had reconsidered his request and asked that his resignation be withdrawn, which the board refused to do, but did agree to his reappointment at the same salary and title he had held previously, but without tenure. He would be treated as a "new appointee." Under these circumstances, Dr. Shedd refused to return and left the college in 1945. Minutes, BT 8 Mar. 1945.

¹⁰⁷ Minutes EC 6 Oct. 1945. 3 May 1946.

¹⁰⁸ Minutes EC 1 Sept. 1945. 10 Sept. 1948.

¹⁰⁹ AN Apr. 1946.



Frank Bell Lewis



Charles Wallace McKenzie



FOUR

A Time of Transition: The Triumvirate 1945-1957

After Dr. Jarman's illness in September 1945, the college was left in the capable hands of Dean Martha Grafton while a board committee sought a new chief executive. He (or she - the board left open the possibility that a woman might be considered) was to be a "sincerely active" Presbyterian, an educator, a "true" executive, and possess "innate abilities in public relations."¹ It was not until May 1947 that the appointment was made. Dr. Frank Bell Lewis, Professor of Bible and Philosophy at Davis & Elkins College, was an ordained Presbyterian minister who also possessed an earned Ph.D. in Philosophy from Duke, had studied at the University of Edinburgh, and was well known to the members of the Synod of Virginia as a preacher and teacher. He had an attractive young wife and a soon-to-be infant daughter. His appointment was greeted with much enthusiasm and good will; no one could have foreseen that, largely due to external conditions beyond his control, the six years of his tenure would be marked by declining enrollment, financial hardships, and increasing tension between the college and the Synod of Virginia. When the opportunity arose in 1953 for Dr. Lewis to accept an offer to serve on the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, he welcomed the opportunity and the trustees found themselves again looking for a chief executive. Martha Grafton served as acting president for the second time with "full administrative authority" until Charles W. McKenzie was appointed early in 1954. His tenure was brief; a series of

disagreements with the board of trustees, and the Synod of Virginia culminated in a major conflict in September 1956, and Mr. McKenzie abruptly resigned the week before classes were to begin.² This time, Dr. Richard Potter, pastor of the Staunton First Presbyterian Church and member of the board of trustees, agreed to serve as acting president (without salary) until another chief executive could be found.

The immediate postwar years were, indeed, times of crisis and transition; the euphoria of the World War II victory quickly gave way to the sobering problems of inflation, economic dislocations, the Cold War and McCarthyism. By 1950, United States military forces were actively engaged in the "police action" in Korea; the USSR had the "bomb," and China had become a Communist nation. The United Nations was perceived as seriously flawed; and the civil rights revolution would shortly emerge. College enrollments throughout the nation plummeted, as in the 1940s the small pool of "depression" babies reached their late teens. The "G.I." bill, so supportive of some institutions, did little to help women's colleges. Almost all of the veterans eligible for tuition grants were men.

These were the years that Mary Baldwin struggled to adjust its relationship with the Presbyterian Church; to upgrade its physical facilities; to "modernize" its curriculum to fit the changing needs of young women and to reverse the downward curve in its enrollment. For the first time in its history the college's operating budget required deficit financing; in addition, money was borrowed for capital improvements and the endowment was shrinking. How did Mary Baldwin survive the instability that two presidents and three interregna in 12 years produced?

The answer, at least in part, comes from administrative (below the top level) and faculty stability. The "triumvirate" (as they were called privately by some faculty members) of Martha Grafton, Elizabeth Parker and Marguerite Hillhouse continued steadily on course throughout these troubled years, impervious to presidential vagaries and synod uncertainties.³ It is interesting to note that Dr. Jarman, who sent a most cordial letter to Frank Bell Lewis upon learning of his election as president, wrote:

In one respect you are to be...congratulated, in that you find there an adequate faculty and a group of...loyal and able lieutenants. I speak of Dean Parker, Dean Grafton and Registrar

Hillhouse. I commend them to you and you to them. I seldom made a major decision relative to [the] College without their counsel.⁴

Likewise, John Daffin and James T. Spillman continued to manage the internal finances of the institution; Bill Crone had the physical plant in hand, and Edmund Campbell as chairman of the board of trustees gathered together a group of loyal and devoted supporters. There was also a solid core of, by now, experienced and skillful faculty, and under Mrs. Grafton's guidance the appointments that were made during these years brought new talents and long-time commitments to the college.⁵ And so Mary Baldwin survived and grew and prepared for the astonishing decade of the 1960s.

The board of trustees, headed during these years by Edmund D. Campbell, reflected the stability of the administration and faculty. Members usually served until physical disability or death removed them, and the records reveal how devotedly and generously many of them gave of their talents and resources. Among appointees of these years Edmund Campbell remembers as particularly supportive were the Rev. John Newton Thomas, who recommended Frank Bell Lewis as president; Francis Pickens Miller, a Virginia politician and idealist whose mother was an alumna; the Rev. Richard Potter, carrying on the tradition that the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church be on the board; Gilpin Willson, Jr., a Staunton banker whose astute advice eased some of the college's financial burdens; and Hugh Sproul, Jr., long-time secretary of the board and serving, as his father before him had done, as a "bridge" between the college and the local community. The Lexington "connection" was kept alive by James Leyburn, dean of Washington & Lee, a maverick academician who pushed for the reform of the curriculum. There were always women on the board, representing alumnae and simply in their own right. Emily P. Smith, Margaret Kable Russell, Lyda Bunker Hunt, Julia Gooch Richmond, and Margaret Cunningham Craig Woodson all served in this era.⁶

In 1954, Francis Pickens Miller raised the question of limited terms for board members and rotation as a system more in keeping with the Synod of Virginia's practice and as a means of allowing some younger representation. There was resistance to this idea; Edmund Campbell observed that the board had an authorized strength of 28 but seldom had more than 20 members,

so there was room for "new blood." The debate continued and was merged with the long struggle to define the relationships with the Synod of Virginia.

The two presidents (Lewis and McKenzie) had differing relationships with the board and the college. Dr. Lewis regularly reported to the faculty and students the actions and decisions of the board; Mr. McKenzie wished Dean Grafton and Mr. Daffin to be present at board meetings, but he seldom shared board decisions with the other college constituencies. Dr. Lewis was even-tempered, amiable, popular with the faculty and students. A "pleasant relationship" the Campus Comments called it. "He guided us through our difficulties, successes and strivings with...gentle understanding, delightful humor, and calm strength..."⁷ He was deeply committed to fostering the spiritual life of the campus and closer synod-college ties. In truth, he had little administrative experience, found it very difficult to dismiss faculty and personnel, which economic necessity forced him to do, was deeply distressed by the falling enrollment and the conflicts with the synod. Mr. McKenzie, on the other hand, had a confrontational style, both with the board and with the faculty, and little real understanding of the tradition-bound, conservative Staunton community. He demanded recognition of his prerogatives as president, was impatient with synod indecision and board fiscal conservatism, and was clearly too unlike previous Mary Baldwin College presidents to be easily accepted. Yet both these men and their wives sincerely worked and sacrificed for the good of the college, sought its survival and expansion, and each, in his own way, made some lasting contributions.

Dr. Lewis became president on 1 July 1947. The previous year's enrollment had been 347, the highest it had ever been, but each year of the Lewis presidency saw the numbers decline; by 1953, the enrollment was 229; it thereafter gradually improved, until, by 1958, it was 311. But it would not be until 1960 that the enrollment exceeded that of 1945.⁸

The old pattern of transfers at the end of the sophomore year had persisted. In 1946, there had been 43 seniors; by 1953 there were only 29; four years later there were 32.⁹ Faculty numbers reflected these dismal statistics. There had been 37 full-time faculty in 1946; 10 years later there were 31, although the use of adjuncts helped cover some of the inevitable deficiencies. On the other hand, tuition and fees had risen steadily - from \$950 in 1946, to \$1,650 in 1956, a 73.7% increase; day student fees had inflated

even more quickly - from \$300 to \$575, or an 91.7% increase. But even increased fees could not compensate for the lack of student numbers as salary increases and improved retirement policies were mandated by actions of competitive colleges. After 1949, funds were withdrawn from the Investment Income Account to cover operating deficiencies every year, and the provision that the account was not to drop below \$25,000 was modified as the needs of the college increased. In 1956, acting president Potter was authorized to borrow \$75,000 (from outside sources) to cover operating expenses, and ultimately a bond issue was floated to handle capital improvements and debts.

All possible methods for raising additional funds and increasing the enrollment were pursued with vigor. Dr. Lewis addressed innumerable Presbyterian congregations and Presbyterian meetings as he sought to have the churches increase their giving to synod higher educational institutions (of which Mary Baldwin College was one) and to send students to the college. A proposal to pay tuition and fees on an installment plan was instituted; scholarship aid increased, and a tuition exchange program among Presbyterian colleges was approved in 1955. President Lewis was responsible for the college in 1952 becoming a charter member of the newly organized Virginia Foundation for Independent Colleges; thereafter Mary Baldwin College shared modestly with a number of other Virginia institutions in contributions from businesses and corporations to assist private education in the state.

The finance committee of the board experimented with a greater mix of investments in stocks and bonds for the endowment fund, although the old policy of making local loans secured by real estate continued until the mid-1950s. Alumnae were again asked to step into the breach; each chapter appointed a student recruitment chairman; and on at least one occasion in 1955, the Annual Fund was used as a "recognition gift" for the faculty.

Few students and faculty were aware of the severe financial difficulties of these years. Boards of trustees and administrations did not share such information in the 1950s, but in retrospect it can be seen how difficult it was.¹⁰

Dr. Lewis's task was made infinitely more complex by the plan to exchange the old King's Daughters' Hospital property on Frederick Street for Mary Baldwin College's "farm" north of town. The plan had been first proposed in 1945 and was well under way by 1947, when Dr. Lewis became president. At this point the impact of declining enrollment was not yet fully realized. Indeed,

the college residence space was full and, once Dr. Jarman and his family left, students were housed in Rose Terrace. The college rented in 1947 a lovely old home several blocks from the campus for the new president and his family. Although a "new dormitory" had been next on the priority list from the moment King Building had been authorized, promises that the student body would not be "enlarged" had been made and would be repeated. It was feared that a larger student body would destroy the intimate character of the institution, but some housing in the outlying buildings was inadequate, and a new dormitory was an admitted necessity. It was determined that \$150,000 (plus the college real estate at the "farm") would be sufficient to complete the purchase of the old King's Daughters' Hospital, and by 1946 a campaign was under way to raise the money from alumnae, churches, trustees and friends. Mr. Daffin was in charge of the project and, in the euphoria of the immediate postwar years, it was surprisingly successful. By 1948, \$139,000 had been contributed; this included an anonymous \$30,000 donation, the largest single gift the college had ever received; \$10,000 from the local Alumnae Association; and a \$15,000 grant from the General Education Board, to be matched 3:1. Eventually, the total amount of \$158,000 was raised or borrowed, and the exchange and purchase was completed on 1 March 1951.¹¹

By this time, the implications of the shrinking enrollment were clearly visible. That same year, Dr. Lewis and his family had moved into Rose Terrace since it was no longer needed for student housing, and the question, "What now?" must have been asked.¹²

Additional purchases of lots and houses on Frederick Street had been negotiated during this five-year period in order to tie the "new dormitory" into the campus, and a nurses' home had come with the hospital property. There was now no immediate need for these buildings for student housing. It was embarrassing to have two empty structures and several lots on hand when neither student numbers nor financial resources were there for them, but the board and the college authorities were committed and proceeded with deliberate but stubborn plans for the future needs of a college they did not intend to let die.¹³

During the fall of 1951, a proposal by the faculty that a demonstration school for children ages three to five be established on the Mary Baldwin campus was seriously considered. Alumnae comments that, since 80% of the graduates married and established homes, more attention should be paid to child care courses,

were taken seriously. The Education faculty, responding to developing state and national trends, perceived expanding career opportunities for qualified early childhood education teachers and the new course offerings were seen as one more reason why some students might choose to come and to stay for four years at Mary Baldwin College. Therefore, the board in 1952 approved converting the first floor of the nurses' home into the Nannie Tate Demonstration School.¹⁴ An alumna gift of \$8,000 made the necessary alterations possible, and in the fall of 1952 the school was opened with 20 pupils, whose parents paid \$150 tuition a year. Julia Weill was appointed as Director of the Tate Demonstration School; a series of "one-way" windows allowed college students and parents to view the youngsters, and a new dimension had been added to the college's academic offerings.¹⁵

By 1953, the board had authorized the employment of an architect, Floyd Johnson and Associates of Charlottesville, to assist in the remodeling of the former hospital into a dormitory, and a year later the figure of \$180,000 for renovations and equipment was proposed. Mrs. Grafton and Mr. Daffin, seeking financial assistance, made trips to Texas and elsewhere to the college's friends. There were generous gifts, but not enough of them; and in 1956 a \$200,000 bond issue, using the college property as security, was offered, with the interest on the bonds "not to exceed 5%."¹⁶

The new dormitory, "the latest word in modern design and convenience," was named Rufus W. Bailey Residence Hall. It was first occupied in September 1955. There were 45 double student rooms, five singles, two guest suites, a kitchen, a fully equipped laundry, and two student lounges. Enrollment figures had shown some modest increases, and other campus changes in housing facilities made it possible to occupy the building. It was dedicated on Founders' Day 1955, with Edmund Campbell honoring his great-grandfather, for whom the building was named. This was but a first step in what would be an explosion of new construction in the 1960s.¹⁷

There were other physical changes during these years. Shortly after the end of the war, the Graftons donated to the college a lot adjacent to a small country home which they owned near Stuarts Draft. The SGA president's forum undertook to have a simple cabin constructed on the land for use as a student "retreat" center. During the next three years a variety of fund-raising projects resulted in the \$2500 necessary to build "Chip Inn." Furnished

largely from the war surplus store and with contributions from all the clubs on campus, the country "retreat" opened in early 1948 and was immediately popular. Dates were permitted to attend picnics, if properly chaperoned, and SGA and "Y" planning sessions were held there; it was 13 miles from the campus, and occasionally some energetic students would hike out for a spring-time evening supper.¹⁸

There continued great pressure on the Academic Building, and particularly the provision of new quarters for Biology could no longer be delayed. There had been hopes that a new science building could soon be erected, but when it became obvious by the late 1940s that this would not be possible in the foreseeable future, something had to be done. So the decision was therefore made that the Alumnae Club House would become the Biology Building and that a Student Activities Building would be erected next to Hill Top on the upper terrace. While these discussions were under way, the First Presbyterian Church offered to buy from the college Fraser Hall, a building next to their sanctuary which had belonged to Mary Julia Baldwin. A price of \$22,500 was agreed to, which came close to the preliminary estimates for the Student Activities Center. Unfortunately, as the plans for that facility expanded, so did the price, and by 1950 Edmund Campbell suggested that the building be put under roof and then halted until other money became available. The board, however, voted to complete it, using contingency funds.¹⁹ The building, which had no name other than the "Student Activities Building" for many years, was finished by May 1951. The lower floor was the student club and "tea room," with a fireplace, a small kitchen, a post office, and a "bookstore." The main floor had a more formal lounge, also with a fireplace, and an outside porch facing the inner campus. The top floor had a faculty/alumnae "parlor," a day students' lounge, and a locker room. The architecture conformed to the neoclassical style of Hill Top and Memorial; it had massive white columns, was painted a light cream (as were all the other buildings on campus except Rose Terrace), and was connected with the "covered way." The building was completed within 18 months, somewhat delayed by the Korean War and by rock which had to be blasted before the foundation could be laid. It was occupied in September 1951; it cost \$81,000, two-thirds of which was paid by gifts from friends and alumnae.²⁰

Additional sums were spent to renovate McClung, Hill Top and Memorial; to put reinforced windows into King; to expand and

remodel the Library (still located in Academic). The Alumnae offices were moved back to Main Building; new wiring and a new PBX telephone system were installed; the inevitable summer painting continued at a slower pace. Somehow funds for all of these activities were "found." Sometimes the funds did not "stretch"—a Building and Grounds Report to the trustees in March of 1956 concluded: "We pray the heating plant will carry us through another winter...we hope it will hold out."²¹

Lillian Thomsen and Mary Humphreys rejoiced in having a whole building, albeit an old one that was once a residence, for Biology. They moved out of Academic in the summer of 1950 into the remodeled Club House on New Street, where they now had "two large laboratories and three small ones," a lecture room, a greenhouse, a student lounge, and three "store rooms." It seemed luxurious after their cramped quarters in Academic but, compared to their "sister" colleges, the facilities were still woefully inadequate for both Biology and Chemistry; the latter remained in the small frame building on the corner of Market and Frederick to which it had moved in 1936.²²

By the mid-1950s the Lexington Presbytery was seeking new physical quarters for the Presbyterian Guidance Center, which had been located at the Woodrow Wilson Rehabilitation Center in Fishersville. Mary Baldwin students majoring in Psychology had been helping with the testing program there, and Dean Grafton believed having the Center located on the college campus would assist not only Psychology and Education students, but would provide counseling services for everyone. After two years of negotiations, an agreement was reached and the Guidance Center moved to Riddle Hall 1 September 1955. The Director, Dr. Lillian Pennell, became a familiar figure at most college activities, and the board and college administration hoped that this evidence of college-church cooperation would lead to more synod support for the college's needs.²³

There were dreams of still more physical changes. Alumnae, some faculty, and others hoped for the restoring of the old Chapel "to the way it was " It was still occasionally used as a dormitory; with increased enrollment in the late 1950s, some 11 to 16 students were housed there. Space in Chapel also provided a projection room, and, of course, the college dining room and kitchens still occupied the ground floor. In 1952, Horace Day made sketches of the Administration Building (Main), Rose Terrace, Hill Top and the Chapel to be used to show prospective

donors and on Christmas cards and stationery sold by the Alumnae Association. Not all dreams become reality, unfortunately, and in 1962 serious structural weaknesses in the old building could no longer be ignored. Since there were no funds to restore it, the building, which dated from 1817, had to be removed.²⁴

The Board of Trustees and the executives of Mary Baldwin were well aware that the college very much needed a "master plan." Much of the past experience had been a kind of piecemeal response to opportunities that presented themselves or to needs that could no longer be denied. True, Dr. Jarman had set as an objective acquiring title to all the property of the college's original rectangle, (Frederick, New, Academy and Market Streets), and the building of King in 1942 had validated his projections. But even then, the college had acquired property beyond the perimeters of these modest holdings; i.e. Riddle, the Music Building, the Biology and the Chemistry Buildings. The war years had, of course, prohibited any further expansion, and a rather casual decision had been made in 1944 to sell the orchard properties north of town, thereby committing the college to stay in its historic location. Now, in the postwar years, when more deliberate and judicious decisions might have been made, the declining enrollments, the lack of funds, and the necessary expenditures each year just to keep the current physical plant operating, severely limited the capacity to plan. The three "new" buildings, Bailey, Tate Demonstration School and the Student Activities Building, were again responses to opportunity and necessity, rather than step one in a coordinated projection for the future. By the mid-1950s, however, the enrollment figures were slightly better, and the new President Charles McKenzie addressed the Board of Trustees on his vision of the college's future. For the first time, a suggestion for a larger student body, up to 400, was raised. The college should teach "Christian Education," erect a Chapel, ("one of the greatest needs"), and would have "to increase its physical plant, its faculty and their salaries."²⁵ The Fund Raising Committee of the board, chaired by Eldon Wilson, discussed at a called meeting a proposed \$2 1/2 million Ten Year Development Program worked out with a professional firm, Marts and Lundy. A Development Office headed by a special assistant to the president was created; its immediate task was to raise \$500,000 in 1956 to replace the heating plant, reduce the debt on Bailey, and to acquire more property; there was to be a "major convocation" 11-13 May 1956 to publicly announce the plan; and the costs for the

first three years of the campaign were to be charged against the campaign, rather than the college operating costs. The board gave tentative approval to the proposal; Ray Williams was hired as the presidential special assistant; a resident representative of Marts and Lundy appeared on the campus in January 1956; and announcements of the "Great Convocation" were made in Campus Comments. All of this came to an abrupt halt in the spring of 1956, when, after years of discussion, a proposal from the Synod of Virginia appeared to conflict with Mary Baldwin College's independent plans. It was agreed that all actions would be delayed until the fall of 1956; Marts and Lundy were dismissed, and their current expenses of \$10,000 were to be paid by the college, adding to its already considerable debt. Mr. McKenzie, who was congratulated by the board on his "diplomatic handling" of the sensitive problem, was bitterly disappointed. "The suspension of our fund drive after one month's operation and its present abandonment were...heartbreaking to many of us," he wrote.²⁶

In 1939, when the college was returned by the Synod of Virginia to a "self-perpetuating" board of trustees, it had been specified that a "close relationship" with the Synod of Virginia would be continued. Ten of the possible 28 trustees were to be chosen from within the geographical bounds of the Synod of Virginia, which would approve their appointments; the college made annual reports to the synod and continued throughout the war years and beyond to receive modest financial payments from the Christian Higher Educational Institutions budget.²⁷ Members of the college's board of trustees and administration made repeated and sincere efforts to strengthen the college-church ties. Most of the Mary Baldwin College administration were active Presbyterians, as were many faculty members and, in the early 1940s, a majority of the students. Religious chapel was held two times a week, often with student leaders; there was a yearly "Religious Emphasis Week"; academic courses in the Old and New Testaments were required for graduation; and Sunday attendance at the church of one's choice was mandatory. The "purpose of the College," the synod was assured, was to "deepen [the students'] faith and to strengthen their loyalty to the Church..."²⁸ But synod financial support continued to be minimal. When the possibility of purchasing the old King's Daughters' Hospital buildings arose, the synod agreed to contribute \$50,000 toward the purchase price; three years later (1950), only \$29,000 had been raised for this special pledge; further mention is not recorded in

the synod Minutes. Annual contributions from the church seldom exceeded \$8,000-\$9,000, most of which was spent as scholarship funds for ministers' daughters.²⁹

In 1952, Dr. Lewis had informed the board and the faculty that the Presbyterian Church had requested the college to make a thorough study of its curriculum and to evaluate its aims and objectives. Committees of trustees, alumnae, faculty, and students were appointed to examine the academic program, campus life, fund raising, church-college connections, and public relations. At a special two-day meeting of the board of trustees on 18-19 March 1953, the reports were carefully analyzed and "closer ties" with the Council on Educational Institutions of the Synod of Virginia were mandated.³⁰

It was apparent that the synod was seriously considering what its role and responsibilities should be toward the educational institutions which were "related" to it; i.e. Hampden-Sydney, Mary Baldwin College, and Union Theological Seminary. Annual reports to the Committee on Educational Institutions made it very clear that the colleges felt that the synod did not support them, and the synod committee had responded by asking the perennial question, "What makes an educational institution Christian?" The usual Presbyterian solution to a problem--i.e., to create another committee was observed, and in 1953 the Council on Educational Institutions was asked to bring some long-range plans to the synod. Perhaps the synod had been goaded by a talk given at Montreat by Dr. R.T.L. Liston entitled the "Folklore of Presbyterianism," the principal thesis of which was that Presbyterians prided themselves on a commitment to their educational institutions, but in reality only gave "lip service" to the idea. The Baptists supported their institutions much more generously! The remarks occasioned a good deal of anger but perhaps did lead to a more careful consideration of the needs of the synod's educational commitment.³¹

However it came about, Francis Pickens Miller was appointed to head a synod committee of 12 members; they decided that yet another survey of the three institutions be done but were unable to secure funds to pay for such a study. It was not until 1955 that Mary Baldwin College and Hampden-Sydney were each awarded \$2,500 to conduct the survey: the committee, enlarged to 40 members, then engaged five "distinguished educators" as consultants; and by June 1956 they were ready to present their recommendations to the synod and to the colleges involved. It was this

survey and self-study which had interrupted President McKenzie's cherished "Development" campaign. When the recommendations of the consultants became known, Mr. McKenzie's dismay increased. The evaluations were hardly complimentary.

Referring to Mary Baldwin, the consultants observed that, because of the small number of juniors and seniors, "it would appear that the institution serves predominantly a junior college function"; the students are about average on national test scores; "they show little interest in civic or political affairs"; "with a top salary of \$4,800, practically every man in the faculty has had to take outside employment to augment his salary"; the faculty gives "little evidence of scholarly activity" and they are "treated more like employees than full-time faculty members of a community of scholars"; the instructional plant is "inferior" to the residential plant; the "present location can never be made to suggest spaciousness or to provide extensive vistas of lawns and plants"; the "staff is perplexed by the tremendously formidable obstacle which the college faces in its tiny campus and its meager physical plant"; "a Christian college does not have a religious program; it is a religious program"; faculty should be "oriented" to the Christian mission of the college; they should attend "religious" seminars in the summer; the Old Testament course is too much of a survey; more attention should be paid to an intensive study of fundamental Biblical questions; we "could not prove the vitality" of the "Y" program; there are "few indications of active connection with national work," the report concluded.³²

What should the synod do? Several alternatives were suggested by the consultants:

- (1) A new four-year coeducational urban college could be constructed "somewhere within the bounds of the Synod" and Mary Baldwin College and Hampden-Sydney should be closed. This was the first choice of the consultants.

- (2) The synod might concentrate its direct financial support on one college; since the synod "owned" Hampden-Sydney, that would be the one. Scholarships for Presbyterian "girls" who wished to go elsewhere to college might be provided from synod funds.

- (3) Mary Baldwin College should move to the campus of Hampden-Sydney and become a "coordinate" church college;

its buildings and property could be sold to the city of Staunton to be used as a "municipal" college and/or a "private preparatory school."

(4) Both Mary Baldwin College and Hampden-Sydney could become junior colleges.

(5) Both Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin College should stay where and how they were, but the enrollment should be increased to 600 each.

If this last alternative were to be adopted, the consultants estimated it would take \$7,500,000 in additional capital funds and \$84,000 in annual giving for the operating costs of both institutions. The consultants acknowledged that the synod "has not been generous" in the past, but warned that the program outlined above would require seven times the present annual synod commitment to succeed. Even then, they warned, "this expenditure [will] not be sufficient to guarantee survival of these colleges to 2000 A.D."³³

Not all of these opinions and alternatives were made public in detail, nor were they even shared totally with the faculty; but the comments and conclusions were shocking and cost board members and administrators many sleepless nights. Was this to be the end of Rufus Bailey's and Mary Julia Baldwin's dreams? Were all the struggles, hardships and disappointments to go for naught? Was the hope of inspiring to "high endeavour" of the college alma mater to end? In the face of this appraisal, it is perhaps easier to understand why President McKenzie abruptly resigned in September 1956, ostensibly over a relatively minor disagreement with the Board of Trustees.³⁴

It was, of course, up to the synod to make a choice among the five alternatives presented by its consultants. A great deal of discussion continued throughout the summer, and when Mary Baldwin College's Board of Trustees met on 7 September 1956, Dr. Potter, the acting president, proposed that

in view of the earnest efforts being made...to increase Synod's support of its educational institutions...and, in the belief that the spirit of the 1956 Synod meeting revealed a sincere concern and readiness for extensive

positive action... the Board of Trustees of Mary Baldwin College expresses its willingness to cooperate with the Synod of Virginia in further exploration of the possibilities of the establishment of a coordinate coeducational college, but at the present time...agree that the alternative, support by the Virginia Synod towards the maintenance of Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin College at their present sites...is most acceptable to us.

The motion was carried somewhat reluctantly, since no one wanted a coordinate college, and an immediate resolution that a special long-range development plan for Mary Baldwin College be recommended to the board no later than the spring of 1957 was quickly adopted.³⁵ By November 1956, the synod had acquiesced in the wishes of both Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin College to remain in their present locations and had agreed that, in January 1957, a special offering for the two colleges "because of the present emergency" would be taken; a dollar per member was proposed.³⁶

Further, the synod agreed to support any development plans the Board of Trustees of Mary Baldwin College might propose and to undertake a united financial campaign on "behalf of Christian Higher Education," including the two colleges, two Presbyterian Guidance Centers, and Campus Christian Life, in the amount of \$2,500,000; 45% to Mary Baldwin College, and a like amount to Hampden-Sydney. It was agreed that each college could also undertake its own separate campaign among its own constituents, and that the simultaneous campaigns would "cooperate." The synod further agreed that the campaign would begin in 1959, and "adequate" funds from the benevolence budget would be assigned annually to each college.³⁷

One can only speculate about the protests that must have come to the synod from outraged alumnae and others once the proposal to close Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin College became known. The fact that they did not accept the recommendation of their consultants and so quickly agreed that each college could mount a separate campaign, as well as agreed to support yet another synod campaign, suggests that the pressure was considerable. It also leaves an area of doubt concerning how fully committed the synod was to the promised fund raising; would

there have been more enthusiasm than there was if they had been engaged in building a totally new, "co-ed, urban" Presbyterian college? There is no doubt that the years of delay, debate, and indecision cost Mary Baldwin College dearly. Enrollment, which had been increasing slowly since 1954, dropped from 286 in 1956 to 264 in 1957; gifts that were expected to come to the college were delayed or denied as rumors of projected moving or closing circulated. Only the fact that the board acted quickly in announcing their own new development plans and that they were able to find a charismatic, personable, dedicated new president in less than a year saved the college from disaster.³⁸

* * * *

For most of the college's constituencies-i.e., students, parents, faculty and community, all of the discussions of board and synod finances and development programs were at the periphery of their attention. Of more immediate concern were course offerings, the grading system, how long was Thanksgiving vacation, and what did one do after college? Pressures on the curriculum came from many sources during this 13-year period; from the synod of the Presbyterian Church, as they sought a closer correlation with a "Christian" perspective; from regional college accrediting boards; from the administration and faculty, who felt a deep commitment to upgrade and "modernize" course offerings; and from the students and their parents, who were beginning to consider seriously the role of educated women in contemporary society. Added to these considerations were the declining enrollment, until the mid-1950s, and the almost desperate search for course offerings which would "attract" and "hold" students. There were at least two thorough-going studies of the curriculum involving many committees and year-long processes made in this period, and a number of efforts were made to integrate learning and to relate education to a young woman's life after she left college. The 1940s and 1950s were a time of change in the perception of women's roles and capabilities. Thousands of women had performed creditable work in "men's positions" during the war, and if "Rosie the Riveter" returned to the kitchen after the war, she did not always do so willingly. The "sexual revolution" was to be a generation in the future, but already the signs were there that young women, especially college young women, hoped and expected to do more than marry and raise families immediately after graduation. As

one Mary Baldwin student phrased it, "I expect to have a career when I get out of college, at least for a while, preliminary to marriage, you know."³⁹ In 1949, the most popular major on campus was Psychology, followed by Sociology, and chapel programs encouraged students to consider careers in the care and prevention of mental illness, social work, religious vocations, merchandising, journalism, foreign service, and psychotherapy. In 1956, a Medical Technology program in cooperation with King's Daughters' Hospital was added, permitting a Mary Baldwin College woman to graduate from the college and simultaneously to be eligible to work as a registered medical technologist.⁴⁰

Yet there were still mixed signals. As board member James G. Leyburn expressed it, in a speech to the faculty, "Your Mary Baldwin graduates are not going to be atomic physicists or specialists of any other sort. They are going to be wives, mothers, citizens and human beings." Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell's Founders' Day Address in 1955 declared, "Woman's essential role is that of taking care of the needs of others, and she cannot depart too far from this...women need good health, a good heart, a good mind and a good soul."⁴¹ Responses to questionnaires sent to alumnae made it plain that they wished the college curriculum to focus on early childhood development (hence the Demonstration School), human relationships, and healthy living habits. The church felt the college's principal teaching objective should be "Christian citizenship."

Howard Mumford Jones, writing in Mademoiselle in January 1952, presented still another perception. "College Women have Let us Down," he declared, and proceeded to say that female college students were characterized by political apathy, "listlessness" about public issues, "a queer sort of genteel selfishness, and a desire for a job, but no interest in a career...They want jobs that are small, safe and secure—but [they must not be] routine." As might be expected, this article brought a spate of angry answers, often from mothers, the gist of which was that if this condition was indeed true, it was because of lack of "faculty leadership" and the "petrified" curriculum. Professional educators, in the meantime, were deploring the "fragmentation" of knowledge and demanding more interdisciplinary studies, more integration of theory with practice, and more choice and flexibility in meeting graduation requirements.⁴²

With limited resources, a small faculty, with a thin margin for experimentation if those "inflexible" accreditation standards were

to be continually met, the Mary Baldwin academic community did its best to answer these pressures and concerns. The college, as a college, was still so young, comparatively speaking, and from a suspect heritage, that a major priority had to be the upholding and increasing of academic standards. Entrance requirements were increased to 16 high school units; placement tests for languages and English were administered; faculty were assigned as advisors to freshmen and a required freshman orientation course, meeting throughout the year, was introduced. Mary Baldwin students became a thoroughly tested group of young women. SAT scores were required for admission, and sophomores participated in the National College Sophomore Testing program. This eight-hour experience met with instant student dismay; one young lady announced that she approached the ordeal with "distaste, disapproval, and weary resignation." After the major was declared, the students were presented with "reading lists" which, at the end of the next two years, provided the nucleus for "senior comprehensives." All seniors also were required to take Graduate Record Examinations in their major fields.⁴³

Although upperclassmen in good standing were now allowed unlimited cuts (1955), no one could cut for two days before and after a holiday. By 1953, Mrs. Grafton was warning that grades were "too high," and the faculty spent an unprofitable amount of time reevaluating the grading system and debating the meaning of such phrases as "conspicuously excellent."⁴⁴

The Secretarial Certificate was discontinued in 1948, and that same year it was agreed that not all speech and music majors would present recitals and not all art majors would give exhibits; only outstanding students would be invited to do so. A Biology honorary society, Beta Beta Beta, was installed on campus (1948), but the college quietly withdrew an application for Phi Beta Kappa when it became obvious that neither the physical nor the endowment requirements could be met. Instead, the college Honor Society was made more visible. Election to it was very selective--10% or less of the graduating class--but, beginning in 1952, a special Honors' Society breakfast was held the morning of commencement each year. In addition, an annual Honors' Day Convocation was held in February. There was an academic procession, the Honors and Dean's lists for the first semester were read aloud, and a visiting scholar presented an address. In 1953, the first Margaret Kable Russell Scholar was named.⁴⁵ The historical pilgrimages were revived (1948); "literary teas" were

held in the Library on Sunday afternoons; the first Shakespeare play to be presented by students in its entirety, The Tempest, was performed on campus to great acclaim in 1953. Everything that could give visibility and support for academic excellence was encouraged.

Curiously enough, in 1953 a board of trustees committee, evaluating the academic program at the behest of the synod, sent a list of 14 items to the faculty for their consideration. Among its "suggestions" was the request that seniors be excused from final course exams after they had passed the senior comprehensive; that the Physical Education requirement be abolished or modified (there is "too much time and energy spent on Physical Education," a board member noted); that a course on "Our Religious Heritage" be introduced; that a major in Education and one in "Natural Sciences" be added. All of the above were either tabled or disapproved by faculty vote, and nothing more was heard of them.⁴⁶

In an attempt to "integrate" knowledge, an American Studies Major and other Interdisciplinary majors were developed during these years, such as Sociology/Economics or Bible/Philosophy. The most ambitious of these efforts was a course entitled "Philosophy and the Arts", team-taught by Drs. Broman, Collins, Day, Mahler, and Turner. The course, open to upperclassmen, met once a week for 90 minutes throughout the year and was immediately a popular and sought-after choice.⁴⁷

Other courses introduced during these years included Logic, Horticulture, World Literature in English Translation, Comparative Economic Systems, Psychological Testing, Journalism (which had lapsed after Dr. Carroll requested in 1949 that she be relieved of the responsibilities of Public Relations), and a variety of courses on the Far East and the U.S.S.R. After several years of often heated debate, agreement was finally reached on how much credit would be given for foreign language and that first-year foreign language courses would meet five times a week.

Other changes included the first attempts at student evaluation of faculty (1953) and the offering of summer school courses by the members of the Psychology and Education faculty to provide college credit for local school teachers and other community adults. There is occasional mention of "night classes," but they must have been small and infrequent. The problem of Thanksgiving vacation (how long?), much on student minds in this era, remains to this day. All possible combinations have been

tried over the years, none of which has ever been totally satisfactory.

These years were the Golden Era of the college Music Department. There were usually four full-time faculty, with three "regulars" (Broman, McNeil and Page) always present. Majors were offered in voice, piano and organ. The college glee club numbered in the 90s, over one-fourth of the student body. They sang with Harvard, Princeton, the University of Virginia, Washington & Lee and Davidson glee clubs; presented annual programs at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C.; took road tours for the college; and were an integral part of campus life. Wearing the stoles given them by President Lewis, they sang two times a week at college chapel services, had Christmas and Easter concerts, and appeared at major college events such as Founders' Day and graduation. The music faculty gave solo recitals for the college and the community and were a major factor in the continued success of the King Series. In 1953, the folk opera "Down in the Valley" was presented by the combined glee clubs of Mary Baldwin and Washington & Lee; there were 130 participants. Other special programs commemorated the 100th anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth, and "Amahl and the Night Visitors" was presented several times.⁴⁸

Drama and art were equally popular. Fletcher Collins and his students undertook challenging theater experiences. Seven plays during the college year were presented, most of them directed by undergraduates. It was noted that the new Play Production class would enable a student "to teach her husband to saw, paint walls, and to cope with electricity." In 1954, after years of planning and preparation, a summer community theater, Oak Grove, opened at the Collins' farm five miles from Staunton. Here the energetic and talented Collins family joined college students and townspeople in all aspects of practical and creative theater. Oak Grove Theater still flourishes, and its close association with the college has continued for 38 years.⁴⁹

Horace and Elizabeth Day provided Mary Baldwin students with the rare experience of close association with two of the region's leading young artists whose works were exhibited throughout Virginia and elsewhere in the United States. They were equally superb teachers who sought "to avoid narrow vocational" orientation in their courses and hoped to enlarge the "area of aesthetic living...to engender a creative approach and to broaden appreciation." One of the tragedies of these years was the pro-

longed illness and eventual death of Elizabeth Nottingham Day on 2 April 1956. "She was," wrote President McKenzie, "one of our finest teachers and one of our best influences on student life"; and she was indeed very close to students, alumnae, faculty and the community.⁵⁰

The synod committee's remark that faculty were treated like "paid employees" stung, but it did perhaps suggest an important fact of faculty-administration relationships. There is little evidence that faculty could participate in discussions concerning salary levels. Such information was kept carefully confidential. Nor were there any studies to reveal whether women were paid less than men of the same rank and seniority. Faculty could and did participate in discussions concerning pension, health insurance, and extended illness policies.⁵¹ In an effort to make more opportunities for faculty-student contact, it was proposed, in 1951, to offer faculty "free lunches" in the college dining hall, a custom that persisted until the late 1970s.⁵² By 1952, the board was considering a formal tenure statement, but this difficult subject was postponed (and "studied") for several years. It is perhaps a coincidence that Louis Locke proposed that a chapter of AAUP be organized on campus the same year that tenure discussions began. In any case, it was not until 1955 that the board approved President McKenzie's sweeping recommendation that all members of the faculty (with the exception of three recent appointees) be granted permanent tenure! It does not appear that any formal notification of this policy was made. The whole area of formalized tenure awaited further clarification under Dr. Spencer's administration. It would become a major controversy in the late 1970s at Mary Baldwin as well as elsewhere in the country.⁵³

In spite of these conditions, many continued to stay on the faculty for their lifetimes. A previous policy of compulsory retirement at age 65 was modified in 1956, allowing appointment to continue on a yearly basis until age 70. This action was motivated by two desires: one to allow Miss Fannie and Dr. Turner to remain past their 65th birthdays; the second to avoid the difficulty that replacement of senior faculty by new appointments of "equal skill and qualifications," which would require "greatly increased salaries." Older faculty were kept because they expected less and worked harder than younger, equally qualified persons would.⁵⁴ As is the case with many small, privately supported colleges, faculty qualifications, skills and dedication had little relationship

to compensation and working conditions.

Although there were limited budgets, the college was able to maintain a surprising schedule of exhibits, lectures, concerts and performers in these postwar years. Deliberate efforts continued to be made to introduce a wide variety of viewpoints and interests to help compensate for a remote "rural" location and the supposed disadvantages this entailed. The Days sponsored exhibits of their own work, as well as that of other Virginia artists and their students. The Don Cossack Chorus, Carl Van Doren, the National Symphony Orchestra (an annual event for many years), William L. Shirer, Charles Collingwood, Martha Graham and her dance company, Stringfellow Barr, Charles Laughton, the Trapp Family, and John Temple Graves all presented programs here, and the Barter Theater regularly performed.

Beginning in 1950 and continuing for several years, a "Great Books" class met two times a month at the college. Open to the community as well as to interested students, Dr. Turner, Dr. Lewis, and Dr. Brice led the discussions. The Classical Association of Virginia met on campus, as did the Virginia Humanities Conference.

The Centennial of Woodrow Wilson's birth (1956) involved a, three-day celebration in which the college participated. "America's Town Meeting of the Air" originated in King Auditorium; former Governor Colgate Darden and former Vice-President of the United States Alben Barkley were present; three months later, Virginius Dabney, Arthur Krock, Harold Willis Dodd (the president of Princeton), and Dr. T.J. Wertenbaker spoke in King Auditorium about the World War I president. The National Symphony was here, there was a flower show, an interdenominational hymn "sing," and a "Tri-Faith" panel focused on world peace.

In 1956, Don Hamilton sponsored the first "mock political convention" held on the Mary Baldwin campus. President Eisenhower and Richard Nixon were duly renominated, and a tradition was born that continued for more than a quarter of a century. A Parents' Weekend, shortly to be combined with Founders' Day, was begun in the fall of 1953.⁵⁵

In addition, there were, of course, inaugurations of two presidents, and the usual college annual observances of Charter Night, Founders' Day, Apple Day, Christmas Tradition, Religious Emphasis Week, the King series, Honors Convocation, and commencement activities. In these days, before there was little, if any, television and social activities off campus were still limited and

restricted, students looked primarily to campus activities for cultural and recreational opportunities. Attendance at these innumerable events was good; there was an informal mingling of students, faculty, community people and church personnae, and the college campus was "home" to the students for four years in a way of life which was disappearing as the decade of the 1950s drew to a close.

* * * *

These transition years were as difficult for the Alumnae Association as they were for the other constituencies of the college. Its efforts and support for the college had been limited by the war effort, and its modest annual dues (a dollar per year) plus its various fund-raising projects had resulted in insufficient funds to cover the costs of publications, office expenses, and executive secretaries' salaries. For many years, the college had included as part of the operating budget the expenses of the alumnae office. When Biology moved into the Club building (1950), alumnae personnel were moved back to the Main Building, and the valiant efforts to rebuild alumnae chapters proceeded slowly. In 1946, a somewhat idealistic effort to increase alumnae support was made. Instead of regular dues, each alumna was asked to contribute "whatever amount she feels she can afford or desires to give" each year. The Fund was to run from 1 July through the following 30 June, and regular mailings reminded the faithful to "give something every year." The number of donors rose from 302 in 1946-1947, to 728 in 1955-1956; but the annual amount never exceeded \$7,500. In addition to the expenses of the association, the fund provided contributions for scholarships, support for the missionary activities associated with the college alumnae, and homecoming activities, which were revived in 1948.⁵⁶

Alumnae executive secretaries during these years continued the high standards and dedicated service of their predecessors. Dorothy Hisey Bridges, who had served for eight years, resigned in 1953, to be succeeded by Mary Moore Pancake and then, in 1955, by Hannah Campbell. They were all alumnae themselves and had close ties with the college, but they labored under enormous difficulties because of skeleton staffs and the increasing professionalism demanded of college alumnae organizations. These women were assisted (and sometimes possibly hindered) by various members of the administration and faculty. Both presi-

dents Lewis and McKenzie travelled extensively during their terms of office, renewing alumnae contacts and seeking financial support and help in student recruitment. John Daffin journeyed 18,000 miles in one year, looking for funds for Bailey dormitory; Martha Grafton, Elizabeth Parker, Marguerite Hillhouse, some trustees, and others tried to fill the gaps left by inadequate office staffing. In 1952, the first full-time "field representative," Margaret McLaughlin, was appointed; but, since the alumnae budget had to be "trimmed," the long-standing birthday card tradition was discontinued. The generosity of various alumnae over these and subsequent years in providing "bed and breakfast," as well as friendly greetings, profitable contacts, and generous personal gifts can only be looked upon with awe.

There were, of course, many alumnae donations that were not designated for the annual fund. A vigorous local campaign, run by Emily Smith, Mildred Taylor and John Daffin, raised \$10,000 for the "New Dormitory" in 1946; an additional \$12,000 donation was made in 1951. Over the years, special gifts helped dormitory improvements, the building of the Student Activities Building, and the contribution for the faculty in 1955 was given "in recognition and appreciation to them to symbolize the outstanding faculties Mary Baldwin College has had all through its history."⁵⁷

In 1950, the alumnae office undertook to send 5,000 questionnaires to former students, focusing on alumnae impressions of the weaknesses and strengths of the college experience, as related to their post-graduate activities and their life styles. This was intended to supplement the faculty curriculum study of the same year and was perhaps part of the effort to reverse the decline in enrollment. Now, 40 years later, the responses provide a fascinating sociological study of college (and seminary) educated women of the mid-20th century. Fourteen hundred and three responses were received, a 29% return. Of these women, 78.4% were married. The average number of children was 1.5, although seminary graduates (as opposed to college graduates), had more—2.1. Of the married alumnae, 21.7% had no children at all, but less than 1% were divorced. Seventy-five percent of all husbands were college-educated and were "overwhelmingly" in professional occupations. The alumnae themselves were primarily teachers; secondly involved in secretarial and social work, journalism, book-keeping, merchandising, religious work, as librarians and "technicians." Twenty-five percent had done graduate work. Alumnae were active in church auxiliaries, in women's clubs, PTA's, Girl

and Boy Scouts and patriotic organizations. They also devoted time and energy to junior leagues, garden clubs, service associations, and various business and professional groups. Music, art and sports occupied their leisure time. There was little evidence that either they or their husbands were actively involved in political or social concerns, but by 1957 the explosive issues of the '60s were already beginning to emerge on college campuses. Their daughters and granddaughters would shortly face challenges and changes undreamed of in the conformist world of the 1950s.⁵⁸

* * * *

Student life in these immediate postwar years changed, but slowly. The college community was so small that, of course, the students were aware of presidential tensions, curricula studies, declining enrollments, and financial problems, but their chief interests centered, understandably, on themselves. Social regulations were modified, were made simpler and less restricting. Miss Parker and SGA officers monitored carefully other local colleges' rules and sought to keep Mary Baldwin in the mainstream of such matters. There were open houses to which college men were invited, and two formal dances were held each year. Apparently by the mid-1950s these dances, although there were elaborate decorations and exquisite gowns, had become a "drag" from the student point of view. Attendance was declining, and the young women obviously preferred events at the University of Virginia and Washington & Lee to their own campus. There were already murmurs against the prohibition of alcoholic beverages; "the Presbyterian Church is more a hindrance to our social life than a boost to our education...we should stand up and demand what we came for...are we a boarding house for blind dates?" demanded one Campus Comments editorial. But it would be many years before that particular restriction was relaxed. An energetic effort at supporting a "dance weekend" took place in 1956, when a "major" band (Ralph Flanagan) was engaged and 500 students were expected to attend. The records do not indicate that the experiment was repeated, but Campus Comments regularly reported large numbers of students attending events at men's colleges all over the East Coast. By 1956, seniors could have automobiles, which were to be parked in a private lot two blocks from campus. All but freshmen now had unlimited class cuts, and lights-out restrictions became a thing of the past. Permission for

"overnights" and weekends off campus were increased. Still, colleges felt an obligation to young women and their parents in these years; sign outs, approvals and chaperones were still necessary, and freshman social rules were more restrictive than those for upperclassmen.⁵⁹

It is interesting to note how prevalent (and how accepted) smoking was. The stories and poems in the Miscellany made frequent references to cigarettes and Coca-Cola. Protests about increased taxes on cigarettes, part of the Korean war effort, did not cut down on purchases: "The girls will smoke, whether a pack costs ten or fifty cents," declared Campus Comments. Later it was noted that there were 35 ashtrays in the Club—and that they were never clean.

This was the era of the "poodle" haircut, LP and 45 RPM records, and students going in large numbers to Morgan's Music Store to see "TV" sets or to the Checkerboard for candy and stationery from Mr. Lewis. Florida and Texas girls posed in bathing suits beside a snowman they had built. Curiously, on one occasion, the junior class entertained the freshmen by putting on a "mock wrestling match," and apparently it was customary in some years to play "sardines" and "hide and seek" on the front campus to celebrate the end of senior comprehensives.⁶⁰

Other changes emerged. After 1952, students had to make their own beds, and maids cleaned the rooms only once a week instead of daily. The "Eta Betas," student waitresses in the dining room, were born that same year; Miss Carr was "pleased," and the Eta Betas were an important part of college life until changes in eating patterns in the 1980s saw their role diminish. By 1956, Mary Baldwin students began to appear in Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities, and the "beauty section" of the Bluestocking had been dropped.⁶¹

The composition of the student body changed little in these postwar years, although the small enrollments from the mid-West and New England that had characterized the war years vanished. There were always more students from Virginia than elsewhere, although they never constituted a majority of the student body. Texas, Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia all sent their daughters north to Mary Baldwin College, a pattern that had really not changed markedly since the late seminary years. But some cosmopolitanism was introduced by the presence again of foreign students. The first was Maria Ineri, a "displaced person" from Estonia, whose year at Mary Baldwin College (1948-1949)

was partially sponsored by the YWCA. In 1950, a Korean student, Suk Hyun Lee, arrived. Shortly after, Grace Mizuno from Japan stayed to graduate from Mary Baldwin College and to become an enthusiastic alumna. In the years that followed, other young women from Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Brazil, and elsewhere appeared on campus. Within five years of the end of the hostilities in Europe, Mary Baldwin students were finding their way there by ship, for summer study and travel. Vega Lytton and B.C. Carr took student groups to France, Italy and Switzerland on several occasions, and Gordon and Barbara Page chaperoned trips to Bermuda and New York City over spring vacations.⁶²

Although the five-day week and more numerous permitted overnights began to cut in on student attention to on-campus activities, the usual clubs continued. Prominent among them remained the YWCA, whose candlelight vespers, sponsorship of the World Service Student Fund, Big Sisters, the Bettie Bickle Home, Effie Ann Johnson Nursery, exam devotions, and freshman orientation activities continued an integral part of campus life. The "Y" dues at \$1.25 per year were collected from each student as part of the SGA budget, suggesting that every member of the student body was automatically a member of the "Y". By 1956, however, it appears that there were active and not-so-active members. Proposed changes in the "Y" constitution suggested only "members" should participate in the election of the four principal officers. A Campus Comments editorial asked, "What is the "Y"?—should the entire student body elect its officers?"—"It is," continued Laura Clausen, who wrote the editorial, "a fellowship of students, not merely an organization or a club." It was concerned with "all people, not merely those who belong...it exists for students who are not members...[it is] a call to be something, to be a Christian while also being a student." Later that year, it was agreed that the entire student body would continue to elect the "Y" officers.

Other Christian fellowship groups remained popular: the Westminster Club carried on active programs with fellow clubs from the University of Virginia and Washington & Lee; the Canterbury Club, Wesley Foundation and Newman Club all provided Christian-related activities.⁶³

The "Y," as well as the Christian Fellowship groups on campus, had taken the lead in studying and discussing the puzzling and often emotional subject of race relations in the United States. From time to time, Mary Baldwin College students had attended

racially mixed conferences and meetings, but never apparently in Staunton or at the college itself. Of course, there were interracial contacts. The maids in the dormitories, the cooks in the kitchen, and the groundsmen were usually black, and many and firm were the friendships between students and some of these individuals who did so much to make life pleasant and comfortable at the college. In 1954, a feature article in Campus Comments focused on Maud Kenney and Margaret Fountain, who ran the sandwich counter at "The Nook." The writer noted, "They are examples of harmony and efficiency," and indeed they were. Two years later (1956), a picture and story about Martha Smith (who baked all the bread and rolls) talked of her "wonderful understanding nature and a constantly friendly manner."

Queenie Miller's orphanage (so long related to the seminary and college) closed in 1948, but the "Y" made a contribution to James Miller (Queenie's son), who was studying business courses at a university. The "Y's" monthly supplements were now sent to the Effie Ann Johnson Nursery, and the service projects and Christmas programs continued for many years.

In 1947, President Truman had received his Civil Rights Commission report, To Secure These Rights, which bluntly detailed the racial system that denied blacks equal opportunity in most aspects of American life. Frustrated by Congress's refusal to implement some of the committee's recommendations, Truman, in 1948, desegregated the Armed Forces of the United States by executive order. Supreme Court decisions challenged state laws denying black students admission to graduate schools in their own states and threatened the separate-but-equal doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). At long last, in 1954, Brown v. Board of Education ordered that public school segregation was to end everywhere in the United States "with all deliberate speed." The following year the American Council of Education recommended all colleges admit students without regard to race, color, or creed; but the State of Virginia's blue ribbon Gray Commission opposed all integration efforts, called for "massive resistance," and even an end to public education rather than submit. As early as 1948, Campus Comments had noted that segregated schools need to be "equalized" and that "justice" must be done both races in regard to opportunities in higher education. A student editorial hoped "agitators" would not "hamper" the movement by "drastic and unpolitic" demands. Somewhat ironically, the Dolphin Show that year was entitled "Darkies in the Old South" and featured a

plantation setting.

Subsequent Campus Comments stories and Chapel programs served to keep the Mary Baldwin student cognizant of the unfolding drama, but there was little evidence of mass student concern or commitment until the Brown decision. In October 1954, Campus Comments asked students how they felt about desegregation. Most said the process was "inevitable" but should be slow. "If people will be calm about it, it won't be nearly as bad as people think." One young lady observed that the "antagonism" of older people was "far greater than among the young." "In time, Negro and White will work together for common ends." One student equated going to school with blacks as being similar to attending school with "Mexicans," which she had done in Texas. However, another observed, "I would not care to associate with the majority of the Negro population," and undoubtedly there were many who agreed with her viewpoint.

After 1954, Mary Baldwin members of the National Student Federation, the International Relations Club, and the YWCA regularly attended desegregated regional and national meetings. In 1956, editorial outrage over the Arthurine Lucy episode in Alabama was widely supported. It was to be hoped that "our students" would show a "sane attitude" if a similar occurrence happened in Virginia. The Virginia school closings were vigorously opposed in editorial comment, and the subject was reported and discussed with fair regularity in the years that followed. The time was not long distant when the pious sentiment of SGA leaders would be put to a practical test at Miss Baldwin's school.⁶⁴

This was the era of burgeoning intercollegiate athletics, and some women's colleges, as well as coeducational institutions, were responding with larger stadiums, professional coaches, and regional "conferences." Mary Baldwin, of course, had no tradition of intercollegiate sports activities and was woefully lacking, as it always had been, in physical resources to support such programs. True, the college now possessed the King Building, but the outdoor athletic field was more than a mile from the campus and was reached by taxi, hiking, or occasionally a faculty car. The main emphasis continued to be on intramural activities and inter-dorm rivalries. However, the Physical Education faculty made valiant efforts to broaden the sports horizon. There existed a Virginia Field Hockey Association, and on frequent occasions in the 1940s Mary Baldwin College sent students, as many as 24, to enter "mixed team" competitions in the Western Section. In the

mid-1940s, Constance Applebee, a septuagenarian who had introduced field hockey to the United States, appeared at various "field" days and coached Mary Baldwin players. By 1948, a Virginia Athletic Federation of Colleges for Women had been formed. They held their annual "sports" day at the Mary Baldwin campus in 1949. Over 100 students attended, but there were no awards or rankings; it was merely for the "sociability of play." Hockey continued to be popular throughout the 1950s, and the evidence suggests that Mary Baldwin continued to participate in state tournaments, usually as members of "combined" teams.

Likewise, there is some evidence of intercollegiate activity in basketball and, in 1955, in tennis.⁶⁵

The major athletic interest remained on campus. Three years of Physical Education were required of all students, including a course in "personal hygiene." There were usually two Physical Education faculty members, with occasional adjuncts, and 11 sports were listed in the catalogue. Swimming was very popular, and the Dolphin Club presented annual shows to much acclaim. Volleyball and basketball both provided occasions of student/faculty rivalries. Softball, golf, archery, modern dance, and tennis were also well supported.

In 1953, the Athletic Association became the Recreation Association. The entire student body and faculty were divided by lot into two teams, called the "Scotch" and the "Irish," with the intention of promoting intramural spirit and competition. "Carnivals" were held in King Auditorium to raise funds for sports activities, and the annual banquet presented team and individual awards. In the early years the rallies were colorful and enthusiastic, but interest waned, and later editorials asked, "Where is the RA spirit?" and deplored the lack of spectators at intramural games.⁶⁶

The Student Government Association continued to be an important aspect of student life. The commitment to uphold the Honor System never wavered; it was and has remained one of the most prized aspects of the students' lives together. But changes came here as well as in other divisions of the college. In the immediate postwar period and for some time thereafter, student elections were decorous affairs (although election day was a school holiday, and after the winners were announced there was a school celebration). Nomination was by committee. There was no campaigning. "The fact that campus politics are not practiced at Mary Baldwin is, in our mind, an attribute to the college," one editorial

observed. Two years later, the same theme was repeated: "We are proud of the fact that there is no politicking [sic] for election. The best girl always wins. Favoritism and partiality are not displayed," it was declared. But shortly thereafter, efforts were made to change the nominating procedure to make it more "democratic." By 1956, nominations were by both student committee and petition, and there was some thought of changing the no-campaigning rule—"We need to cast off antiquated modesty...our leaders need to have initiative," a young woman declared.

During these years there were modest changes in the SGA Constitution. The president's forum was replaced by the board of review; later a student board, with legislative and executive duties, and a judicial board were instituted. Some SGA meetings were open to any who wished to attend. In 1954, the SGA celebrated its 25th anniversary with a three-day conference attended by representatives from 20 other "companion colleges," and at least eight former SGA presidents returned for the occasion. The theme of the Conference was, "What is our Generation?" and, although the major speakers were hardly optimistic about the future, their comments about international relations, religion, arts and philosophy, followed by discussion groups, were well received.⁶⁷

One controversy in this era was whether or not Mary Baldwin College would join the National Student Association. Membership was proposed in 1953, and the idea was approved by the Student Council, but the final decision to join was postponed until the spring of 1954. Opposition to the proposal seemed to center on whether or not the Mary Baldwin College representative should or should not be a member of the Student Government Association Council. Would this be adding another organization to an already overcrowded club and association calendar? What advantages would Mary Baldwin derive? One editorial observed, "Mary Baldwin has become too much interested in itself, and too little interested in what is going on in the rest of the world. This provincialism is one of the things the promoters of the National Student Association are trying to combat." There is no hint that the suggestion to join was discouraged by the administration; but this was the McCarthy era, and some remembered the fear and dislike the National Youth Congress of the 1930s had aroused. Were there those who were fearful that the National Student Association and its international connections might be distasteful to alumnae and church synods? Whatever the reason for the

delay, the students seemed indifferent; one editorial observed that the delay had been for the purpose of allowing student debate, but "since that time we have not noticed a single discussion of the issues going on within our hearing." Finally, early in 1954, Mary Baldwin College did join the National Student Association and representatives were sent to the regional meeting in February. Their reports were published in Campus Comments, and it was promised that the following year there would be a regular column in the student newspaper detailing the group's activities. The column never appeared and, although the college retained its membership for a number of years, it never became a major influence on campus.⁶⁸

The college publications continued with varying successes. The Virginia Intercollegiate Press Association, which had lapsed during the war, was revived in 1947, and Mary Baldwin College was an active member. Sensitivity to freedom of the press issues, always stressed by the VIPA, surfaced rarely during these years, but it did surface. By 1953, a column entitled "Little Comments," which featured one-line student interviews, had appeared. An editorial in December 1954 related that some students who had been quoted in the column as being in favor of admitting Red China to the United Nations "had been warned" (it is not specified by whom) that their comments might keep them from getting a government job. The editorial vigorously demanded the right of students and reporters to express any views they chose. Subsequent stories on academic and press freedom continued, and the Campus Comments won First Class Honor Rating in 1956 and was cited for its "excellent content and coverage." As the college began to quietly acquire real estate in the mid-1950s, Campus Comments vigorously protested that it was not informed of such purchases first, before the city and state newspapers.

With limited resources and a student body composed mostly of freshmen and sophomores, all of the college publications faced many difficulties. But they did not hesitate to print criticisms. The Miscellany goes from "infantile to adolescent... the cover is attached, but to nothing," ran one comment. "We need more competent, more professional publications." We need a new school song, demanded another letter to the editor; "nothing is impossible (except maybe our present alma mater)!" In 1956, the venerable custom of the May Day Queen and her court came under attack. Everyone laughs at the ivy planting ceremony, the editor declared, "because it will die and who wants the front lawn to

become a mat of creeping vines?" Signing the Honor Pledge is a "derogatory ritual," declared another student. And a running commentary throughout these years is the plea for more student involvement and participation in college activities, and for better behavior when they were required to attend. There are "the knitters, sleepers, letter writers, manicurists, crammers, doodlers, note copiers...they practically told [the speaker] to sit down!" protested one letter to the editor.⁶⁹

By 1957, when Dr. Samuel Spencer became the fifth president of Mary Baldwin College, there had been seven generations of Mary Baldwin College students. In some ways, the young women of 1957 were different from their counterparts of the 1930s; different in their expectations, their ambitions, their feelings about themselves. "This business of being equal and a partner is a new and exhausting experience," wrote one student. Another, somewhat ahead of her time, declared "We have had to fight against blocks put in our path by men and other women!" But in other ways, the strong thread of tradition and continuity continued to make these students not greatly changed from their grandmothers' generation. They had come to college "to make friends, meet boys, get along with each other...they are friendly, cooperative, polite...college work is taken seriously but not 'too seriously.'"⁷⁰ But they were the last student generation for whom this was true. The swift changes of the 1960s were almost upon them, and the college—and the world—would never be the same again.

Notes

¹ Minutes, BT 14 Mar. 1946.

² Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956. Dr. Lewis remained president until there was a slight improvement in the enrollment and the post-World War II economic adjustment had been, at least, partially achieved. Charles W. McKenzie was a native of Boston, Massachusetts, a graduate of Dartmouth and Columbia Universities. He had held a William Tucker Fellowship and had earned a MA degree in public law. He had been the Dean of Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri and had been on the faculty at Washington University in St. Louis. During World War II he had been the Director of Personnel at the U.S. Army Pre-Flight School in San Antonio, Texas and had spent three years in Great Britain shortly before coming to Mary Baldwin, doing research for a book on the British political party system. He married Margaret Elizabeth Hines of Greensboro, N.C., who was a graduate of Bryn Mawr and had studied at Oxford. They had no children. Mr. McKenzie came to Mary Baldwin in September 1954 and was inaugurated, in what he described as a "simple ceremony," held at First Presbyterian Church on 16 April 1955. There were 200 delegates from 29 colleges and universities present. He resigned his office on 7 September 1956. C.C. 16 April 1955. MBC Archives.

³ Anne Elizabeth Parker came to Mary Baldwin College in September 1941, to teach French and Spanish and to live in Hill Top dormitory. Her graduate work had been at Duke. In 1942, she was made assistant dean (helping Katherine Sherrill) and continued to teach two classes of French for several years. Earlier, she had taught high school in depression-racked Tennessee, and low as Mary Baldwin College salaries were, they were an improvement over her public school's \$900-a-year compensation. As an assistant dean, Miss Parker had an 11-month contract, and what had been intended as a temporary arrangement lengthened happily into 30 years. She became dean of students in 1945 and retired in 1972. In addition to her many and changing college duties, she was active in the Girl Scouts, the First Presbyterian Church, and other community activities. Her work with the physical plant personnel and her own staff was always tactful and harmonious, and she had many life-long friends across a broad spectrum of faculty, students and administrators. Each Christmas, on the last day of classes, Elizabeth would invite the faculty and staff to a Christmas

reception in her apartment. Her Christmas trees were unique; her artistic skills were beautifully portrayed in her hand-made ornaments and the craft work she had collected. Her culinary skills were equally remarkable; she prepared all the food herself, and it was superb. She proved a skillful, conscientious and thoughtful dean of students, although she found it hard to adapt to the changing mores of the late 60s, and she missed Martha Grafton and Marguerite Hillhouse when they both retired in 1970, two years before she did. She was a most practical lady. Once a student telephoned her that she was unable to return to the college by the approved curfew time because of a fierce winter storm and that she would have to spend the night in unapproved housing. What should she do? Elizabeth Parker answered that if it was a case of her life or her reputation, she should save her life! Understandably, her relationship with students was generally excellent. Interview: Cally Lewis Wiggin and Patricia Menk, 3 Feb. 1988. MBC Archives.

⁴ L. Wilson Jarman to Frank Bell Lewis. 26 May 1947. MBC Archives.

⁵ Alumnae and friends remember with pleasure and respect the talents, teaching skills and devoted services of Fletcher Collins, James McAllister, Patricia Menk, Gertrude Davis (Middendorf), Gordon Page, Ashton Trice, and Julia Weill, all of whom were appointed during these years. There were others, of course, equally appreciated, but their service was briefer and they did not influence as many generations of students as the above. Familiar faces who were no longer at the college by 1957 included Catherine Mims, Mary Watters, William Crone, Mary Lakenan, and Louis Locke.

⁶ Minutes, BT 1946-1957. passim.

⁷ CC 1 June 1953.

⁸ Catalogue, 1945-1958. passim. Note: Total accuracy of these numbers is hard to achieve since different sources may vary 5-10 points.

⁹ The Bluestocking 1952, has a poignant reminder on how deeply these numbers affected everyone, even the students. At the conclusion of their two and a half pages of pictures, the juniors added these paragraphs:

You must admit that not everything
grows larger with Time—certainly not
the size of the Junior Class. One hundred

and twenty-four strong we numbered in September '49, but now even with larger pictures, we can't cover three pages of the annual we have published! Oh well, it was "quantity", not "quality" we lost...We, who have not much longer to be with you as Juniors, do wish but one thing: that the rising Juniors will bring with them their "quality"(of which they have a super-abundance) and a little more of that "quantity" that we lacked. Don't too many of you all think it would be more fun to be a lost Co-ed in a big University, or wildly negotiate matrimonial bonds. Your Class comes too close to dying out! Be brave, be fearless, be tough, be true—without much effort, the Juniors could outnumber the Seniors next year!

¹⁰ Minutes, BT 1933. 1966. passim. Minutes EC 1933. 1950. passim. Minutes FC 13 Mar. 1947. 29 Nov. 1954. AN November 1955. Dr. Lewis and Francis Pendleton Gaines (Washington & Lee), who were good friends and often worked together, may have been partly responsible for the organization of the Virginia Foundation for Independent Colleges. Dr. Gaines also advised Dr. Lewis on long-range plans for college development and physical expansion, the first such coordinated plan for Mary Baldwin. Patricia Menk and Cally Lewis Wiggin, interview, 3 Feb. 1988. Minutes EC 11 Nov. 1953. 22 May 1954. Minutes, Fac. 5 Feb. 1952. Minutes, BT 13 Mar. 1952. AN Apr. 1954.

¹¹ The \$30,000 grant came from the Hunt Oil Company of Texas. Minutes, BT 9 Oct. 1947. Minutes EC 17 Feb. 1950.

¹² Cally Lewis liked the move, it made us "feel more a part of the college." Patricia Menk and Cally Lewis Wiggin, interview, 3 Feb. 1988.

¹³ Lots 14, 15 and 16 in the Grand View Section were purchased in 1946 for \$3,000 using some New Century funds, as was 213 East Frederick Street (the Thomas property) for \$10,000. Options on the Bickle and Turner properties (facing Market Street) were approved in 1951, using contingency funds; in 1956, 211 East Frederick Street was purchased for \$12,400; and without any final approved over-all plan, it was clear that the trustees had

decided that the only way to expand the campus was to move east across Market Street and acquire the property from Market, to Coalter Street. From time to time, the board had authorized modest sums for consultation planning and architectural studies, but no formal, coordinated decision of future expansion plans appears in the records. Minutes, BT 25 Oct. 1945. 14 Mar. 1946. 21 Oct. 1948. 11 Mar. 1954. Minutes EC 6 Jan. 1951. 1 Nov. 1956.

¹⁴ Emily Smith suggested the name in honor of the first "full" graduate of the seminary (1863). Miss Tate had taught the younger children and remained on the faculty of the seminary until 1919. Minutes, BT 13 Mar. 1952.

¹⁵ In spite of a relatively high tuition charge for the children, the Nursery School was never self-supporting. Within three years, a new furnace (\$1,600) was needed for the old building. There were three full-time employees: Miss Weill, a cook (the children were served lunch each day), and one or more assistants. The trustees were aware when they approved the project that similar schools had seldom been profitable and accepted the view of the Education faculty that it was an essential part of the Mary Baldwin College academic program. Minutes, BT 13 Oct. 1955. CC 14 Jan. 1952.

¹⁶ Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956. Generous gifts were made by the Hunt Family, Consuelo Wenger (who also contributed to the remodeling in Memorial and Hill Top, which was done in 1955-1956), J. D. Francis and others.

¹⁷ At least one person born in the old King's Daughters' Hospital returned to her birthplace 18 years later and, as a college student, lived in the building, now Bailey Hall, where she had been born. The total cost of the project was \$380,000. CC 30 Sept. 1955. AN Nov. 1955.

¹⁸ One of the more popular fund-raising activities was "Cabin Day." Students were permitted to wear blue jeans to classes if they paid 25 cents. Or, they were permitted to appear as "Suppressed Desires" for a fee. CC 19 Oct 1945. 23 Jan. 1948. 9 Apr. 1948. Minutes, BT 25 Oct. 1945. Minutes, Fac. 14 Mar. 1956.

¹⁹ Minutes EC 3 Apr. 1950. 5 June 1950. 25 Aug. 1951. Minutes, BT 19 Oct. 1950. 8 March 1951.

²⁰ AN Nov. 1951. Substantial gifts were received from board member Francis Pickens Miller and his family honoring his mother Flora McElwee Miller, who was an alumna (1880).

²¹ AN Apr. 1949. Minutes, BT 8 Mar. 1956. Over \$15,000 was spent on the Library, providing a "browsing" room, more reference

and periodical space, and work space for the librarians. It was obvious, however, that a new library was imperative if the college was to retain its accreditation.

²² CC 13 Oct. 1950. AN Nov. 1950. Chemistry and Physics remained in the "Beckler House" for another 11 years, and then Physics was moved to the old dining room after Hunt opened. The next year (1962) Waddell Chapel had to be removed, and Chemistry and Physics moved once again to the old kitchen (first floor Academic), where they stayed until 1970.

²³ Minutes, BT 11 Mar. 1954. 10 Mar. 1955. 13 Oct. 1955. Dr. Pennell was a semi-quadruplegic due to an automobile accident. Her energy, skill and accommodation to her physical disabilities were an example and inspiration to all about her and presented the students with a view of "exceptional" persons long before this area of "sensitivity" emerged in the mid-1970s. Likewise, the expanded counseling services provided Mary Baldwin students an opportunity to participate in "guidance" programs which the college would otherwise not have been able to afford some 20 years before such services were common on other college campuses.

With the low student enrollment in the mid-1950s and the opening of Bailey dormitory in 1955, Riddle would have been unoccupied unless this use for it had been found. The Guidance Center (later called the Career and Personal Counseling Center and associated with the Synod of Virginia) remained at Mary Baldwin College (in different locations) until 1980. Catalogue. passim.

²⁴ Minutes, BT 13 Mar. 1952. CC 2 Dec. 1949.

²⁵ Minutes, BT 11 Mar. 1954. "Rather than teach them to earn a living we try to teach how they may live a full life of service," declared President McKenzie. MBC Archives.

²⁶ Minutes, BT 14 Oct. 1954. 15 Apr. 1955. 8 Mar. 1956. President's report bound in Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956. Mr. McKenzie was not only "heartbroken," but bitter—perhaps justifiably so. As early as April 1955, Marts & Lundy had presented specific fund-raising plans to President McKenzie, who had taken them to the Board of Trustees for approval. This called for an "intensive campaign" to begin 1 January 1956, soliciting 3000 prospects in Staunton and the surrounding community, 2000 alumnae, parents and friends, 1000 "selected individuals" and others, totaling in all 8000 contacts, the lists for whom had been laboriously compiled. A budget of \$65,500 had been proposed. Division chairmen had been solicited and had agreed to serve. The

theme of the "Great Convocation" set for 11-13 May 1956 was "Christian Education for the Modern World" and, in addition to the keynote speaker, (perhaps Peter Marshall), there would be four panels. Panel members had been solicited, and some distinguished individuals had agreed to come. Then the synod's Council on Educational Institutions informed Mary Baldwin College that they desired a meeting on 28 Jan. 1956, to "integrate" fund-raising plans. There was to be yet another survey of the college's curriculum and resources (one had been done in 1952-1953), and if any of the three institutions (Hampden-Sydney, Mary Baldwin College, Union Theological Seminary) chose to hold a separate campaign, the synod would refuse all cooperation and support. The result was that both Hampden-Sydney (who had a new President, Joseph S. Robert) and Mary Baldwin agreed to "postpone" their own plans so a unified campaign could be waged. President McKenzie "objected strongly" but agreed to delay his "Grand Convocation" until October 1956, giving the synod time to announce what they proposed to do. This meant, of course, more letters to panel participants; a search for replacements for those who could not come in October; and a hiatus until the end of July 1956, in planning. At this stage, President and Mrs. McKenzie left on a 30-day trip to South America. When they returned, a series of letters 16 August 1956 went from President McKenzie's office to convocation committees and participants: "During the past month several matters of vital importance to Mary Baldwin College have arisen which have required much careful and thorough deliberation...it would be unwise to hold our convocation on the dates set...We are therefore, cancelling all our plans and postponing the convocation indefinitely." Within three weeks, President McKenzie had resigned. MBC Archives.

²⁷ See Chapter Three, "Another Beginning ..." pp. 83-85.

²⁸ Among the board members who were very active in seeking closer church support were Francis Pickens Miller, John N. Thomas, Herbert Turner, Richard Potter and President Frank Bell Lewis. See also Minutes SV 1945.

²⁹ Minutes SV 1946. 1947. 1949. 1950.

³⁰ Minutes, BT 16 Oct. 1952. 18 Mar. 1953.

³¹ Patricia Menk and Cally Lewis Wiggin, interview, 3 Feb. 1988. Reports made to the Council on Educational Institutions indicated other synods supported their colleges more generously. Contributions ranged from \$.56 to \$3.10 for each adult Presbyterian in such synods. There were ca 100,000 church members in

the Synod of Virginia. In the special offering for the colleges collected on Sunday, 20 Jan. 1957. Hampden-Sydney received \$.24 per capita; Mary Baldwin College, \$.12. MBC Archives.

³² Mr. Miller, having accepted an overseas assignment, was replaced by Frank S. Moore, who chaired the committee from 1954 through 1956, when it was dismissed. The entire lengthy report was published separately as Higher Education and the Virginia Synod; Survey Staff Report on the Educational Institutions Survey Respectfully Submitted to the Council on Educational Institutions of the Synod of Virginia, Presbyterian Church in the United States, June 1956. MBC Archives. Excerpts appear in Minutes SV 1955-57.

³³ Higher Education and the Virginia Synod.

³⁴ Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956. Mr. McKenzie had a quick temper and a proud nature. The disagreement had to do with who had the authority to grant the college degree in absentia and under what circumstances. Mr. McKenzie had requested that the board give him the sole authority to make that decision, rather than leave it to the faculty. When queried, the college administrators replied that the faculty grants degrees and sets the conditions under which they are granted. Members of the board, many of whom were connected with other higher educational institutions, concurred, whereupon Mr. McKenzie abruptly resigned and withdrew from the meeting. After a very brief discussion, the board voted to accept his resignation and Dr. Richard Potter, minister of First Presbyterian Church, agreed to become acting president. The college was due to open for the fall session in six days. (13 September).

This abrupt change in the college leadership was handled with tact and decorum. A brief notice by Mr. Campbell, the chairman of the board, was sent to the press and to interested college constituencies. Mr. and Mrs. McKenzie refused to comment and departed for North Carolina within a month. Modern administrators must envy the ability of institutions of 40 years ago to minimize unpleasant realities. Alumnae, faculty, and students simply did not (publicly) ask; good manners demanded that one not do so.

It should be gratefully acknowledged that both Charles and Margaret McKenzie made real contributions to the college and were deeply interested in its welfare. Mrs. McKenzie loved decorating and had made personal gifts of several thousand dollars for student lounges, the "Straw Corner" in Main, and the

Club. The McKenzies used their own money to make repairs and remodeling at Rose Terrace, where they lived, possible. Records from the college archives reveal that the McKenzies contributed \$10,925 to the college during their brief tenure. They had travelled widely, visiting alumnae and college friends and participating in student recruitment. They were genial hosts and entertained faculty, parents and students with gracious hospitality. Mr. McKenzie had skill in public presentations and truly, within the limits of personality and objectives, labored hard for Mary Baldwin. It simply was, unfortunately, not a good "match."

³⁵ Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956. Underlining mine.

³⁶ The Synod, within months, abandoned all ideas about merging the two colleges. "All the proposals...went out the window months ago," wrote Dr. Spencer to a friend. "Alumni at both institutions were very much opposed to the move," he added. Survey groups, he said, may do some good, but "they also can muddy the water considerably. In this instance, they got the Synod of Virginia completely wrought up and I might say confused, by making a completely unrealistic proposal." SRS to Mc Ferrar Crowe, 23 January 1958. Ultimately ca. \$30,000 was realized, divided equally between Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin College. Minutes SV 1956. It had cost Mary Baldwin College \$10,000 when its own proposed development campaign had been halted in the spring of 1956. Minutes, BT 21 Mar. 1959. It also should be noted that even if the college had lost all synod support, it would not necessarily have closed, since it was a self-governing legal entity. But it would have broken more than 100 years of tradition if the church-college relationship had been severed. The church and its values were interwoven into the fabric of Mary Baldwin College. The college might not have survived a total divorce even though the direct financial contributions provided such meager support.

³⁷ Minutes, BT 17 Jan. 1957. Minutes SV 1957.

³⁸ In fairness to the synod, it should be noted that it is not a money-generating institution. Its funds come from the individual Presbyterian church members of the synod and come only voluntarily. The synod has to join with its various presbyteries and its ministers in asking, pleading, educating, and persuading its members to support its causes and its commitments. Perhaps Dr. Liston was right. Presbyterians were not deeply committed to supporting Christian higher educational institutions or did not understand what such support entailed.

Enrollment figures from reports to the synod. Minutes SV 1956. 1957.

³⁹ The curriculum studies were 1950-1951 and 1955-1956. CC 18 Oct. 1946.

⁴⁰ CC 10 May 1946. 20 May 1949. Minutes, Fac. 28 May 1955.

⁴¹ AN Nov. 1950. Reprinted from an address Dr. Leyburn made to the faculty at the invitation of President Lewis in Sept. 1950. It included an impassioned plea that Mary Baldwin ignore accrediting agency requirements; demand good teaching skills rather than professional research credentials; emphasize "learning by doing"; and integrate course work so that learning was not compartmentalized. It should be noted that Dr. Leyburn's own college, Washington & Lee, did not ignore SACS requirements any more than Mary Baldwin did. Elizabeth's Campbell's address was printed in the Alumnae Newsletter Nov. 1955.

⁴² Mademoiselle Jan. 1952. May 1952. Time deplored the "silent, fatalistic, security-minded, conservative, grave, morally confused, tolerant of almost anything" generation. "American young women are, in many ways the generation's most serious problem...large numbers of them feel that a home and children alone would be a fate worse than death and invade the big cities in search of a career...career girls would like, if possible, to have marriage and a career." CC 16 Nov. 1951.

⁴³ CC 18 Mar. 1949. Minutes, Fac. 7 Oct. 1947. 9 Dec. 1947. 2 Mar. 1948. 7 Nov. 1950. 3 Apr. 1951.

⁴⁴ Grade "inflation" arrived with the 1960s but, as always, Mrs. Grafton read the signals earlier than most. The problem has plagued college faculties ever since. Minutes, Fac. 2 Mar. 1948.

⁴⁵ She was Mary Ann Taylor. Minutes, Fac. 31 Mar. 1953. Minutes, Fac. 1945-57. passim.

⁴⁶ Since matters of curriculum are usually recognized as a faculty prerogative, it is a brave (or foolhardy) board of trustees that sends such "suggestions." There was, in this instance, a study committee made up of board, administration, faculty, alumnae and students who originated these ideas. Although the faculty was receptive to some of the other 14 points (most of which were peripheral to the academic program), they did not hesitate to vote down those they considered inappropriate. Minutes, Fac. 31 Mar. 1953.

⁴⁷ Although the faculty involved changed, the course remained successful and in demand for more than 11 years, 1949 until 1960.

⁴⁸ In the late 1950s the glee club was limited to 45 members and then discontinued. The choir numbered 60, chosen by very competitive auditions. There was also, from time to time, a smaller "Chapel Choir." Mr. Page simply could not, as one person, work with more than that number effectively. Each year there was a long waiting list of young women who wished to join the choir. See Rosalia Jones, "And She Shall Have Music," senior thesis, Mary Baldwin College, Apr. 1978.

⁴⁹ AN Nov. 1953.

⁵⁰ AN Apr. 1953. Nov. 1953. President's report bound in Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956. Elizabeth Day had been at the college for 15 years. Horace continued on (there were two young sons to care for) and was eventually joined by other talented art teachers, but the Elizabeth-Horace partnership had been special and unique.

⁵¹ Faculty salaries had ranged from \$1,800-\$4,500 per year in 1947; 10 years later, the board "hoped" to achieve a pay scale of \$3,500-\$7,000. Minutes, BT 10 Oct. 1946. 21 Mar. 1957. Faculty did serve on some ad hoc board committees, particularly concerning curriculum and church relationships, but had no avenue of expression on a regular basis except through Dean Grafton. There were no faculty "handbooks" in this era, and the yearly contract simply stated title, salary, and opening and closing dates of the school calendar.

⁵² It is not clear whether the "free lunch" policy began in 1951 (President Lewis's suggestion) or 1955, when President McKenzie again recommended it for board consideration. Minutes, BT 8 Mar. 1951. 10 Mar. 1955. Faculty generally ate at "faculty tables" and interaction with students was limited. Communication with colleagues was beneficial.

⁵³ The idea of a whole faculty (the three exceptions were two Physical Education teachers and the recently appointed librarian, who, in any case, left at mid-semester) "tenured in" would give administrators and boards of trustees nightmares in the 1990s. The implications for inflexibility, inadequate teaching, and top-heavy lists of full and associate professors were enormous, but the Minutes do not reveal that any extended discussion about these matters took place. Rather, it suggests that in the face of inadequate salaries and demanding teaching schedules, with little available in the way of research funds and support for summer study, the board and administration were seeking whatever means they could to give reassurance and benefits to an

under-supported faculty. Minutes, Fac. 2 Dec. 1952. Minutes, BT 10 Mar. 1955.

⁵⁴ Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956.

⁵⁵ CC 1946-57. passim. See also CC 21 Mar. 1956. Minutes, Fac. 6 May 1953.

⁵⁶ AN Nov. 1948. Nov. 1953. May 1956. Apr. 1957. A lounge on the second floor of the Student Activities Building was reserved for faculty and alumnae use. Minutes, BT 7 Sept. 1956. In his last report to the board, President McKenzie wrote, "Our dissatisfaction with the handling of alumnae activities continues." The Alumnae Fund "lost money during its ten years of existence," by which it is assumed he meant that it did not cover the expenses of the office. He indicated that \$2000 a year came from the college's operating budget to support alumnae activities, and that only "5-600 Alumnae out of 5,200" were active. In 1955-1956 Mr. McKenzie declared that alumnae office expenses were \$10,000.

⁵⁷ CC 16 Mar. 1956. AN Oct. 1946. Nov. 1952. 1946-57. passim.

⁵⁸ AN Nov. 1951. Apr. 1952. These statistics would seem to bear out the comment made on the 25th anniversary celebration of the Student Government Association in 1954. Quoting Newsweek, the editors of Campus Comments agreed that the mid-20th century college graduate was "more mature than our grandfathers; more cautious than our fathers, we work harder and are more likely to think things through...one of our main aims is to conform and to seek security." CC 16 Mar. 1954. In 1987, a similar alumnae questionnaire was sent. This time the response rate was 50% (4,136 responses were received). The results offer interesting comparisons. Two-thirds of the alumnae were married; 60% had children (an average of two); 9.4% reported they were separated or divorced. Over 20% had received advanced degrees, and 14% said they were housewives. Those who worked outside the home were engaged primarily in educational occupations (18.8%), followed by "professional" firms, banks, non-profit organizations and self-employment. Almost 60% reported church, junior league, arts-related or social welfare activities, and about 7% said they were actively engaged in politics. The continuity of life-style patterns is surprising. Alumnae Follow-Up Study: December 1988, Lew Askegaard and Judy Klein, Office of Institutional Research, MBC Archives.

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Parker, "Do They Still...?" AN Nov. 1952. CC 16 Nov. 1956. 25 Nov. 1956. 30 Nov. 1956. 3 May 1957. Some

alumnae will recall vividly the rule that prohibited drinking of alcoholic beverages within 25 miles of Staunton City limits—the Handbook said "vicinity." HB 1956. 1957. As much as a quarter of the student body could be found at the University of Virginia or Washington & Lee on any given weekend. CC 9 June 1952.

⁶⁰ CC 2 Nov. 1951. 13 Oct. 1950. 2 Mar. 1951. 9 May 1952.

Miscellany. *passim*.

⁶¹ Betty Carr had come to Mary Baldwin College as the dietitian in 1943 and remained until 1982. All of the food consumed by the students and staff was prepared on campus (first in the inadequate kitchens under the old Chapel building, and later in Hunt Hall). Although Mr. King's beloved garden and fresh produce therefrom were gone, the food was excellent, usually local in origin, varied and healthful. Few bakers could equal the rolls, pies and biscuits produced in "B. C.'s" kitchen, and even the students, who are notorious for objecting to college food, found little to complain about, at least until the 1960s imposed different demands. Alumnae will remember nostalgically "train wreck" ("invented" by Hallas Nicholas), and faculty will remember the excellent "free" lunches with gratitude. CC 9 June 1952. 17 Dec. 1954. Minutes, Fac. 6 Oct. 1953. The Bluestocking in these years printed pictures of the May Queen and her attendants instead.

⁶² CC 18 Mar. 1949. 20 Oct. 1950. 20 Apr. 1951.

⁶³ CC 20 Oct. 1950. 21 Mar. 1956. AN Apr. 1949.

⁶⁴ It seems obvious that, although the college community was aware of the unfolding developments in race relations, it was not an issue that impinged directly on or aroused any passionate commitment among the majority of students and faculty. There was one vigorous response, however. In October 1956, Campus Comments reprinted a long and controversial editorial from the Hampden-Sydney Tiger predicting that the Brown decision would create segregated schools all over the country based on intelligence levels; i.e., schools for bright, schools for retarded and schools for average students. "The Negro is inferior in cultural, intellectual and even sanitary conditions" and "segregation by intelligence would keep Negroes in class 'B' schools." To her credit, Judy Gallup responded with a blistering attack on the premise of the editorial, concluding "our consciences hurt!" CC 26 Oct. 1956. 15 Mar. 1957.

Also: CC 20 Feb. 1948. 27 Feb. 1948. 29 Oct. 1948. 24 Mar. 1950. 16 Feb. 1951. 4 Apr. 1952. 1 Apr. 1953. 23 Oct. 1953. 1 Apr. 1954.

7 Oct. 1954. 9 Dec. 1954. 10 Feb. 1955. 13 Jan. 1956. 17 Feb. 1956. 26 Nov. 1956.

⁶⁵ CC 26 Oct. 1945. 2 Nov. 1945. 27 Feb. 1948. 27 Oct. 1950. 3 Nov. 1950. 1 Apr. 1953. 11 Nov. 1955.

⁶⁶ CC 11 June 1951. 1 Apr. 1953. 2 Oct. 1953. 31 Oct. 1953. 21 Mar. 1956. 17 May 1956. 10 May 1957.

⁶⁷ CC 9 Apr. 1948. 21 Apr. 1950. 16 Feb. 1952. 2 Mar. 1956. AN Apr. 1954.

⁶⁸ CC 9 Oct. 1953. 31 Oct. 1953. 19 Feb. 1954. 13 May 1954. The last mention of the NSA is in the SGA Handbook, 1960, 1961, and the Bluestocking, 1961.

⁶⁹ CC 16 Apr. 1948. 17 Dec. 1954. 4 May 1956. 22 Feb. 1957. 11 Mar. 1949. 11 Dec. 1953. 5 Oct. 1956. 18 Mar. 1949. Miscellany, March 1953. In 1957, May Day was separated from Commencement in the interest of shortening the ceremonies, since it was becoming increasingly difficult to require all students to stay. May Day was now to be held on the same weekend as the Spring Dance. The Queen and her court (14 students) were elected from all classes by the student body. In the past all the seniors had constituted the court. That year, another tradition was broken when a married day student, Elizabeth Crawford Perry was elected the May Queen. CC 15 Feb. 1957. 3 May 1957.

⁷⁰ CC 27 Apr. 1956. 26 Oct. 1956. 10 May 1957. The quotations are from Mikie Kline, who peppered Campus Comments with her views of women's roles and her outraged sense of justice.



Samuel Reid Spencer, Jr.



FIVE

Bulldozers, Steam Shovels and Academic Excellence Samuel R. Spencer, 1957-1968

It was August 1957, when Samuel R., Jr. and Ava C. Spencer and their three children came to Mary Baldwin College. They were a young, handsome, vigorous family, with exceptional intellectual abilities, a firm Christian commitment, experience and empathy in relating to a college campus. Dr. Spencer was 38 years old, of medium height, trim and athletic in appearance, outgoing and cordial in manner but with a confidence and innate dignity that commanded respect. Mrs. Spencer had a Master's degree in Political Science from the University of Pennsylvania and had been the first woman to teach at Wharton School. She was an excellent manager, a gracious hostess, cosmopolitan and experienced in travel, but familiar with small southern town mores. There were three children, Reid, Ellen and Clayton, and a fourth, Frank, would be born in Staunton.

Dr. Spencer was certainly the most highly qualified president and the most appropriate in background and purpose that the college had had. He grew up in Columbia, South Carolina in a family firmly dedicated to the Presbyterian Church. He once wrote that he had been to Montreat (North Carolina) every summer since he was 12, and that his mother's family had gone there for "years before I was born...so many of my youthful memories are bound up in that mountain cove."¹ He, Ava and the children regularly spent a month or more there every summer. His father had been a banker, his grandfather a college professor: Ava's father was a Presbyterian minister. Dr. Spencer was an

outstanding honor graduate of Davidson, class of 1940, where he had been president of the student body and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. After a brief experience in advertising and sales for Vicks Chemical Company, he had joined the U.S. Army and served throughout World War II in a number of capacities including air intelligence, attaining the rank of major. Graduate work at the University of California at Los Angeles and Harvard followed and, in 1951, Davidson College called him back to act as assistant to the president, dean of students, and professor of History.

He had been at Davidson only a short time when some members of the Mary Baldwin College Board of Trustees made their first tenuous contacts with him.² In the 1950s as the Synod of Virginia had been struggling with its concerns about appropriate support for "their" institutions of higher education, these Mary Baldwin trustees had looked to North Carolina (which had earlier undertaken, successfully, similar projects) as a model, and thus had come to understand and appreciate the skills and talents of the young dean of Davidson. Dr. Spencer had been aware of their interest even before the synod's Council on Educational Institutions had released its controversial report in June 1956. When, in September, Mr. McKenzie abruptly resigned the presidency of Mary Baldwin College, the trustees put in motion the process which might lead to Dr. Spencer's becoming the fifth president. There followed almost a year of discussions, interviews, and appraisals. Dr. Spencer's apprehensions were understandable. It was a pivotal time in the life of the college. It was in debt and with no discernible means of retiring that debt. Its small enrollment meant administrative costs and overhead were severe burdens on its operating budget. Faculty salaries were low, its endowment minuscule, its physical plant cramped and old-fashioned. Dr. Potter, the acting president, reported to the trustees movingly of the problems of his interim administration: he had spent much time in "trouble shooting"; there had been "rumor, suspicion, unrest..."; he had "sought to keep morale high, hopes alive and our program stable," but the "steam plant is a problem and an eyesore," a "fire hazard," a "silent threat"; and the walls and floors of the library need to be reinforced, he wrote.

In order to complete the payments on Bailey dormitory, the college had had to issue \$200,000 in bonds, something they had not previously done. Several longtime members of the board were ill and missed important meetings, had died or resigned. There was the matter of property exchanges and/or sales with the First

Presbyterian Church and a group of Staunton physicians.³ And there were many in the synod who felt that the college should revert to junior college status or close. One of Dr. Spencer's friends wrote him:

You know full well the limitations of a church school both in finances and vision... somebody has to be president of Mary Baldwin which is a very nice worthy little school. But there are many preachers who would give their eye teeth to be out of the pastorate and into the prestige of a sound little college, where nothing would be required of them but to be responsible and respectable. And that is all that would be allowed of you. [I would be] sad [if you go to Mary Baldwin College]...so many of your talents would necessarily have to go unused.⁴

It was indeed a difficult choice. It was tempting to become a college president while still in one's thirties, and, if Dr. Spencer could make it succeed, it would be an invaluable asset in future career plans; but there were considerations of family, present and future financial needs, his own ultimate hopes and dreams to take into account. Essentially a modest and unassuming man (no one could ever accuse Dr. Spencer of arrogance or self-aggrandizement), he was yet a thoughtful and intelligent person who made wise decisions because he took the time and effort to learn about all the factors involved before he acted. He made several quiet trips to Staunton, and both he and Mrs. Spencer met members of the board who came to Greensboro, North Carolina for that purpose in January 1957. There was good rapport with board members, and the relationship with Edmund Campbell, the president of the board, would grow into one of mutual respect and affection in the years to come. However, Dr. Spencer had also called and spoken at length to Marts & Lundy, the professional fund-raising firm which had helped plan Mr. McKenzie's financial campaign and which had also been consulted by the synod's Educational Institutions Committee. Their initial report to Mr. McKenzie about the college in 1955 had been "optimistic in tone and had concluded a ten-year major development program could be undertaken successfully." But, in 1956, when Marts & Lundy

had looked at the synod's analysis, they had been "pessimistic in tone" and thought Mary Baldwin College should leave its present site. How could these two reports be reconciled? Their answer was that the report to the synod had "materially changed the situation—that "potential 'big givers'" had been given a perfect "out" by the unfavorable report and if the Mary Baldwin College Board chose to go ahead at this time with a financial campaign, it would be "highly questionable."

Dr. Spencer talked to J. N. Thomas, Chairman of the Mary Baldwin Presidential Search Committee on 1 November 1956 and agreed, "The college needs leadership and needs it badly...my general conclusion is that definite plans for the future should be decided upon before the presidency of Mary Baldwin is filled..." If, he continued, the Board wishes to choose a president and "then work out the future, I hope and assume that the Board will have no hesitancy about approaching someone else." He indicated that his "optimism was shaken."⁵

But, the college trustees had already taken steps to involve Samuel Spencer in the college's future. As soon as the McKenzie resignation was concluded (7 September 1956), the board appointed a committee to prepare a 10-year development program for the college and to use it to persuade the synod to mount a major capital campaign to support it. This committee was empowered to appoint consultants to help them in their deliberations, and they promptly named Samuel Spencer. Throughout the autumn of 1956, Dr. Spencer worked with them as they sought to develop a plan which would appeal to the synod and would meet the college's needs and his own perceptions.⁶

Another difficulty was the coordination of Mary Baldwin College's desires with those of Hampden-Sydney and of both of them agreeing to the mechanics of a synod campaign which would still leave each of them free to conduct separate fund-raising drives of their own. By 28 December 1956, some guidelines had been worked out, although there was no certainty that the synod would agree. Mary Baldwin College and Hampden-Sydney would each increase enrollments to 600, perhaps eventually 800 students; Mary Baldwin College would amend its charter so that "in the eyes of the Church and the public it will be identified as a church college"; another site "in the Valley of Virginia" would be sought and "gradually developed" over a 10-year period. There was a possibility that sometime in the remote future the college might become a coordinate or even coeducational institution, but

certainly not at the present. The curriculum would focus on liberal arts from a Christian perspective; faculty salaries would be raised sufficiently to challenge "well-qualified men and women to dedicate their lives to Christian education." A tentative cost estimate suggested that about \$9 million would be necessary.⁷ It was really a Spencer blueprint for the future. It is hard to see how Samuel Spencer could have not agreed to become president considering the extent of his involvement at this point. On 20 December 1956, Dr. Spencer wrote,

There are still persons of experience and sound judgment who feel that ...I should not go to Mary Baldwin until the synod has given tangible evidence, in the form of money or commitment, of major support for the College. However, because I feel that Mary Baldwin offers both a need and an opportunity, I am willing to have my name presented to the Board on the following conditions:

1. The College Charter should be amended so that Mary Baldwin qualified as a Presbyterian College. "I am thoroughly sold on Christian education and believe that education with a Christian emphasis is Mary Baldwin's primary purpose for existence."
2. The Synod must "enthusiastically approve" a capital fund campaign that would provide sufficient money to undertake the development of a new campus. "...the provision of major funds by the Synod is essential."⁸

There were some other conditions regarding housing, transportation, etc., but they were the ordinary requests of an incoming president. "You and the other members of the Committee," he wrote, "may feel that such an acceptance...is so hedged with conditions as to be undesirable...If so, I want to assure you again that I will fully understand your turning to someone else. If, on the other hand, the whole matter should work out and I should come to Mary Baldwin, I can assure you and the Board that I will

give of myself to the very maximum." Apprised of this proposal, the college trustees lost no time in trying to meet Dr. Spencer's conditions.

The next step in the process was for the board to agree to amend the charter. This was not done without question. Although there were significant legal and philosophical differences between Dr. Fraser's charter of 1922 and this one of 1957, there were those who remembered all too well the history of the 1920s and sought to avoid repeating it.⁹ Some board members were Episcopalian and disliked the closer ties the new charter reflected, but in the end the proposal was accepted.¹⁰

The next condition was for a firm commitment from the synod to undertake a major capital funds campaign, and this also was a major hurdle to cross. The synod's committee on education had backed away from their expensive and time-consuming consultants' report, and Hampden-Sydney had refused outright to consider either moving or becoming coeducational. Hampden-Sydney had a new president and was already committed to its own major fund-raising campaign. How could the Mary Baldwin College Board persuade the synod to agree to a joint capital funds campaign benefiting both Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin? More importantly, how would the money that accrued be divided? In fact, the synod would not meet until May, but everyone agreed that it would follow the recommendation of the committee of higher education, so that committee was the one that must be persuaded. Subcommittees and regional groups met and telephoned and debated and bargained endlessly. The calendar was catching up with the Spencers and with Mary Baldwin College. There must be proper notice given to Davidson if Dr. Spencer were to leave. If he decided not to accept Mary Baldwin's call, the board would have to find someone else quickly since Dr. Potter could no longer sustain his double responsibility as pastor at First Presbyterian Church and interim president. J. N. Thomas wrote the Spencers, "I have the deepest sympathy for both of you in this period of uncertainty..." There came a time, about mid-March, when Dr. Spencer wrote:

As I told him [Eldon D. Wilson] I am really disturbed by the whole situation in that I cannot see how the picture can be brought into focus by April 1. Even under optimum conditions, development

of Mary Baldwin into a larger institution on a new campus is going to be difficult indeed...but unless the less-than-optimum conditions threatened by the continued resentment and delay of Hampden-Sydney can be corrected, I seriously question whether the Board should undertake the new program.

I told Ava at the time of my conditional acceptance [December 20, 1956] that I was willing and ready to go, but if the way to development of the new program should not open up, I would take it as the Lord's indication that for me the thing was not supposed to be. This is still the way I feel about it.¹²

The next week saw intensified consultation among the various committees of the synod's Committee on Higher Education, Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin College trustees. On 15 March the Council agreed to recommend to the Synod of Virginia that it undertake a "unified financial campaign" for the benefit of Christian higher education.¹³ When Dr. Spencer was informed of this action, he signified that it would meet his second (and major) "condition" (although it was in reality far from complying with his original request), and on 21 March 1957 he formally accepted appointment as president of Mary Baldwin College. The trustees were in session and Dr. Spencer was invited to join them and to participate in their deliberations. He already had a personal agenda, and even at this first meeting it was apparent that he would be a strong executive, with carefully prepared and substantiated proposals, specific objectives, and imaginative ideas about how to achieve them. After the previous decade, the trustees might be excused if they breathed a sigh of relief as they transferred the mantle of leadership to their new young president.

* * * *

Dr. Spencer "hit the ground running," a phrase which was often repeated around the campus in the early years of his administration. In fact, he had some carefully worked out objec-

tives, and it is instructive to list them and then to trace how they were achieved as the years passed.

It is impossible to read the speeches and addresses he gave, or his correspondence, or his reports and recommendations to the board without coming to understand Samuel Spencer's great commitment to independent, liberal arts, church-related colleges. Sooner than many others, he understood that the pressures of the "Sputnik" crises and the space age would mean greater federal support—and greater government interference with public educational institutions. In an increasingly secular age, with impending court decisions about separation of Church and State, the church college, he wrote, is the church's "insurance policy"—the only way we can guarantee that the church will be able to work with college age groups at all. Twenty, thirty or fifty years from now...the church college may become the only place where the curriculum includes religious discussions or can work freely with young people on its own terms—"without deference and without apology." By means of a strong group of Christian colleges, the church will have a "channel through which it can speak directly on such matters as ethical standards and moral values." For Dr. Spencer, the "church college" existed not to benefit any one denomination—or indeed, even the church itself, but instead, the church college should be the way "the church serves mankind." A church college, he declared should promote the "general diffusion of knowledge and virtue"; it must educate, but also provide the "extra qualities of a personal Christian faith, a sense of mission about vocation, and the foundation of a social conscience."¹⁴

Much of Dr. Spencer's energy and the gambles he took came from this deep-seated conviction about the importance of church-related colleges. He was determined Mary Baldwin would become an outstanding example of one.

There was likewise a deep commitment to academic excellence and innovative teaching methods. Early in his acquaintance with the college, Samuel Spencer had met Martha Grafton and the rapport between the two was immediate and long-lasting. It is difficult for a college president to influence directly academic goals, standards and practices; that is the responsibility of the faculty, and it usually jealously guards its prerogatives in these matters. But Martha Grafton had long experience with the college faculty (she had recommended the hiring of most of them) and sensitivity in dealing with their concerns and demands. Dr. Spencer had been at the college for less than two months when he

went on a ten-day "western" trip to visit colleges and universities in Texas, Missouri, and Indiana. In February 1958, he and Mrs. Grafton together visited prestigious educational institutions in New England and the Middle Atlantic states. They returned "excited about the possibilities of a dynamic and imaginative educational program," an excitement that was ultimately translated into seven or more changes in the content and methodology of the curriculum.¹⁵

External events often influence the history of a college as much, if not more, than the internal dynamics of the campus. The 1960s was a turbulent decade for the U.S. and the world. A U.S. president, a presidential candidate and a beloved civil rights leader were assassinated; Cuba was unsuccessfully "invaded"; the following year there was a "missile crisis" and a change in Soviet leadership; a wall was built in Berlin. After more than two centuries of ignoring or evading the problem, the deep-seated racial prejudices of American society were dragged into the light to be debated, evaluated, rioted over and possibly remedied. There were truly revolutionary social changes—in clothing and ornamentation, in music and art, in life-style, in sexual relations, in family structure. A public drug culture was born and flourished. All middle class values, mores, habits, and perceptions were challenged. American geographic knowledge broadened as places called Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam entered the vocabulary. Demonstrations, protests, riots filled the television screens, which had entered fully into American conscious experience by the early 60s. It was an incredibly difficult time for college administrations, faculty, students and their parents, and Dr. Spencer sought a "bridge over troubled waters" with his third major dream for Mary Baldwin College. There was to be a firm commitment to international understanding and communication. Mary Baldwin faculty and students would live and study in foreign countries. They would think in terms of service careers which would foster knowledge and empathy with those of different cultures. They would welcome to the Staunton campus overseas teachers and students. They would move beyond the parochial limits of the Shenandoah Valley into the wider world that awaited educated and committed women in the 1960s.

There was still another major (and indispensable) goal. Mary Baldwin College must become an economically viable institution. Without this, none of the other objectives could be met. The student body must double in size, and so must the faculty.¹⁶ The

physical plant must be modernized and expanded to meet these needs. At first Dr. Spencer believed that the physical college itself would have to move to another area (in or near Staunton) which would provide more (flat) space and opportunity for growth but eventually agreed the college should stay in its traditional location. An enormous amount of time and effort was expended fleshing out this 10-year development program and in estimating costs and sources of revenue. A successful synod campaign was the first requirement, coupled with a carefully crafted Mary Baldwin fund-raising proposal. Land must be acquired, architects hired, a professional advisory firm contracted with; alumnae, parents, friends, foundations, corporations were to be solicited. Would the city contribute? (Samuel Spencer at one time thought they might give up to a half million dollars based on his North Carolina experience as various cities had vied for St. Andrews College to locate in one of them). There were federal housing, academic facilities and student loan programs in which Mary Baldwin might participate, provided academic and religious freedom was not compromised. A new library was an absolute must, as was a heating plant; so were dining facilities and dormitory space. The science faculty had struggled for 30 years in facilities that had been private homes. There were certain uncomfortable parallels between Samuel Spencer's ideas and Dr. Fraser's proposals of the 1920s for those who chose to see them, but few did. The new president was dynamic, self-confident, organized and effective. Within the space of one college generation (four years), Mary Baldwin was a changed institution, and all four of these "dreams and visions" were on the way to reality.

* * * *

Dr. Spencer's working relationship with Dean Martha Grafton had been firmly established even before he had accepted the presidency; in fact, they had corresponded since 1956, after having met at a conference earlier, and he once wrote that he was "more interested [in being president] now than I was several years ago...because I have had the opportunity to know you and consequently believe we could work well together." He had written her on 19 March 1957, telling her that he had agreed to be the president and asking for an organizational chart and a "job description" for each staff member. He was already thinking of possible commencement speakers for June 1958 and the appropri-

ate dates for the trustees' meeting in the fall.

When he met with the board of trustees on 21 March he asked them to approve his appointment of James W. Jackson, Jr., as "assistant to the president" in charge of the development program and public relations. Dr. Spencer had worked with Jim Jackson at Davidson and understood, in a way that many at Mary Baldwin College did not, that a new era of professionalism concerning fund raising, alumnae contacts and college public relations was dawning. The whole gamut of what would be called "development" was emerging. It included the college's "public image," from logos and stationery, to coordinated publications, to contracts with development advisors and government programs, to planning visits to local and regional alumnae groups—all of this and more had to come under the direction of one individual who could schedule the president and other administrative figures where they could be the most effective. This required office space, bulk mailings, expensive equipment (not yet computers, but duplicators, typewriters, long distance telephoning) and clerical help at a level previously unknown at Mary Baldwin, where alumnae affairs had been handled by former alumnae with part-time secretarial help, public relations by a faculty member in her spare time, and part-time fund raising by the president and the board members, with a little financial advice from the treasurer (and Chemistry professor) about where to invest endowment funds. It was a "hard sell" to persuade board members and faculty that administrative personnel must increase; that it took money to raise money; that physical necessity required architects, lawyers, landscape specialists, interior designers to be more or less permanently on the college payroll. Dr. Spencer was a good salesman, and he accomplished the transition from an amateur to professional development office with probably as little trauma as was possible, even though there were bound to be misunderstandings and hurt feelings along the way.¹⁸

During his years at Mary Baldwin, Dr. Spencer had four development "assistants." They bore different titles at different times; most eventually were called "vice-president for development" or something similar. The first was James W. Jackson, Jr., who arrived with Dr. Spencer from Davidson in 1957 and resigned abruptly on 19 July 1960, partly over disagreement about his lines of responsibility and partly because he had a better job offer. The second incumbent was Joseph W. Timberlake, Jr., known as "Buck." He was a friendly, outgoing man whose wife Betty

("Butch") was a devoted alumna and had been on the board of trustees. Buck's experience had been in television and communications, and he and his family were immediately welcomed by students and others as an integral part of campus life. The Timberlakes left in 1968, and Craven Williams arrived that same spring. Most of Williams' service would come under President Kelly, but he and his family made a place for themselves as part of the college community. The fourth assistant was John B. Daffin, who had come to the college in 1930 as a teacher of Chemistry and Physics and had worked with Mr. King. He had later acted as treasurer and comptroller and had retired from active teaching in June 1965. Mr. Daffin had been an indefatigable traveller for the college, kept track of alumnae and former board members, and played a major role in securing gifts and bequests during the great building era of the 1960s. He, of course, had a special interest in the science building, which was still in the planning stages in 1965, and thus was asked to remain as a "Special Assistant" to the president for two more years.

On 17 October 1957, the board of trustees of the college amended its charter as Dr. Spencer had asked them to do, so that the college would, in every respect, be legally a "church college." It was a busy board meeting. Not only did they have to restructure the board of trustees, but matters of faculty, tenure, insurance, retirement and salaries were studied; gradual increases in enrollment were approved; synod relationships and the upcoming capital funds campaign were discussed; a study of endowment investment policies was instituted; matters of student housing and physical plant improvements and salary increases were all on the agenda. The board was organized into six standing committees and one temporary one (to amend the bylaws), and each was given specific assignments. There was no question that the president intended to exert vigorous leadership and that future board members would be expected to make concrete contributions to the college's progress. Generally, in the next decade, the board was given a great deal of material to study before it came to the meetings. The trustees made some very significant decisions and undertook at least three two-day workshops for special purposes. They lent their physical presence to important events on campus and were generous in their financial contributions. There is no evidence that there was ever any serious disagreement with Dr. Spencer's proposals. There were occasional negative votes, but never was there a majority to oppose what would be some very

controversial decisions. It was not a "rubber stamp" board, but it was one that was accustomed to strong leadership and to success. When these conditions changed in the 1970s, the board lacked the practice and the machinery for assuming more control.¹⁹

Because the volume of letters, documents, contracts, orders and reports that were generated by the president's office steadily increased during Dr. Spencer's tenure, it was essential that good administrative help be available. Until her tragic death in November 1962, Barbara Page had acted as administrative assistant to the president and had made possible the efficient operation of that office. Her loss was keenly felt by all members of the college community, and her services are commemorated in the Barbara Kares Page Terrace in front of the library.²⁰

Martha Anne Pool, class of 1948, had been in Staunton for a year carrying out her duties as president of the Alumnae Association, at a time of major fund raising. She now became acting administrative assistant to Dr. Spencer, remaining in that post until 1964 and easing the transition in a way that was invaluable to the president. Then Jane Wilhelm, 1963-1977, constituted the president's immediate staff.

But, of course, all the administrative offices expanded and grew as the college's numbers increased. When Dr. Spencer arrived there were seven senior administrators supported by 10 "staff members" plus one medical doctor (on call). The library had a staff of three, plus student assistants. Ten years later (just before Dr. Spencer's resignation) there were 11 administrative "offices," supported by 30 "staff members" and the library staff had grown to seven, a not unreasonable increase but still a dramatic change.²¹

Among the senior administrators, there was remarkable stability. Dr. Spencer "inherited" Dean Grafton, Dean Parker, and Miss Hillhouse, as well as Mr. Spillman, Miss Carr, and, of course, Mr. Daffin. In March 1957, Mrs. Dolores P. Lescure had been hired as a part-time director of the news bureau. Within a year, she was working full time and had added invaluable experience, skill and talent to the Information Services and College Publications. Mrs. Gertrude C. Davis had returned to the campus in 1957 as librarian and brought skill and dedication to the difficult library situation. All of these individuals remained during Dr. Spencer's presidency and gave welcome continuity and experience in this era of dramatic change. There was less stability in the Alumnae Office. There were four executive directors of the

Alumnae Association between 1957-68; Hannah Campbell to 1960, Rachel Cover, 1961, Sarah M. Matthews, 1961-62, and Virginia W. Munce, 1962-1979, and of course the development office not only had three directors, but had seen much turnover in office personnel.

In 1965, the required Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Self-Study commented that the college was "functioning well" under the present "informal organization," but believed that this was so "because of the personalities involved and their dedication." The college, they added, "operates by custom and understanding." They recommended a more formal organization with clear lines of responsibility and authority drawn.²² This recommendation was not followed by Dr. Spencer. Having many responsibilities and decisions to make, he was well aware that few college presidents could find such a closely knit, experienced and dedicated senior staff as he had. He saw no reason to change what worked well.

However, in addition to the senior staff, the Spencer era saw others already at the college or who came during the Spencer years whose services were invaluable, their loyalties great, their talents outstanding. Without their contributions, the senior staff could not have functioned as competently as they did. They were an integral part of the college community.

Carolyn Meeks came to the college in 1961 as secretary to both Mrs. Grafton and Miss Parker. Totally discreet, trustworthy, efficient and accurate, she has served deans and college presidents for more than 30 years; Ellen O. Holtz, class of '60, joined admissions in 1960, learned the increasing complexities of student financial aid and has sympathetically counseled innumerable students and their families about monetary concerns ever since. There was also Fran Schmid, class of '40, who had worked at the college since her graduation and eventually served in every administrative office that existed or could be invented. She had particular skills with returning alumnae, a charming courtesy and quiet dignity. Julia Patch, assistant to the dean of students and hostess at the Main Desk (1946-66) was a particular favorite with the young men who came to visit the students.

When he was on campus, Dr. Spencer met his five co-equal senior officers once a week in a formal staff meeting, but any of them, at any time, could take a problem directly to him (a practice criticized by the Self-Study as blurring internal lines of communication). He likewise had monthly "general staff meetings" as a

clearinghouse for information and matters of general attention. Because he was so frequently off the campus for extended periods of time, Dr. Spencer, in 1958, had specified to the faculty and staff that Dean Grafton was to have authority to make decisions about the internal administration of the college in his absence. After it had been decided in 1961 that the director of development would be called a "vice-president," Dr. Spencer wrote to a worried alumna that the title should not be understood as "overshadowing" the dean of the college. He did not feel it was "pretentious" because the title gave Mr. Timberlake "entree which a lesser title might not" as he represented the college in public relations and other areas. Dr. Spencer added that Dean Grafton was responsible for academic and faculty matters.²³ But there were ambiguities; sometimes Dean Grafton presided at faculty meetings when Dr. Spencer was absent; occasionally Mr. Timberlake did. When Dr. Spencer was on leave for a year as Fulbright Lecturer in Munich, August 1965 - August 1966, a committee made up of Mr. Lunsford (chairman of the board of trustees), Mr. Timberlake, Dean Grafton and Mr. Spillman were made jointly responsible for policy decisions.

Dr. Spencer had not been on the campus very long when he discovered that some staff offices which often had only one or two people in them simply closed down at lunchtime and instructed the switchboard to report that they would receive calls after 1:30 p.m. The president immediately sent a notice that all college offices were to be open for five and a half days a week and must be "covered" during the working day. Office personnel were to be allowed to have "free" lunches in the college dining room, but there must always be someone to answer office phones during business hours.²⁴

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At that first board of trustees meeting, 17 October 1957, Dr. Spencer had proposed that his inauguration "contribute something to the educational world" instead of following the usual format of a conventional academic procession followed by two or three speeches with platitudes and flowery rhetoric. Instead, he wished to have a "symposium" called "New Directions in the Liberal Arts" where panels of distinguished scholars, faculty and students would discuss modern advances in curricula content and teaching methods. This symposium was to ultimately involve

more than 400 participants and guests, not including the Mary Baldwin College community, and encompass two days, 15-16 April 1958. The proceedings were filmed and recorded. A faculty-student planning committee was quickly appointed and began work under the unflappable chairmanship of Dr. Andrew Mahler. Eventually convention was partially observed by agreeing to an academic procession and a formal charge to the president to be held Tuesday night, 15 April, with one panel, "New Methods in Teaching," held that afternoon and the other, "New Directions in Content," on Wednesday morning. The featured evening speaker was Arnold J. Toynbee, Scholar in Residence at Washington & Lee, who was enjoying a popular acclaim which few historians had been accorded in the United States because his 10 volume Study of History had been featured in Life Magazine. It had not been easy to persuade Professor Toynbee to appear. He had told Washington & Lee when he agreed to spend a semester there that he would not accept invitations from other nearby colleges or universities. How, pondered Dean Leyburn, could he tell these others that Toynbee had agreed to come to Mary Baldwin? Tell them that this is a presidential inauguration, Dr. Spencer responded.²⁵ The other principal speaker was Arthur E. Bestor, Professor of History, University of Illinois. The whole affair was a remarkable blending of distinguished scholars, Presbyterian dignitaries, past Mary Baldwin College presidents, local political figures, alumnae, faculty and students. All seven former and present deans of the college were in attendance.²⁶ The president, dean, and one faculty member from each of 25 Virginia colleges and universities were invited, as well as those of 19 Presbyterian colleges. Others who came were personal friends or longtime college "connections." The college choir sang, there was an exhibit of Modern French Paintings (on loan from the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts) and another exhibit of materials from 25 colleges who had been awarded Ford Foundation grants to experiment with new methods and content. There were two "coffee hours," a formal dinner in the college dining hall, a reception and a formal luncheon. Travel plans and housing had to be coordinated for all the out-of-town guests, and arrangements had to be made for filming, taping, editing and distributing the proceedings. It was a mammoth undertaking, given the inadequate physical facilities of the campus and the community, the limited time to prepare, and the fact that two major fund-raising campaigns were ongoing.²⁷

Just as final plans were completed and less than a week before

the symposium was to begin, Dr. Spencer developed acute appendicitis. Surgery was performed, and the decision was made that everything would proceed, even if Dr. Spencer himself could not attend. But attend he did, and although he was a bit shaky and pale, few people were even aware that an emergency had occurred.²⁸ His address, really his first formal address to the college community, was eloquent and earnest. "Many years from now," he said, "I hope it can be said that 1957-58 marked a renewed intellectual vigour in the life of this college...this college is an educational institution dedicated to enriching the spiritual and intellectual life of our students...we are making our plans not for a year or five years, but for fifty years or more...[this symposium] marks our determination to offer our students an education which is basically sound, but dynamic and imaginative in character." The whole affair was an astounding success and was the first of many more special events which would take place on the campus in the Spencer years. United States presidents and governors spoke, buildings were dedicated, anniversaries observed—there was always something happening. The Spencer years were never dull.

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In evaluating the Spencer presidency, it would appear that Dr. Spencer was more an "outside" man than an "inside" administrator. And it is certainly true that he was frequently away from the campus for extended periods of time. There were the numerous and necessary visits to alumnae chapters, major donors, foundations and corporations, all of whom were asked to contribute to the college's building program and financial campaigns. There were frequent duties and contacts with various divisions of the Presbyterian Church. There were trips to Europe when the "junior year abroad" programs in Madrid and Paris were envisioned and later monitored. There was the sabbatical already mentioned when Dr. Spencer was a Fulbright Scholar, teaching American Social History at the Amerika Institute at the University of Munich. Almost immediately after his arrival in Staunton, Dr. Spencer became an effective and sought-after participant in the Virginia Foundation for Independent Colleges, and although the "junior member," as he expressed it, he served as president of that organization from 1960 to 1963. He was a member of the College Scholarship Service Commission, 1959-62; the Advising Commit-

tee for Two-Year Community Colleges of the State Council of Higher Education; participant in the Association of Virginia Colleges; a member of the Board of Christian Education, PCUS; and on the Editorial Advising Committee of John Knox Press. Nor did he neglect community obligations in Staunton. He was a Rotarian, a member of the Staunton-Augusta County Chamber of Commerce, and an active member of First Presbyterian Church. Davidson College had been loath to let Dr. Spencer leave them in 1957, and they kept the relationship warm and active. Samuel Spencer was a member of the Davidson board of visitors, he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Law degree by them in 1964; and served on the board of trustees after 1966. He was also much in demand as a commencement speaker at high schools, junior, community and regional colleges and universities. He wrote his speeches himself, and they were thoughtfully constructed and frequently eloquent. He was likewise approached for church programs, and his acquaintance with and friendship for Presbyterian ministers in Virginia and elsewhere were phenomenal. However, he refused to officiate in Sunday morning worship services, saying that he was not a minister and felt uncomfortable in that role. He added that he had obligations to his own family (whenever possible they attended services together) and to his own church, and would speak to church groups only at other times of the week.²⁹

Of course, there were regional and national association obligations as well, and a 10-year college expansion and building program to supervise. Dr. Spencer had been at Mary Baldwin College less than five years when he was asked by the United States Health, Education and Welfare Department if he would accept an appointment as Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education. He declined the offer, as he did a later request that he become the executive secretary of the Division of Church Education of PCUS. Undoubtedly there were other proposals over the years of which no records now remain, but until midsummer of 1968 they were all politely refused.

It was possible to meet all of these obligations and responsibilities because of the support systems that existed at the college for its president. But to view Dr. Spencer as unaware and unknowing about the "inside" college life is to misread the historical record. A positive avalanche of letters and reports poured out of the president's office year after year. Dr. Spencer wrote personal letters to the parents of students who had committed judiciary

or honor offenses; letters to the parents and ministers of young women who were not admitted to the college; letters to parents of students who wished to transfer, in or out; to visitors who had physical difficulties on the campus, such as automobiles rolling down steep hills or turned ankles as grandmothers scrambled over clods of earth and heaps of rock; to the students themselves; letters of praise, condolence, persuasion. He wrote letters to alumnae and donors and to principals and headmasters of private and public secondary schools. There were political letters to congressmen, senators, governors, state representatives; letters of recommendation for former students who were seeking employment; 1500 Christmas cards a year and gifts of apples to college friends. There were "thank you" notes to friends and supporters and financial contributors. There was scrupulous concern to acknowledge any contribution from a church, no matter how small. In one case, a note was sent thanking the donor for \$1; another for \$8.50, another for \$10.00.³⁰ These kinds of letters were all personal, dictated by the president himself and expressed in his own words.

Samuel Spencer was interested in everything that was occurring on the campus. When he travelled abroad, he took the opportunity to buy "antique furniture" for the new dormitory lounges. He explored with G. E. and W. W. Sproul the possibility of an "outdoor escalator" to tie together the upper and lower campuses. He chose the china pattern for the new dining room, supported the opening of Shenandoah Valley Airport and more frequent railroad schedules for Staunton. He investigated the new Nestlé coffee dispensers and proposed several be installed around the campus. He had flowers sent on significant anniversaries to women in Staunton who had long connections with the college. Both Dr. and Mrs. Spencer entertained faculty and student groups, as well as innumerable college visitors and distinguished Presbyterian clergy. They both had remarkable facility in identifying students quickly, and it was not unusual for the president of the college to call by name a student who had been on the campus only briefly. Dr. Spencer liked young women, enjoyed teaching them, and respected their capabilities and achievements. He was a tennis enthusiast and there were close ties with the college tennis team, then achieving a national reputation.

There are many personal characteristics that help to explain Dr. Spencer's successes as president of the college. He had a

retentive memory, a keen sense of organization and priorities, a pleasant disposition and the capacity to accept but not dwell on disappointments. He did not hold grudges and could work with those with whom he disagreed. Perhaps one of his greatest strengths was his ability to make decisions and not agonize over them unduly. Although he was younger than any of his senior staff, and although he had never been a college president before, he had no difficulty in assuming presidential responsibilities—or in defining them. There are, he said,

four prerequisites to genuine excellence in a college or university: a first-rate faculty and staff; a first-rate student body; a first-rate library; and first-rate physical equipment...The president's peculiar opportunity to improve the quality of his institution derives from the fact that he is the only person on campus concerned with all four. There is an intangible factor which might be defined as its [the college's] spirit or ethos. It is in this realm that the president's opportunity lies. Because he is concerned with all phases of the college's operation, because he can see things in perspective... and because of the power he inevitably wields as chief executive officer, the president more than anyone else can determine the distinguishing characteristics or tone of his campus.³¹

Lest this sound too terribly earnest, perhaps even a bit pompous, it must be noted that Dr. Spencer really did not take himself too seriously. There was a quiet sense of humor—the historian's perspective that simply did not allow one to consider oneself too important. He once wrote to a lady who had invited him to talk to a church group, "A man can probably be pretty ridiculous in talking to women about women." His invitation to Arthur M. Schlesinger (Sr.) to attend the New Directions in the Liberal Arts symposium concluded, "Certainly I do not want you to feel any obligation to come. Mary Baldwin is a small operation and I have not lost my sense of proportion to the extent of

considering this an earthshaking event."³²

And finally, Dr. Spencer made time (never as much as he wished) to be with his family. The Spencers' fourth child, Frank Clark, was born on 17 September 1960 and was an immediate favorite with the students. The children were frequently on campus and participated in many college events and holidays. There were close friendships with faculty and community families, and these activities made it possible to see the college president in a less formal role.

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Dr. Spencer's acceptance of the presidency of the college had been so closely tied to the promise of synod financial support that it is no surprise that his first priority was to work out the details of the promised Mary Baldwin College/Hampden-Sydney/Presbyterian Guidance Centers campaigns. Since this effort would focus only on Presbyterians within the bounds of the Synod of Virginia, and since it was understood that the synod campaign could not hope to raise enough money for the total needs of the institutions involved, Mary Baldwin and Hampden-Sydney proposed to mount a concurrent effort among their own alumnae, friends and supporters. In the summer of 1957, the synod required each beneficiary of its proposed campaign to flesh out the details of its 10-year development program and to come to an agreement about how the synod funds would be apportioned among them. In October 1957, the Mary Baldwin board of trustees agreed that the student body should be increased to 600-700 as quickly as facilities for them could be provided; that new academic programs would be installed; that faculty salaries would be increased to reach competitive levels; that increased scholarship funds would be available to help equalize increasing tuition; that an architectural firm would be hired to plan the physical expansion of the college; and that financial estimates of expenses, sources of revenue and modes of payment would be put in place.³³ There followed innumerable meetings in Richmond and elsewhere as the synod committee sought to establish its own plans and objectives. There were major disagreements concerning the division of the funds. Jim Jackson called it the problem of "equalization" and said it was "most discouraging and frustrating." There was "internal bickering," he continued, and "unfortunately, there is a good deal of sniping among persons who are favorable to one or another of the courses..."

Dr. Spencer wrote John N. Thomas that summer, that

Running into what seemed continual problems of apathy, hostility and ignorance in the synod makes discouragement about the campaign come rather easy these days...If only we can come through the campaign with reasonable success by next spring, I think we will be over the hump as far as Mary Baldwin's future is concerned.³⁴

After several months of interviews and debates, the firm of Ketchum Inc. was hired by the synod to conduct the campaign. They proposed a fee of 5% of the total objective (\$125,000) plus expenses, and a campaign committee of the synod was organized. Both Dr. Spencer and Dr. Joseph Robert (president of Hampden-Sydney) were *ex officio* members; eventually Dr. Bernard Bain and Dr. W. T. Thompson agreed to act as chairmen (both men had played important roles in Dr. Spencer's New Directions symposium), and the laborious process got under way. Most of the year of 1958 was taken up with planning, organization and structure. A short film called "In Christian Hands" was produced; brochures about the beneficiaries were written, a question-and-answer pamphlet prepared. The presbytery leaders were identified and workshops were held; a speakers' bureau was organized (Dr. Spencer was an active participant, as were Mr. Daffin and Mrs. Grafton); and workshops for "leaders" were held. Major gift solicitations began in November 1958, and congregational pledges were received in January/February of 1959. Pledges could be redeemed over "four tax years" (ending in March 1961), and the goal was at least a \$21.00 pledge from each of the 114,000 synod communicants, to reach a total of \$ 2.5 million.

The synod campaign officially ended on 1 March 1959 and Ketchum services (to the synod) were concluded, although there would be "follow-up work" for several years. It was apparent even before the figures were in that the results were "disappointing." Only 43% of the synod's churches participated, with an average per capita gift of \$6.96. The total amount pledged came to less than \$1 million. There had been much dedicated and sacrificial work on the part of many individuals, and the whole subject had occupied the synod's meetings for six years. Why had the effort

failed? Ketchum Inc., in analyzing the result, declared, "No denominational campaign can succeed without the enthusiastic backing of the ministers." In the past, colleges had not been considered part of the churches' responsibility and it was hard to persuade congregations to believe they were. There had been no "challenge" gifts or congregational quotas established. The presidents of both institutions had each been in office only a limited time. The 1956 survey report had "muddied the waters considerably." Others complained that the "timing" was bad. The national economy was slowing. The drive had coincided with local Community Chests, "Every Member Canvasses" building programs in several churches, and "the protective instincts of some ministers." And there was the largely unspoken but pervasive problem of social change. Many ministers were "actively preaching integration," and there were those who might have supported the colleges who simply refused to do so because they perceived colleges would accept black students in the near future.³⁵

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Throughout 1958, while the synod campaign pursued its tortuous path, Mary Baldwin's president and trustees devoted many weeks to some strategic decisions of their own. Dr. Spencer had come to Mary Baldwin pretty well convinced that the college would have to move to a more appropriate and spacious site, but a careful survey of the real estate options available, the logistics involved, and the tradition associated with the "old campus," led increasingly to a decision to keep the college where it was. He and the board settled for what he would come to call a "tilted quadrangle" and quietly began to acquire the property between Market and Coalter streets. After interviewing several architectural firms, the board, 14 March 1958, authorized a study by the firm of Clark, Nexsen & Owen of Lynchburg to determine how such property could be used, and thus began a relationship that lasted for many years. It was a relationship that went far beyond a "strictly business" one. It has been, Samuel Spencer wrote, "a most satisfying and pleasant one for me...six years and four buildings after we started...I would make exactly the same choice of architects for our program if we had to do it again."³⁶ There was no question about priorities—a new heating plant had to be provided, and the increase in the student body meant more kitchen and dining room spaces were imperative; and, although

peripheral housing could help the student overflow for a year or two, new dormitories had to be planned. But, true to his academic convictions, Dr. Spencer wanted to build a new library first and make it the central feature of a new campus. There were two obstacles in the way of this Phase I part of the Ten Year Development plan. The college was in debt to the amount of nearly \$200,000, and although operating budgets were modestly balanced, as they were every year of Dr. Spencer's tenure, there was no discernible money available to buy the land and homes on Coalter and Market Streets. Dr. Spencer began to buy them anyway, with borrowed funds, "on faith" as he expressed it, that the "effort of the synod is going to succeed and that we are going to raise the money that will allow us to start toward our long-range goals."³⁷ Eventually the properties were acquired. The campus would in time encompass about 19 "sloping" acres and the \$2.5 million campaign for Phase I could begin. Both Dr. Spencer and Clark, Nexsen & Owen agreed that the color and architectural style of the old campus would be replicated in the new. "We cannot radically change the pattern on such a small campus," Dr. Spencer declared. So successful would this effort be that few people today can even tell where the "old campus" ended and the "new" began.

There remained one more obstacle before the building could proceed. Market Street (one of the steepest hills in Staunton) had been the eastern boundary of the "old" campus. Once the "grounds" extended to Coalter Street, this city thoroughfare would bisect the campus and destroy the proposed unity of terraces and new buildings. Would the city agree to donate the street to the college, and on what terms? For several weeks in the summer of 1959, the issue was in doubt. The City Council, thinking of the future widening of New, Frederick, and Coalter Streets wanted 28' and 14' setbacks in exchange for closing the street. Mr. Clark declared that the proposed master plan required "every foot of property" and that if the city would not yield, he could not recommend that the college remain "in town." Careful statistics were prepared showing that, far from losing tax revenues when the college acquired property or closed Market Street, the college, by means of purchases of supplies and services, payment of salaries and student local expenditures (and a 10-year construction plan), would bring almost \$1 million annually to the Staunton community. Mary Baldwin College, Dr. Spencer told City Council, is "actually a multi-million dollar urban renewal program in the heart of the city at no cost to the taxpayer." It was not until 26

March 1959, after some contracts had been signed and the college national fundraising campaign had begun, that the City Council relented. Market Street was closed and the new campus construction began.³⁸

During the next decade (1960-1970) the college erected six major buildings (a heating plant, two dormitories, a food service facility, a library, a science center and five modern tennis courts). There was never a year that there were not bulldozers leveling, backhoes digging, steel beams rising, plumbers, plasterers, electricians, painters, bricklayers, and roofers laboring. Two-and-a-half generations of students did not know what it was like to live and study on a quiet campus. As the work progressed, deteriorated or unsightly structures from the old campus (the "covered way", the old heating plant, Sky High, Chapel, the infirmary, the "maids' cottage," the Chemistry building) were removed. The building housing the Nannie Tate Demonstration School had to be demolished to make room for the Pearce Science Center, as did Bell house. The hills were terraced and grass-covered, four graduated walkways connected the upper and lower tiers (regrettably, the escalator had proved to be impractical), trees and flowering shrubs softened the landscape. By 1968, Dr. Spencer's objective of providing a suitable physical setting for an academically challenging liberal arts college for about 700 women had, to a great extent, been accomplished. Almost \$6,000,000 had been spent.³⁹

Where did the money come from? The sources of funds for private colleges are limited, and in the 1960s competition from state institutions increasingly seeking supplements to their state appropriations began to make serious inroads on what had been private institutions' preserves. By the mid-1960s the "guns and butter" philosophy of the Johnson administration had begun an inflationary spiral that added to the woes of college fund raisers. Still there was a great deal that a determined president and his trustees could do, and Dr. Spencer frankly admitted he took many "calculated risks," sometimes authorizing the beginning of projects before there was a clear idea of how the necessary funds would be found.

One little story of a minor episode serves well to illustrate the curious mixture of faith in the Lord's intentions, the necessity of taking immediate action, and the expectation that the means would be provided, that appeared to have frequently motivated Dr. Spencer's development decisions. On 13 September 1961, he

wrote a letter to the Revered Emmett B. McGukin: "The Lord does not always give a clear leading about a decision, but sometimes confirms it after it is made." Yesterday, [12 September], he continued, "I made the decision to tear down the old covered way. I had meant to wait another year because I had no money to do it, but we needed to open up our campus." The cost was \$300. The day after he made his decision, Mr. McGukin's check for \$300 arrived!⁴⁰ It is a long way from the \$300 of this little story to the \$6 million spent in buildings and grounds between 1959-1969, but the "calculated risk" and the faith attitude played a major role.

The money came from the traditional sources that Mary Baldwin College had relied on since the days of Dr. Fraser; from trustees, alumnae, friends, parents, even faculty and students. It came from foundations and business corporations, from memorial gifts and bequests. In 1959 (as has been seen) and again in 1968, synod campaigns for "their" Christian colleges offered modest help. But the "traditional sources," generous as the donors were and as much as their dedication was appreciated, were simply not enough. Somewhere major new means of funding had to be found if the plans for the physical campus were to be realized. So it was that, after much debate and prayer, the trustees authorized President Spencer and his staff to apply for government grants and loans.

In the late 1950s, a somewhat muted but determined competition had been ongoing between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. to launch and successfully control an unmanned space satellite. The U.S. effort had faltered badly, with several early attempts exploding on the launching pads. The Russians were secretive about their progress until 4 October 1957, when their 187-pound "Sputnik" roared into the heavens, its radio transmitting "beep beeps" as it circled the earth proclaiming the superiority of Russian science and technology. The impact of this event in the United States was far-reaching. What was "wrong" with our scientists and why didn't we have more of them? Were our schools and colleges failing to teach the mathematics, engineering and technology needed for the modern world? Demographic predictions warned that the children born after World War II would be of college age in the 1960s and that there was not nearly enough space for them in the existing educational facilities. Congress hastily passed a succession of laws such as the National Education Act, the Higher Education Facilities Act, and the College Housing Authority Act which made it possible for colleges and

universities (even private, church-related ones) to borrow funds at very low rates of interest or to apply for outright grants to modernize and expand their facilities. Money was available to build dormitories (since they were income-producing, such loans were considered secure), to build libraries and science centers. Federal money was available as never before to support research and development projects and loans for students to help with tuition; but these were separate and unrelated to the physical facilities legislation. Dr. Spencer and his advisors sought to draw a clear distinction between federal or state money granted and borrowed for capital expenditures, as opposed to federal or state money as part of the operating budget, fearing federal restrictions and controls would accompany the funds. Dr. Spencer's whole belief in the nature and duties of a Christian college, that it would be a place where religious values could balance and challenge secular standards, was threatened by the intrusion of political government into private college affairs. It was a difficult decision—applying for that first grant and loan to build a dormitory—but there seemed to be no other way, and so still another "risk" was added to those he was already taking. Red, white, and blue federal billboards appeared on the campus, with long lists of incomprehensible codes, proclaiming that the construction of this building or that was partly supported by federal government funds, and the back-hoes and bulldozers moved in.

There is no question that this "new" source of revenue made possible the completion of the Spencer building program, but the college did not cease its own efforts to help itself. Although the details changed as the process continued, there were carefully drawn plans as to what would be built, when, and how the new buildings would be integrated with the old. There were to be three "phases." The first would provide living services on the upper tier of the campus, (i.e., the dining hall and two dormitories, and in another location the heating plant), the completion of which would allow the student body to expand to between 600 and 700. Reluctantly, Dr. Spencer agreed that the library would have to wait until Phase II, as would the science facility (and in the mid-1960s there was considerable debate over which should be built first). Phase III would see the completion of a fine arts center, a modern auditorium, an enlarged student activities building, improved physical education facilities, perhaps another dormitory.⁴¹

College fund raising for Phase I was to begin as soon as the synod's 1958-59 campaign concluded. An intensive six-week

effort, beginning 1 March 1959, was planned. Emily P. Smith agreed to be the chairman of the national alumnae effort, local trustees appealed yet again to the community for support, and the firm of Ketchum Inc. was employed to provide direction and advice. Things did not go smoothly, either internally at the college or in the external appeals. That Ketchum had presided over the synod's unsuccessful effort and that the person chosen to work at the college, Carman House, became ill and had to leave in the middle of the effort, made for communication problems and missed opportunities. Jim Jackson found it difficult to work with the other college administrators and alumnae and complained that his little office in the basement of Main Building was so dusty and noisy that it interfered with his Robotyper and electric typewriter. But there were some successes. In 1958, 100% of the trustees, faculty and students contributed to the annual fund—a national "first." By mid-1959, Mr. Jackson was reporting community pledges of \$150,000, and gifts from alumnae, parents and friends of \$600,000 (which included \$450,000 from the Hunt family). Dr. Spencer was very active in the VFIC, and Mary Baldwin College's share of those funds was now added to the capital campaign. By 1962, the combined contribution of synod, college, friends, bequests, corporations and federal money had made possible the completion of Phase I, and the raising of monies for Phase II began.⁴²

This time, no professional fund raisers were employed. Beginning in the summer of 1960, a standing committee of the board of trustees called Development Planning had been appointed, and its members shared with Dr. Spencer the responsibility of building and borrowing decisions.⁴³

A limited solicitation for the new library was conducted in 1963 among alumnae and the community, and more than \$300,000 in cash and pledges was received. Federal funds provided the additional monies needed, and Grafton Library opened for student use in 1967. Architectural drawings and fund-raising plans had already been prepared for the science center. Again there were generous gifts, particularly from the widow of Jesse Cleveland Pearce, for whom the building was named. A Christian College Fund was undertaken by the Synod of Virginia in 1968-69 (again managed by Ketchum Inc.) for the benefit of Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin College, and about \$500,000 was ultimately realized toward the science building.⁴⁴

Two comments should be added about the fund-raising activi-

ties of the Spencer years. The first is that the college staff grew much better at it. The campaigns of 1958-59 were clumsy, uncoordinated and pretty unproductive, in spite of tremendous efforts and dedicated labor. But by the mid-1960s the trustees, the development offices, the public relations director, the alumnae office staff had become a team, experienced and confident. They had put together an invaluable file of information about donors, prospects, grant agencies and corporations. Almost without realizing that they were doing so, they were laying a firm foundation for the future when almost continuous capital campaigns would be an accepted characteristic of colleges and universities.⁴⁵

The other insight that emerges as we look back on these years is Dr. Spencer's observation that, in large part, the students and their families paid for the campus expansion. The bonds and notes negotiated with federal and state agencies were paid off yearly with funds from the operating budget, most of which, in turn, came from student tuition and fees. Both the numbers of students and their tuition increased steadily in the decade of the 1960s, and the additional revenues made it possible to live comfortably with the yearly interest and principal payments due on these debts. If either of those sources of revenue were altered, there might be future problems.⁴⁶

Dr. Spencer not only had to find the money for the building program, he had to have money to run the college, to retire old debts, to raise faculty salaries and benefits as he had pledged to do, to pay for new academic programs, and to maintain a balanced operating budget. Because Mary Baldwin has always been a "tuition-driven" college, most of the funds needed for these projects had to come from student fees. One of the principal reasons for planning to increase the student body to 600-700 had been the "economy of size" factor. It was more economical, per student, to feed, house and teach 600 students than it was to do the same for 300, and the surplus income would help pay for an expanded faculty and other needs. However, it has always been difficult for colleges and universities to explain to students and their parents that the tuition never covers the total college expenses of a specific student. Tuition payments must always be supplemented by other sources (state funds for public institutions, gifts, grants and endowment for private). In addition, increasing numbers of students, usually about a third of the student body, received financial aid in the form of scholarships, student jobs on campus or loans. The trustees and the synod were always uneasy about

increasing the amount of the tuition because they felt a commitment that, as a church-related college, students of "moderate" means should not be excluded. But Dr. Spencer insisted that it was necessary to increase tuition as well as student numbers. In 1958, the comprehensive fee for a resident student was \$1,650 a year; ten years later it was \$2,936. By 1968, a day student paid almost as much as a resident had done a decade before.⁴⁷

To ease the financial burdens, Dr. Spencer and the board devised two programs, both imaginative and forward-looking but controversial and often misunderstood. The first was the "Tuition Unit Plan" adopted in 1960-61. A base charge of \$1,000 for room, board and services would be charged, and tuition units of \$100 each (up to ten units, or \$1,000 more) would be imposed. The number of "tuition units" charged would depend on the financial resources of the student's family, based on the recommendation of the College Scholarship Service. The difference between those students who paid the full charge (\$2,000 in 1961) and those who did not would be paid from a special tuition unit fund made up from annual gifts to the college. The express purpose of this plan was to provide funds for additional faculty and to upgrade their salaries. It was heavily dependent for success on increased annual giving and, simple as it basically was, apparently was never satisfactorily explained to the college's constituents. By 1962, the program was modified so that only students whose academic record was "moderately good" could qualify, and by 1965 the program was quietly dropped.

The second proposal, called the "Guaranteed Fee System," was begun that same year. It provided that a student would pay the same comprehensive fee during her four years in college. This was intended to protect the students' families from increasing tuition costs each year and to encourage retention for the entire four year college program. It was moderately successful as long as enrollments were at capacity but had the potential of becoming a financial strain if the college's operating budget diminished and inflation continued. It had the additional burden of having students on campus who were receiving the same services but who paid different amounts, a situation which many perceived to be unfair. This program was discontinued in 1971-72.⁴⁸

There was one very important aspect of college financing which appears, on the surface at least, to have received very little attention in the Spencer years. This was the college endowment, which until the late 1950s had been very slowly accruing as

modest bequests from loyal friends had been made. It was largely managed "in-house" by the Finance Committee of the board of trustees and by the business manager and treasurer of the college. In 1958 the endowment amounted to \$831,962, the income from which represented about 5% of the operating budget. It was, observed Dr. Spencer wryly, "a very modest [endowment] which has much to be modest about." It is, he said to another friend, "almost negligible." Dr. Spencer had always insisted, as presidents before and after him have done, that the college needed capital funds and endowment "to compete with other good colleges which are leaving Mary Baldwin behind." Thus it is curious to read in a committee report the following statement:

In speaking about the place of endowment in a program of development...this item was of secondary importance at present because operating costs could be adequately met by student fees derived from large enrollments...annual Alumnae funds and increased support from [the] Synod would be better sources of additional funds for current operations than returns from an endowment would be.⁴⁹

This does not mean, however, that the board and Dr. Spencer were unaware of this weakness. As early as 1959, the trustees undertook the study of the management of the endowment funds (as compared to other colleges), and Mr. Daffin was asked to prepare a comprehensive report of the funds which had been his responsibility for more than a quarter of a century. The board cautiously moved to professional management, at first paying modest fees for consulting services and by the mid-1960s relying on professional investment management firms. By 1968, the endowment had grown to \$1,864,889, with the most substantial addition coming from the Woodson bequest; but as college expenses increased and the endowment did not increase proportionately, the percentage of the college revenues derived from the endowment in income actually declined.⁵⁰ Both the college and the synod had sought to emphasize "deferred giving" and bequest considerations as part of their financial plans, but with so many other projects needing fiscal resources, efforts to increase the endowment inevitably lacked attention. In the "shrinking seven-

ties," the college would pay the price for this neglect.

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Both President McKenzie and his assistant, Ray Williams, had been critical of the way in which alumnae affairs were organized and of the financial support for the college which the alumnae provided. Again, this reflected advances in professional organization of alumnae activities which many colleges and universities were undertaking in this period, but which had not yet affected Mary Baldwin College. But, in the Spencer era, the alumnae "came of age." They became an integral part of every fund-raising effort of these years; their opinions and ideas were respected on the board of trustees; they were delighted and awed at the physical changes taking place on the campus; they were informed and inspired by a well-written, provocative Alumnae Newsletter which reached them regularly; they were embraced as part of the whole campus community and, as such, had responsibilities to carry out and serious contributions to make. Never again, after Dr. Spencer, would they be just the "old girls."

In 1958, there were 5,500 known living alumnae; by 1968, they numbered 6,750. Many of them, perhaps one-third, were seminary students, and another significant number had attended the college for less than four years. But as the student enrollment doubled between 1958 and 1966 so, too, did the number of "Spencer alums" who were enthusiastic and inspired by his program and who would become a strong nucleus of support in the years to come.

Perhaps the most significant change in alumnae relationships came from the well-organized frequent visits from college administrators and faculty who crisscrossed the country visiting chapters, helping to establish new ones, and asking for support and understanding.

The 1958 campaign, as has been seen, had an inauspicious beginning. It was agreed that the alumnae "annual giving" appeal, established with so much effort in the early 1950s, would be "folded into" the fund-raising campaign (probably a mistake), and President Spencer, John Daffin, Jim Jackson, Martha Grafton, and many others tried to follow Ketchum's erratic schedule of chapter luncheons and dinners explaining Phase I of the campaign. The confusion between the synod's and the college's campaigns, between "annual gifts" and "operating funds," and the

very apparent lack of local chapter organization and activity made it mandatory that something be done.

Martha Anne Pool, Martha Grafton, Emily Smith, Buck and Betty Timberlake, and many others helped to straighten out the confusion. The executive secretary of the Alumnae Association became a full-time employee of the college and was provided with increased secretarial help and physical space. By 1962, the "annual giving" program was revived, with the monies contributed earmarked for scholarship aid, faculty salaries, and library acquisitions. By 1968, 29% of all alumnae were supporting the Annual Fund, and their gifts had increased from \$18,094 in 1962 to \$60,519 five years later.⁵¹

In 1961, a new Constitution for the Alumnae Association was written, providing for four vice-presidents who would undertake the direction of: (1) the annual giving program; (2) continuing education; (3) admissions; and (4) chapter activities. Workshops and training programs were instituted for alumnae leaders, and class reunions were better organized and better attended than they had ever been. In 1963, the tradition of the "Alumnae Choir" was begun. After a day and a half of intensive practice, all returning alumnae who had sung for Gordon Page presented a choral program during homecoming. Mr. Page had lost none of his demands for perfection. Everyone felt it to be a time of challenge and a deep emotional experience. The Alumnae Choir has continued as a homecoming tradition. There also began a particular emphasis on alumnae intellectual activities. In March of each year a series of programs, led by the current faculty, provided campus visits, coffee and discussion for local women. Annotated book lists suggested by faculty for independent reading were published in the Alumnae Newsletter, with the information that paperback versions could be ordered from the college bookstore. Betty Friedan's Feminine Mystique provided the inspiration for a whole series of articles on "Alumnae of Distinction" and their interesting careers.⁵²

Fannie Strauss wrote a history of the Alumnae Association, which appeared in the magazine. The sale of the Mary Baldwin Wedgwood plates (which had been a World War II casualty) was revived in 1959. They cost \$3 each and could be purchased in blue or mulberry. One could also buy Mary Baldwin College chairs (for \$16), and the new college bookstore began to sell many monogrammed items which were popular with both present and former students. In 1964, the trustees approved the alumnae recommen-

dation that the Emily Pancake Smith medallion be established, honoring Mrs. Smith's "unparalleled record of service to the college, church, community and to the Alumnae Association." It was awarded annually to women who had rendered the kinds of service reminiscent of Mrs. Smith.⁵³ Chapter competition was encouraged and a handsome cup for chapter achievements was provided. Dr. Spencer regularly asked alumnae to represent Mary Baldwin College at the innumerable college and university inaugurations and other celebrations he was invited to attend. An alumna living in the vicinity of that particular college would receive a formal request from President Spencer that she take his place at the proceedings. The college would send her a Mary Baldwin cap and gown; she would march in the academic procession, attend the luncheon and other festivities, and report back to the president on any programs of interest or unusual comments. It was yet another way of making the alumnae feel a part of the college and relieved the president of many appearances that he simply could not accept.

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Mary Baldwin College "is a priceless gem which adorns the community's whole life," wrote the editor of the Staunton News Leader 5 February 1963. And, as the terraced hill turned green and the cream-colored buildings one by one appeared, there was no denying that a visual asset of major proportion had been added to the city's aspect. The "flagship" of the new buildings was Lyda Bunker Hunt Dining Hall. Since it was the first major building project since 1951, each step in the process was viewed with proprietary interest by the college community and townspeople alike. Originally, because of the fiscal restraints, the plans had called for only one-half of the building to be finished, and for it to be connected directly to a new dormitory; but the generous gift of the Hunt children in memory of their mother, Lyda Bunker Hunt, freed the architects and President Spencer to build the dignified and lovely building as they wished. "...all the college household can break bread together in an atmosphere of gracious living," said Board Chairman Edmund Campbell. Ground was broken on 28 September 1959, and pictures of Dr. Spencer and student government officers riding a bulldozer adorned Campus Comments. A year later, 22 October 1960, an elaborate and impressive dedication and cornerstone-laying ceremony was held. Over 900

people attended, including four of the six Hunt donors. General Albert C. Wedemeyer spoke, as did John Daffin. Drs. Grafton, Turner and Potter eloquently delivered invocations, litanies, and recessionals, and the choir sang "Let All the Nation Praise the Lord" and "Alleluia." The board of trustees was present for their fall meeting, as was the board of the Alumnae Association, and Parents' Day was likewise observed. Brian Sullivan of the Metropolitan Opera House gave a concert the evening before; there were exhibition tennis matches on the new hilltop courts; and the significance of the pineapple atop the white cupola of Hunt Dining Hall was carefully explained. It was a lovely, sunny fall day, and the entire ceremony became a kind of model for subsequent occasions in the next decade.⁵⁴

The dining hall opened for use in April 1961, somewhat delayed by a severe winter and a hold up in building materials. The two dining rooms, each seating 300 persons, were separated by the central kitchen, which permitted cafeteria-style breakfasts. The other two meals were family style, served by the student Eta Betas. The view of Betsy Bell and the Blue Ridge from the double hung windows was spectacular. The divided staircase featured a portrait of Lyda Hunt, hung over a credenza upon which a flower arrangement is always kept. The lower floor housed the college bookstore and a large lounge/private dining room facility, and the whole was connected by brick walks and landscaped terrace to the Student Activities Building on one side and the "new" dormitory on the other.⁵⁵

Since federal loans and grants were now possible, the construction of a new dormitory began simultaneously with Hunt. Separated from Hunt by a stepped terrace, it was planned to house 136 students and a resident director and was ready for use by September 1961. Because the financing had been uncertain, it was constructed without many extras and frills. Dr. Spencer called it "minimal," but with built-in bookcases and bureaus, ample closet space and modern heating, the students were pleased. They called it "New Dormitory," and it remained unnamed until November 1963, when the trustees, desiring to honor Mrs. Margaret Craig Woodson, who had been a member of the board of trustees for twenty-two years, dedicated it to her memory. A special feature of Woodson was the Charles Vernon Palmer Meditation Room, given by two alumnae in honor of their father. It was furnished with the advice of students and dedicated on 11 October 1962.⁵⁶

By 1961, the architects were deep into drawings for a second dormitory (inevitably called "New New") designed to house 171 students. Because there was some difficulty in acquiring the corner property on Sycamore and Coalter streets, the building was curved, adding a most pleasing feature to the final construction on the upper tier. In a memo to his staff, Dr. Spencer declared, "I think it is highly desirable that we get in every improvement we can, for this is the last dormitory we will build in a long, long time." The building was begun on 1 January 1962 and was (almost) ready for occupancy by September 1963. In addition to rocks (which had to be blasted) and another difficult winter (with snowfalls of 30" or more) further delay was occasioned by the U.S. government requiring that a "fallout shelter" be included in the plans. Excavation under the entire west wing had to be accomplished and special air and water filters installed. The government paid in part for the cost, but their allowance did not cover the necessary extra rock removal. Unwilling to allow this huge, dark, hollow space to be unused, Dr. Spencer had it converted into a large lecture hall and faculty offices. Later it became a student recreation area called the "Chute."

It was indeed a "gracious" building, with two large lounges to be used for public receptions furnished with antiques and reproductions, elevators, suites for resident advisors, and a curved columned portico, the top of which provided a roof for sunbathing. The rear of Woodson and the second dormitory were very close to Sycamore Street, and to give privacy both to the neighbors and to the students, tall, rapidly growing trees and shrubs were planted. As yet this latest building was unnamed. Campus Comments quietly circulated a petition which was presented to the board of trustees 22 April 1963, asking that the building be called the Samuel Reid Spencer, Jr., Residence Hall. The board agreed, and Dr. Spencer and his four children dedicated it in a simple ceremony two days before the students returned in September 1963. Phase I of the 10-year Development Plan was now completed.⁵⁷

It must have seemed to many students and alumnae that the college was engaged in a gigantic "musical chairs" program during these years. Buildings were removed, others leased or bought, offices transferred to new locations, the overflow of students housed in peripheral locations. Some of this was planned; other changes were unexpected, and expensive. Such was the case with the venerable Waddell Chapel, long a romantic architectural feature of the old campus and the home of Mary Julia Baldwin's

memorial stained glass window. As early as the 1920s the structure had been declared unsafe for large groups. Some improvements had been made in the 1930s and plays and recitals were still performed there even after King Auditorium had become available in 1942. The middle floors were used for faculty and student housing, and, until April 1961, the college dining room and kitchen had occupied the ground floor. In the 1950s, as numbers had diminished, no students were housed there, but as enrollments increased in the early 1960s, up to 16 upperclassmen called Chapel "home." They liked its convenient location, the privacy afforded their small group, and the traditions associated with it. Indeed, as plans for the expansion of the campus had begun in the early years of the Spencer presidency, there had been talk of restoring the Chapel to its original appearance when it had been the pre-Civil War Presbyterian Church. One alumna had written Dr. Spencer that it "would be the gem of the campus...where students could go for meditation and where we could have morning devotions and Sunday evening vespers...it would enrich and deepen the entire spiritual life of the campus..."⁵⁸ Horace Day had sketched a possible restoration appearance, and a faculty committee had been appointed to research the history of the building. Preliminary estimates suggested that \$250,000-\$300,000 would be needed for the project (which would not be large enough to seat the entire student body if it were done). Alumnae were very interested, but no large donations were made and there were other more pressing concerns.

Hence, in 1961, with the old dining room on the ground floor of Chapel no longer needed, some \$10,000 had been spent to convert that space into a physics laboratory, math and physics lecture rooms, and four faculty offices. At the same time, in the fall of 1961, the old, unsightly heating plant, which had stood east of Chapel, was demolished, and plans called for building a parking lot in its place. As the earth was being moved for the parking lot, there suddenly appeared in the corner of the east wall of the Chapel a large crack, shortly followed by two other vertical splits. "Some were," Dr. Spencer wrote Mrs. Elizabeth Ebbott, "more than 1/2" wide." The consulting architect said the movement of the walls "must be considered most serious and dangerous." There would probably be little or no warning of impending failure, and the collapse "could be compared to a sudden explosion."⁵⁹ He recommended immediate evacuation of all personnel from the building. The students were moved out in January 1962 and were

temporarily housed in the Infirmary, Blakely House (with Dean Parker), and Bailey Hall Guest Suite. The classes and faculty offices were moved to Riddle, Miller Lounge, and the two "date parlors." The next question was: What should now be done? There was great alumnae and community sentiment to save what could be preserved. Suggestions that the upper two floors of the building be removed and the first floor be roofed over seemed inappropriate and expensive. Next it was proposed to leave the original walls standing and have within a small "outdoor" chapel. Once a drawing showing this idea was printed in Campus Comments student opinion was decidedly negative. It would be "tacky," "out of place," "embarrassing," they declared. "A bombed out monastery is not the answer," pronounced one editorial. "We much prefer a memorial garden," they announced.⁶⁰

It was finally decided that the old building would be removed, and in its place a terrace, using the bricks from the building, would outline the dimensions of what had been Waddell Chapel. It was agreed that this terrace would be a memorial to Joseph Ruggles Wilson, minister of the Presbyterian Church 1855-57 and principal of Augusta Female Seminary 1855-56, and to his son, Thomas Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, 1913-1921. There was an elaborate outdoor ceremony on 18 October 1963 coordinated with the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation's observance of the 50th anniversary of Wilson's inauguration as President of the United States. Governor of Virginia Albert S. Harrison, Jr., members of the Wilson family, and officials of the state, city, church and college shared in the installation of a bronze plaque detailing the historical information. In addition to lovely plantings of holly, juniper, crepe myrtle, dogwood, boxwood and sugar maples, three flags were to hang over the terrace: the Stars and Stripes, the state flag of Virginia, and the banner of the United Nations. In time, wisteria grew along the back wall of Academic, from which the flags were flown. Benches and chairs made this a tranquil spot for quiet lunches and outdoor classes. It was a fitting and tactful solution to what had been an emotional issue, and almost everyone was pleased.⁶¹

Other physical changes followed. Rose Terrace became La Maison Française; Riddle eventually became La Casa Española, and the Guidance Center moved to rented quarters on Coalter Street. The dean of students' apartment had been moved from the Administration Building to Blakely House (at the top of Market Street) in 1959. The student activities building was renamed the

Consuelo Slaughter Wenger Hall in 1963, and Bell House became student housing until the building of the Science Center necessitated its removal.

Early in 1960, some "pranksters" had succeeded in removing Ham, or perhaps it was Jam, from his pedestal in front of Main Building. In the process, he was broken into many pieces, and then his companion was stored for safekeeping. They were sorely missed and the students were delighted when a father of one of them offered to pay for replacing the mascot dogs. By November 1960, Ham and Jam were back, no longer made of terra cotta, but now carefully re-created in cast-stone and securely bolted to the front steps. Dr. Spencer wrote a gracious thank you to the anonymous donor: "As you know, tradition means a great deal at an old college like this and there is a very special sentiment attached to Ham and Jam."⁶²

Probably no single building engaged the attention of the entire college community for as long and as much as the new library. As early as March 1958 the board of trustees, having approved of Clark, Nexsen & Owen as architects for the campus expansion, had authorized the preparation of a preliminary set of library drawings. Dr. Spencer had intended that it would be the first building constructed as the the new campus took shape.

Obviously, the Library building is the most important one on a college campus. More than any other building, the Library is the one by which the college as a whole will be judged...The standard I want to set for this building is as follows: that Mary Baldwin's Library building will be unquestionably the best...I want it to be the handsomest, the best planned, the most distinctive and the finest—and obviously so...What I am really groping for here is imaginative treatment which will make this building different and not just like everybody else's.⁶³

Whenever possible during the early years of Dr Spencer's presidency, gifts and grants were set aside to swell the Library reserve fund. His disappointment over the failures of the first synod campaign was deepened by the fact that this meant he could not yet begin the building, and it was with the utmost reluctance

that he finally agreed that the dining hall and dormitories would have to be built first.

When Dr. Spencer came to Mary Baldwin College, the Library was housed, as it had been since 1907, in the Academic Building. It contained some 50,000 volumes and occupied all of the second floor and part of the third floor of the major classroom building on campus. It was literally bursting at the seams, and worried administrators frequently checked to be sure the floors could bear the weight of the books and stacks. There was almost no room for the librarian and her meager staff. Only a small percentage of students could use the facilities at any one time, and they constantly complained about the crowded conditions and lack of light and air. The faculty, as well, felt severely restricted by the limitations of reference and periodical material (some of which had to be stored in the basement of Bailey dormitory). Dr. Spencer requested Richard Barksdale Harwell, who was the executive secretary of the Association of College and Research Libraries, to survey the situation in 1958, and his report about the physical conditions was stark.

The trinity of efficiency in a library is collection, staff, quarters. Mary Baldwin's collection shows satisfactory quality and growth...[but the college] is sadly deficient in both other areas. Mary Baldwin has a well trained, alert and experienced librarian...[but] she has to be so heavily engaged in house-keeping routines that she has little time to really function as a librarian. The library needs additional professional help, additional clerical help and additional student help...

and, he added, lots of additional space.⁶⁴

Probably no other building plans of the Spencer era were revised, redrawn, expanded and altered more than was the Library facility. Originally projected for the upper tier, it was moved toward the Frederick Street level. Earlier concepts had said a 100,000 book capacity; later 200,000 was found to be necessary. Should the entrance face Frederick Street or the inner campus? Should it be attached to Academic or stand as a separate building? Dr. Spencer was willing to consider almost any alternative to raise funds, including naming the building according to the

wishes of major donors (if they could be found). Should the building reflect the international commitment which was so much a part of the Spencer educational philosophy? Where could enough money be found so that matching grants and federal loans might be obtained? How soon could the earth be turned and the building construction start?⁶⁵

Although it meant waiting two years longer than he had hoped, sufficient money had been contributed and pledged by 1964 to permit the architects to create the final version of preliminary plans and put the contract out for bids. In spite of now anticipating a student body of 800 (rather than 600), Dr. Spencer insisted that the total spent must be less than one million dollars. The college was able to provide \$323,000 toward this total; the rest came from federal grants and loans.⁶⁶

There should be further mention of how the college Library funds were raised. There was a successful local campaign, chaired by General A. A. Sproul; and there were significant memorial gifts and bequests from the Cooke, Deming, Wenger, Hoy and Reigner families and estates. Most of these latter were the direct result of Dr. Spencer's efforts and contacts, some of whom had had no previous connection with the college. There was a modest foundation support, and increasing monies were derived from the VFIC. In the course of this decade, some real estate belonging to the college not contiguous with the campus was sold and the funds thus acquired were added to the building funds for both the Library and the science center.⁶⁷ But perhaps of most significance (although not in monetary amount) was the effort mounted by the student government in 1964-65 to raise money for the Library. Jean Poland was chairman of the project and by the end of the year student participation was almost 100%. They washed cars, addressed envelopes for the Alumnae Association, and secured permission to wear Bermuda shorts to classes for payment of 25 cents. There was a Christmas candy sale, a January fashion show, a faculty "slave" auction in February, and a gigantic Carnival Day in March for which classes were cancelled. There was dormitory competition at a level that the Athletic Association had long despaired of creating. There was a "discotheque" (a new word which had to be explained in Campus Comments), shoes were shined, leaves raked, faculty dogs walked, and faculty babies cared for. Hill Top students spent twenty-four hours preparing and stirring fifteen bushels of apples on Apple Day and the resulting "butter" was sold. A week seldom passed without some

new project announced, and by year's end over \$6,000 had been raised. In addition, over one million S&H green stamps were collected which were sufficient to procure the bookshelves for the new Library. Many, perhaps most, of these students would, of course, not be able personally to use the new Library, but the project welded together an increasingly diverse and numerous student body in a shared experience that gave a focus for their college years.

It was not until 20 May 1965 that final approval of the federal grants and loans was announced, and on 5 June 1965 a "family" groundbreaking for the Library was held, attended by the seniors, their families, trustees, faculty and local officials. That summer construction began. Beckler, which had housed Chemistry since 1936, had to be demolished and the Chemistry faculty and facilities moved to the ground floor of Academic, where they would stay for five years. A large board fence was erected along Frederick Street to hide the scars of excavation and construction, and when the students returned in the fall they painted imaginative and unorthodox illustrations upon it, to the amusement and occasional dismay of passersby. Throughout the year and the next year, work on the Library continued, until shortly before spring examinations the SGA was again called on to help. There were two large decorative planters, 45' x 5', in front of the almost-completed Library. It would require 21 tons of dirt to fill them and there seemed to be no way that the soil could be transported to the planters by truck. So, on Tuesday, 23 May 1967, the student body formed a bucket brigade, filling two-gallon receptacles from the dirt dumped in the faculty parking lot. Other students lined up on the steps and across the terrace, passing the buckets from hand to hand and the empties back again. Thirty-six students made a chain, and each chain worked two half-hour shifts during the day. By evening the planters were filled. Campus Comments reported that the students, viewing their accomplishments and nursing their "aching muscles," thought "And next year we start the science building!"⁶⁸

Throughout the summer, Mrs. Davis (librarian), Dr. Joseph Garrison, and a group of young men from the college and the community moved the books and materials from the old to the new Library. In September 1967 the building was ready for the students. The foyer, in addition to glass-enclosed display cases, featured a four-foot bronze Mary Baldwin College seal, weighing 300 pounds, mounted on a marble wall. All floors were carpeted,

and there were individual study carrels and student and staff lounges.⁶⁹ The senior class of 1965 had given a graceful apple-wood sculpture by William Muir entitled "Freedom." It was installed on the mezzanine. The Reigner Rare Book Room housed the 1967 senior class gift of four antique maps of the world dating from 1680. The Art Department was temporarily in possession of the ground floor where a creditable studio had been set up, and it shared space with the audio-visual department and later with the language laboratories when they moved from Wenger. The "penthouse" was used for choir activities, music classes and a drama workshop/seminar room. The building still had no name.

The year 1967 had been observed with a variety of activities as the 125th anniversary of the founding of the college. The Library was the "anniversary" building, but it was not until the spring of 1968, after long delay, that some elaborate plans were undertaken to dedicate it appropriately. The pattern was similar to that of the Hunt Dining Hall eight years before. There was a concert on the evening of 18 April by Jan Peerce (a noted opera star). The following day, a lovely warm, sunny 19 April, a convocation with delegates from 40 Virginia colleges and universities in full regalia, was held in King Auditorium. There was an address by Victor L. Butterfield, president emeritus of Wesleyan University, followed by a formal academic procession across the campus to Page Terrace. The choir sang, a special litany was recited, and the dedication ceremony was held. There was a formal luncheon with further remarks from the governor of West Virginia, Hulett C. Smith, followed by a Library open house. The whole occasion sparkled with excitement and pleasure because the trustees had once again agreed to the request of a college constituency. As early as 1965, the faculty had been circulating a petition that the building be named the "Martha Stackhouse Grafton Library." Although even Dr. Thomas Grafton knew about it and had signed the petition, the secret had been kept until Dr. Spencer announced the name at the convocation ceremonies. The applause that followed left no doubt of the approval of the faculty, students and the community.⁷⁰

The summer of 1967 saw a thorough remodeling of the interior of Academic, now that the Library had been removed. Classrooms, seminar rooms, faculty offices, and a faculty lounge provided, for the first time, adequate academic space. Since both the language laboratories and the choir materials had been removed from Wenger, it now became much more of the student activities

building than it had been before, although still cramped and inadequate. The substandard faculty offices were likewise moved from Spencer and the "bomb shelter" became a student recreational center.⁷¹

But, of course, the next big building project was the construction of the Science Center, which was as badly needed as the Library. Feeling equally deprived were the Fine Arts—Drama was coping with inadequate facilities in King, Art was temporarily in Grafton, and Music in the chateau-like Miller House, where it had been since the 1950s. But the 10-year development plan had called for a Science Center to be next and, long before the Library had been completed, the science faculty and advisors had been meeting with the architects to draw preliminary plans. There are special technical needs in an undergraduate science center, and from the very beginning the advisory committee was determined that there would be ample opportunity for student "hands-on" laboratory experience. There was to be a controlled environmental suite, a greenhouse and animal rooms annex, and a large 260-seat lecture hall available not only for science classes, but for plays, films, piano and voice recitals. John B. Daffin capped his almost 40 years of service to the college by coordinating the advisory committee of medical, industrial, and teaching scientists with alumnae, parent, and student representatives.⁷²

The location of the science building on the corner of Frederick and Coalter Streets had already been determined, and the last of the old buildings still standing on the quadrangle was removed in 1967.⁷³ By June 1968, when the contract was let, it was apparent that the project would be the most expensive yet constructed—eventually exceeding \$2 million. The financial package was similar to that of the other buildings: college funds, including money from a synod campaign; student fund raising; donor gifts; and grants and loans provided by the National Defense Education Act.⁷⁴ Generous gifts came from the James D. Francis family, whose support made possible the auditorium which bears his name, and from the Kresge Foundation, which supported a research laboratory. The new Chemistry facilities were named the John Baker Daffin Department of Chemistry. The building was named in honor of Dr. Jesse Cleveland Pearce whose widow, Margaret Eldridge Henderson Pearce, was a seminary student in 1910, and whose generous contribution helped to make possible the completion of the project. There was a dedication ceremony on Founders' Day 1970, and although by this time Dr. Spencer was

no longer president of the college, there was much satisfaction in knowing that Phase II of the Spencer development plans had been completed.

* * * *

Since the end of World War II, declining enrollments had plagued Mary Baldwin College administrations. By mid-1955, however, an upturn was apparent and by the early 1960s no one considered it visionary to plan to double the student population at the college. By the mid-1960s tentative plans called for a student body of 800. This was due to the millions of young people who had been part of the "baby-boom" of the postwar years and who were now reaching college age. In addition, a larger proportion of them than ever before were attending colleges and universities, and their numbers (and their tuition) made possible much of the funds that had fueled college expansion and provided new academic programs. Mary Baldwin shared in this student abundance; it was they, of course, who had made possible Dr. Spencer's building program. One or two simple figures will illustrate this point. In 1957-58 there were 310 paid freshman class applications; 149 were enrolled, and the student body numbered 311. By 1960-61 there were 525 paid applications; 170 freshmen were enrolled, and the student body numbered 394. Five years later (after both the new dormitories and Hunt had been opened) there were over 1000 paid applications; 223 freshmen were enrolled, and the student body numbered 653. By 1968, 218 freshmen were enrolled, and the student body was 713.⁷⁵

It is hard to envision an excess of serious, well-qualified applicants as a problem, but this reversal of fortune did indeed pose serious concerns for Miss Hillhouse, the admissions committee, and, ultimately, for the president. As the possibility of selectivity increased, the admissions committee established certain goals. The quality of the student body (as measured by SATs, high school preparation, and references), as well as the quantity, must improve; more geographic diversity was to be emphasized; seriousness of purpose (would the candidate be likely to stay for four years?), good citizenship, and extracurricular activities would be considered. In 1958, the college had accepted an "early decision" plan and offered up to ten "honor" scholarships a year. There were increasing financial aid options, as well, and as tuition and fees increased, so did the number of students—usually about

one-third of the student body—who received help with the expenses of their college education. The Alumnae Association began in the early 1960s an admissions counselor program, and every effort was made to increase the visibility of the college and to diversify the student body.⁷⁶

But the penalties for success were unavoidable. On more than one occasion, Dr. Spencer had to explain to a trustee why the student he had recommended (perhaps a granddaughter or the child of a close friend or business associate) had been denied admission. How does one explain to a Presbyterian minister, whose church has been asked for large sums of money to support Mary Baldwin two times in 10 years, that the leader of the senior highs at his church was not accepted? What do you do when a governor or a congressman sends an urgent telegram about a prospective student, or a major donor calls to remind you that the young lady from her hometown has not yet "heard" from admissions? In 1964, Dr. Spencer paid a special tribute to Marguerite Hillhouse when he told the Board of Trustees that she had the "unflinching ability" to withstand the substantial pressures. Much later he wrote:

You may be surprised to know the quality I immediately identify with Miss Hillhouse... [it] is that of strength, the kind of strength which comes from absolute integrity. The task of an admissions officer is an enormous strain on character...But Marguerite is not one to temporize in matters of truth or principle...and admissions officers must be a dispenser, not of favors, but of justice. Over the years she must have handled at least 20,000 cases. Every single one of them was treated as a person, rather than a statistic. Every single one of them received, at her hand, the best and fairest judgment she could possibly give.⁷⁷

Dr. Spencer himself wrote hundreds of letters to disappointed applicants and their families explaining the process of admission and the required standards, but there were, understandably, many disappointments.



Marguerite Hillhouse

The college, and before it the seminary, had never discriminated in student admission on the basis of religious preference. There was always the careful statement that the college was not "narrowly sectarian" and that girls of "many denominations make up its student body." By the early 1960s the question of racial discrimination was addressed at the trustees' meetings. The various administrative levels of the Presbyterian Church U.S. had stated their beliefs that all educational institutions (public and private) should be integrated, but they lacked the power to compel, and there were many factors that Dr. Spencer and the trustees felt must be considered. At a time of synod campaigns, major fund-raising efforts, and expanding enrollments, what impact would racial integration have on the college's fragile finances? How would the ensuing social problems be handled? How would the student body react? Would Mary Baldwin College students join sit-ins, demonstrations and street marches, and how should civil disobedience be handled? These were serious questions, and the practical men and women of good conscience on the board and administration wrestled with them. As early as 1959, Dean Grafton had had two applications from black teachers to

attend the Mary Baldwin College summer session, and Mrs. Grafton had written to them and invited them to come; but they had not appeared. There had been no applications from young black women for admission to the college, but it was obvious that there soon would be and, in the spring of 1963, the board of trustees approved adding to the catalogue statement about admission the sentence that qualified applicants would be considered "without regard to race or creed." A quiet announcement was released to the press 23 April 1963, and a modest consensus that the "Board acted in accordance with what they believed right and wise to do at this time" emerged. A student poll, "Attitude Scale on my College Accepting Negro Students," was held; 282 students out of 500 responded, of whom 46 said they would transfer if a black student was accepted, and six said they would be willing to share a room with her. Two hundred thirty-five of those polled did not object to integration. Since the admission process had already been concluded for 1963-64, it would be at least the 1964-65 term before a black student could be enrolled, and that gave some time for various college constituencies to adjust to the idea. Not everyone did. A few alumnae resigned from the Alumnae Association, and both Lea Booth (executive secretary, VFIC) and Dr. Spencer agreed that some contributors ended their support in consequence of the policy change. The letters that reached the president's office were about evenly divided, although some were very critical. Dr. Spencer wrote gratefully to one alumna, thanking her "for your good spirit about the admission matter." The trustees "took the action knowing that there would be honest disagreement over the 'rightness' of it but felt that they must protect the college from rising pressures." Later in 1963, the black colleges of Virginia were admitted to the Association of Virginia Colleges, and still later Dr. Spencer was chairman of the United Negro College Fund in Staunton.⁷⁸

Generally, the students reacted calmly. In October 1963, Campus Comments suggested that the college women tutor local black students as a "quiet demonstration" of their belief that the board of trustees had done the "right thing," and in 1965 the Christian Association Council sponsored a series of programs entitled "A Christian's Stake in Human Relations." We "wish to inform the students, clarify the Christian response, suggest what we can do to help," they wrote. In the spring of that year, the editor of Campus Comments suggested that Mary Baldwin students "march" on the YMCA (one block from the campus) because black

children were not admitted to the swimming pool, but on 8 April 1965, the "Y" board voted to desegregate, and so no "march" was necessary.⁷⁹

There is no denying that, in spite of the above caveats, Dr. Spencer's years were exhilarating ones for admissions personnel. But by the late 1960s there were indications that, if not "over," the "good times" were softening. As early as 1966, Mr. Spillman, in his annual budget report to the trustees, warned that he foresaw "financial difficulties when the leveling off point is reached." The peak in applications had come the year before. In 1965, there had been 1,000; in 1966, 819; in 1967, 800. In his president's report in 1967, Dr. Spencer said that the "pool" would not increase again until 1969 and that the next decade would be hard for single-sex colleges. He added that, given our physical facilities, Mary Baldwin could become a coeducational institution of 800 "if the trustees desired." The "most difficult task," he added, "would be to reach agreement on a new name."⁸⁰

Still, it was hard for most of the college constituencies to be concerned. Did it really matter whether one accepted one out of five applicants or one out of four? There were still plenty of young women applying, and the college was hard pressed to find housing for them in spite of the new houses on North Market Street. The college had purchased the block of property extending from Blakely House to Prospect Street as a possible site of another new dormitory; considered leasing or purchasing the Stonewall Jackson Hotel; finally leased the Putney Apartments across Frederick Street from the library to handle the overflow.

* * * *

In his inaugural remarks, Dr. Spencer had declared, "We serve notice tonight that we are not only willing, but anxious to be judged by the quality of the education we offer—quality which is measured by the yardstick of national standards..." All of the building, financial plans, synod relationships, expanded enrollments really were only the support for the central mission of the college, academic excellence.⁸¹ The "New Directions in the Liberal Arts" had focused on curriculum—both methodology and content and within a surprisingly short time, given the usual reluctance of faculty committees to change, several visible programs were in place.

These included the McFarland Language Laboratory, located

initially in the Student Activities Building and, after 1973, in Grafton Library; a lecture-preceptorial method of teaching some of the required courses which had large enrollments and had had many duplicate sections; an audio-visual department to coordinate and expand the use of tapes and films for classroom learning; an Independent Reading Program for freshmen and sophomores; a "paperback" student-run bookstore; a "Current Issues" series of lectures featuring "outside" distinguished speakers; and eventually several overseas study programs, including those in Madrid, Paris, and Oxford.

A note of empathy is appropriate here. In retrospect, it is perhaps easier to comprehend the difficulties and challenges of doubling the size of the student body and increasing the retention rate to over 50% in a six-year period. What new courses should be added; what inappropriate ones eliminated? How does one persuade long-time faculty to give up cherished teaching methods and to try new ones? How do you successfully choose new instructors who will work well with the revised curriculum but will also integrate happily with the senior faculty? How do you balance a student body so that a respectable distribution of courses, not too many freshman-level, enough "advanced" courses and seminars, are presented? How do you adjust library holdings with these new demands? How do you persuade persons who are already working to capacity to add a few more students to their teaching loads each semester; to help supervise "independent" reading programs; to attend "current issue" lectures, in addition to drama presentations, choir concerts, piano recitals, art exhibits, and required chapel and convocation four times a week? How do you "train" faculty to be sensitive and caring academic advisors as you expand your student guidance programs? In essence, what kind of "push" is necessary to achieve "new directions" in your college curriculum?

As has been noted, a determined president and a persuasive dean can accomplish a good deal, and between 1958 and the mid-'60s, the faculty made an earnest and exhaustive effort to embrace the "new directions."

The McFarland Language Laboratory had advanced "electronic teaching devices" and was dedicated on Founders' Day 1958. The entire third floor of Wenger Hall was given over to the Modern Language facilities and offices for faculty and their teaching assistants. There were 12 booths and each student had the use of one for at least an hour each week in addition to her

classroom time. By 1964, 10 more booths had been added, but the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Self-Study declared the equipment to be "obsolete." When the entire laboratory was moved to Grafton, there was some modest updating, but the speed of technological advancement made it increasingly hard to stay current. Dr. Spencer believed that native-speaking language assistants were necessary, so, although most of the language faculty in this period were American, young women from Spain, France and Germany were recruited as foreign exchange students and helped to pay their college expenses by tutoring in the language laboratory.⁸²

Somewhat akin to the language laboratory was the great interest in audio-visual learning. Larger universities were experimenting with closed circuit television classrooms, and by the end of the decade used films and instant playback to assist in physical education skills and practice-teaching demonstrations. Of necessity, Mary Baldwin College made a more modest beginning. Until 1958, any slides or movies which a professor wished to use in his classroom had been his responsibility. The college owned a few 16 mm films and the Fine Arts faculty was building a modest slide library, but there had been no coordinated effort in providing such services. Lillian Rudeseal was asked to organize the audio-visual equipment, place orders, and to train students to assist faculty who were to be "encouraged" to use such resources. At first the AV Center was in Sky High. Later it was moved to the overcrowded Library in Academic, and it was not until Grafton Library opened that AV found a permanent home. Miss Rudeseal was, of course, a full-time Associate Professor of Economics, and she found the time involved to be a burden. After four years, Virginia Bennett was hired to direct AV and the new Placement and Campus Employment Center. Later the responsibility was shifted to the library personnel, who certainly had enough to do already and said so. The college made a modest but increasing commitment each year to add to and update equipment. The ubiquitous camera began to appear at all college events, and endless speeches from conferences, mock political conventions, Founders' Days, and graduations were duly recorded. Gradually, the college community became accustomed to AV; imperceptibly, it became an integral part of the teaching/learning experience.

Another of the "New Directions" had been the introduction of the "lecture preceptorial" method of teaching. Such courses as Old and New Testament, European History Survey, English Litera-

ture, and General Psychology had, in the past, required several "sections" each to meet student needs. As early as 1958, some of the professors involved had agreed to have large lecture sections twice a week, and to meet with several small groups of students once a week for discussion and questions. Really more appropriate for a large university, where student assistants could handle the preceptorials, it did little to relieve the classroom hours of the faculty involved. In some instances, "team teaching" was tried; two or more professors shared the lecture times and each had one or two small groups. But numerous precepts made scheduling classroom space, which was limited, difficult. Students were confused about who graded what, and the long-prevailing faculty belief that he/she should have his/her "own" classroom and that the students were his/hers, was hard to overcome. One professor proclaimed that, "When that door closes, this is my kingdom and I want to rule it as I choose." In any case, by the mid- 60s, the Self Study reported, "Many of the faculty are disenchanting with this method of teaching," and when the "new curriculum" began in 1968 the lecture-preceptorials came to an unlamented end.⁸³

Much closer to Dr. Spencer's concerns than these "mechanized" evidences of modernity was the expansion of the intellectual environment. Academic requirements already included "reading lists" in their major fields for juniors and seniors. Each department handled this differently, but the concept embraced the idea that a student should be acquainted with the seminal and classical literature in her own field and be able to demonstrate her awareness of it. Dr. Spencer now proposed that an "Independent Reading Program" for freshmen and sophomores be incorporated in the college curriculum. "Its purposes are to assure an acquaintance with selections from the great literature of the western world; to develop the skill of reading critically and in depth; and to lead students into the world of books..." There were 15 books, divided into three groups of five. Freshmen were to have read Group A by the end of their first college year; sophomores were to complete all 15 by the end of their second year. Each book had a "faculty sponsor" who in turn had one or two student assistants. At regularly stated intervals, discussions about individual books would be held, and a written examination would be given for each book. Successful completion of the program was a graduation requirement, although neither credit nor quality points were involved. Dr. Marshall Brice was in charge of the entire procedure (in addition to his full teaching load), and the program was begun

with great enthusiasm and interest in 1958. It was very dear to Dr. Spencer's heart. "The whole program is based on my feeling that most of our colleges have required too little from our students and have tied them too closely to the technicalities of formal courses," he wrote. He, himself, was responsible for sponsoring Gulliver's Travels, and he wrote the introduction for the explanatory pamphlet. An article about the project, "Plato to Pogo," appeared in the Presbyterian Survey; other colleges wrote inquiries, and expectations were high.⁸⁴

Closely tied to the program, and really necessitated by it, was a "paperback" bookstore, founded and administered by the Student Government Association. It was intended to be an "educational" rather than a "commercial" venture and was located on the ground floor of the Administration Building, conveniently near the dining room entrance, until the move to Hunt in April 1961. A faculty/student committee chose the 500 titles, carefully explaining in Campus Comments that "paperbacks" had now come of age. They were no longer "trash" but included reprints of classics and great literature, and one could be seen reading them without damaging one's reputation. The titles included all the books on the Independent Reading List, as well as supplementary titles, prints, and some stationery supplies. The bookstore was self-service, ran on the Honor System, and IOUs were accepted as well as payments in sealed envelopes dropped into a locked box. Dr. Brice was the faculty sponsor.⁸⁵

The entire project was imaginative, idealistic, educationally sound—and very time-consuming for all involved. It was certainly not an original idea; some other colleges had similar requirements, perhaps reflecting the whole "great books" concepts of the 1950s and 1960s. But, for Mary Baldwin College, it proved hard to live with. Students asked for "integrated" exams (i.e. one test encompassing all five books of a group) and then oral tests. Both the Student Government Association and the Laurel Society expressed concern about the strain put on the Honor System by certifying that one had read the entire book. There seemed little interest in the discussion groups, which were to be held in dormitories and were to be student-run. Many of the faculty found sponsoring a book unrewarding and the effort of making up different but comparable examinations year after year difficult. Dr. Brice, like Miss Rudeseal, felt that administering the program on top of his regular duties was an imposition. When Mrs. Grafton suggested perhaps Ben Smith could take it over, she was told that

it was not "good" for the program to be permanently associated with the English Department. In June 1965, the Independent Reading Program was changed from "compulsory to voluntary"; Dr. Frances Jacob was placed in charge. Freshmen were to read three assigned books before coming to college, for discussion during orientation, and all students were required to read one "significant" book a year for discussion with their professors. By midwinter 1966, the faculty reluctantly agreed that the new proposal was not working, and the program was discontinued.⁸⁶

In the meantime, the student bookstore project was likewise modified. Once Hunt was opened, space was available for a more formal enterprise, and the college entered into a contract with a downtown book and stationery supply store to open a college bookstore in September 1962. Mrs. Marion Moore was the manager, 1962-1976, and handled textbook ordering as well as stocking college souvenirs, tee shirts, sundries, books and supplies. It was modestly successful, the college realizing a small percentage of the profits. Mrs. Moore was a welcome addition to the campus. She was a friendly, competent, Phi Beta Kappa intellectual who loved books and conversed about them knowledgeably. Her son, Stewart, was for several years the landscape and grounds supervisor and did much to beautify our hilly campus.

Mary Baldwin College became a member of The University Center in Virginia soon after Dr. Spencer became president. Founded by the Rockefeller Foundation, with headquarters in Richmond, this organization coordinated and assisted cooperative programs among its 21 Virginia college and university members. One of its principal endeavors was the Visiting Scholars program, which made available to member colleges 25 or more speakers a year, encompassing a wide variety of disciplines. Using these resources, Mary Baldwin was able to present a number of convocation programs designed to stimulate student intellectual curiosity. This was coupled, for several years, with a Current Issues Series. A specialist in some contemporary field presented a public lecture, after which some 25 students (who had applied for the privilege previously) would join the visitor at Dr. Spencer's home for further discussion and debate.⁸⁷

Early in the Spencer years, a careful study of a proposed junior year abroad program was begun. Dorothy Mulberry had joined the faculty in 1959, and she and Dr. Spencer agreed that Spain offered the best immediate opportunity for beginning a Mary

Baldwin-sponsored program. There were sufficient numbers of Spanish students at the college to form a satisfactory base, and the competition from other American schools was not as great in Madrid as it was in Paris or England. Dr. Spencer explained the rationale for having the college's own program: "When we have our own, many of our students go..." "We also lose students when they attend other colleges' groups," he added. This, he told the board, is the only way to achieve "real language competence." The students will understand cultural differences. When they return as seniors, they will be a "stimulus for the entire student body," he declared. Miss Mulberry knew Spain and Spanish education well and worked to be sure the Spanish faculty were irreproachable and the college credits which the program would give respectable. The faculty approved the program on 29 May 1961, to begin in September 1962. A group of nine students sailed from New York in August, with an elaborate sendoff involving New York alumnae, the captain of the ship, and much fanfare. They spent a month in Salamanca and then went to Madrid, where they studied Spanish Art, History and Geography, Spanish Literature and Philosophic Thought, as well as engaged in intensive language work. Dorothy Mulberry was to stay for two years and then rotate back to the college campus, and Barbara Ely would be the Madrid director in her turn. The agreement was that the program would be "self-supporting" (except for the director's salary) within two years. The quality of the Madrid program was enhanced by the faculty Miss Mulberry recruited. They were distinguished persons well-known in the academic community of Spain, and they entered into the activities of the Mary Baldwin College group with unusual enthusiasm and willingness. Dr. Spencer declared that it was "successful beyond our highest expectations" and that the number planning to go in 1963-64 was almost double the first year. Eventually, he hoped to have 50 students studying abroad each year and to build a regular exchange program with their faculty visiting the Mary Baldwin Campus. A weekly "letter from Madrid" appeared in Campus Comments, and although the program was academically demanding and relatively expensive (Mary Baldwin College students on financial aid were eligible to attend), the Madrid program was, for over a decade, one of the "New Directions" most popular experiments.⁸⁸

In November 1963, Dr. Spencer visited Madrid. He also spent several days in Paris, exploring with the Institute of European Studies how Mary Baldwin might begin a program there. By

December, he was proposing to the faculty that a junior year in Paris be approved, permitting Mary Baldwin students to enroll in either the Sweet Briar, Smith or Hamilton College programs or that of the Institute. The students would live in pairs, in private homes, and would study, according to their language ability, at the Sorbonne or elsewhere. Unwilling to allow the students to be without direct connection with their home base, Dr. Spencer arranged for Madame Helene Bernhardt (a translator for General Eisenhower and a personal friend of Julia Patch) to act as a resident advisor. The program began in September 1964 but, by 1967, the board of trustees had agreed Mary Baldwin could begin its own program the following fall. Frances Jacob was to be the director and it would be similar to the Madrid setup.

One spin-off from these overseas programs was the establishment of "French" and "Spanish" houses on campus, where the resident students would speak only that language and could immerse themselves in the culture of the country in which they hoped to study during their junior year. Interested as he was in everything, Dr. Spencer wrote, "I am very anxious to see that the French House succeeds. Life there must be attractive enough so students will compete to be included."⁸⁹

One other overseas program, which still continues in a modified form, was a summer study program at St. Anne's College at Oxford. Proposed by the English and History departments, it was approved by the faculty in September 1966, and the first group of largely Mary Baldwin college students departed for England in late June 1967 under the direction of Dr. Ben Smith and his energetic family. The area of study was to be Tudor-Stuart England and six semester hours credit was allowed. Oxford tutors and lecturers were used and the students were exposed to (and often panicked by) a totally different method of teaching.⁹⁰

There was still more to Dr. Spencer's international interests. By 1963, a U.S. State Department project made possible a faculty exchange between women's colleges in India and the United States. Eventually there were 13 colleges in the program, of which Mary Baldwin was one. The arrangements were complicated, visas delayed, salary differentials hard to adjust, but eventually the bureaucracy was conquered.

Dr. Mary Humphreys participated in this first exchange. She arrived at Isabella Thoburn College in Lucknow on 14 July 1964, and would remain there until April of 1965. (College calendars had to be reconciled also.) In her place, Joyce Sheila John of

Isabella Thoburn came to Mary Baldwin as a Biology laboratory instructor. Isabella Thoburn was the oldest women's college in India and had been established by Methodist missionaries. Both women found similarities as well as many startling differences in their new environments. The following year, Dr. Ruth McNeil lectured and taught music appreciation (and much more) at Miranda House in Delhi. This was a time of India-Pakistan hostility, and there were blackouts and soldiers in the streets, but Dr. McNeil seemed undisturbed.⁹¹ No further exchanges took place, although an occasional Indian scholar would appear at Mary Baldwin for a lecture or a weekend visit. India and the State Department cancelled the program the following year.

Early in 1964, Dr. Spencer had approached the trustees about the possibility of a leave of absence, but the progress of the building program and the imminent SACS Self-Study led him to postpone the request for a year. He was notified in the spring of 1965 that he had been awarded a Fulbright lectureship in American social history at the University of Munich for the school year (1965-66), and the board agreed that he should go. "International exchange," he wrote, "is a fact of contemporary education. Unless college teachers and administrators participate in this process, they will find themselves stranded in a provincial backwater, isolated from the main currents of student interest." The three younger children and Mrs. Spencer accompanied him, and the campus seemed "different" and empty without his presence.⁹²

* * * *

One is impressed, as these crowded years are reviewed, at the continual ferment of intellectual debate, contemporary issues and concerns, and artistic activity which took place on the Mary Baldwin campus, and the superior quality and high level of competence of those involved.

The King Series continued, bringing not only musicians but actors and lecturers as well. There were the Visiting Scholar program, the Current Issues Series, the Christian Association programs, the Religious Emphasis Weeks, the cornerstone layings and dedication speakers.⁹³

Perhaps the single most exciting occasion of the decade was also the most unexpected. The President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower, came to Mary Baldwin on 27 October 1960, and spoke briefly, standing on the porch at Main Building

in the same spot Woodrow Wilson had stood in 1912. He then proceeded up the hill to the King Building, riding in his bubble top limousine, to have lunch with 700 people. In spite of a cold persistent rain, a crowd of 10,000 greeted him, packed into all the available space on the front terraces and brick walks and out into Frederick Street up to the doors of the First Presbyterian Church. They were in trees, and even up on the roofs of neighboring buildings. There were 100 pressmen shepherded by James C. Hagerty, 25 extra press telephones, 5,000 miles of communication lines, hastily erected wooden platforms to protect the box-wood (which had been destroyed during Wilson's visit). All the schools and most of the businesses in town had closed. The college (on half-day holiday) had invited trustees, presidents of all Virginia colleges and universities, and of all the Presbyterian colleges in the South, the chairmen of all alumnae chapters, foundation representatives, and special friends. The catered luncheon (country ham, shrimp, crab and chicken salad, asparagus and spiced peaches) was held in King Auditorium, with the distinguished guests at tables on the stage. The President's toast was to "fine company" and to a "journey full of sentiment and deep feeling."

The whole affair, including a brief appearance by the Virginia governor, the two Virginia senators, and the mayor of Staunton, had been put together in two weeks! It was engineered by Emily Pancake Smith, Lee Cochran and Charles Blackley. Mrs. Smith always felt that every president of the United States should visit Woodrow Wilson's Birthplace, and Coolidge, Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt had, in fact, done so. Throughout President Eisenhower's terms in office, he had been repeatedly invited; but now that his presidency was almost at an end, he had abruptly agreed that he would come. The Birthplace, the college, and the community joined to put together an appropriate ceremony. The president wished to visit his mother's birthplace, "the Old Stover Place" near Mt. Sidney, and the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace, where he was presented a picture of the Stover home which had hastily been painted by Horace Day. He would speak at Mary Baldwin College and after lunch stop briefly at Staunton Military Academy, where, in 1912, Wilson had given a dinner address. Then he would ride through the grounds of Augusta Military Academy on his way back to the airport. There were Secret Service, state troopers, 1,200 national guardsmen, Staunton and Augusta County police, and cadets from the military academies. The "Star Spangled Banner" and other military songs were played

by the 90th Army Band from Roanoke. There was the customary 21-gun salute, and everyone agreed that it had been a spectacular event. There were some unexpected developments. Emily Smith had worked so hard that, when 27 October arrived, she had lost her voice, and Dr. Spencer had to preside at the luncheon in her place. President Eisenhower had briefly wandered out into the upper back gallery after his speech and had encountered a group of 25 or so Mary Baldwin students. Looking them up and down he asked them, "Are all the girls at Mary Baldwin as pretty as you?" The president also enjoyed his brief reunion with Julia Patch, the widow of one of his most trusted World War II generals. It seemed to be part of the spirit of the occasion that the student body had taken up a collection to buy luncheon tickets for the three foreign students at the college so that they could eat lunch with the President of the United States.⁹⁴

There were other "special occasions" as well. In 1961, a month-long exhibit in the Mirror Room, "Staunton During the Civil War," memorialized the centennial of the nation's greatest tragedy. Every four years, students with the help of the newly created Political Science Department, staged a "mock" political convention complete with banners, slogans, parades and confetti. In 1967, helping to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the founding of the college, the S. & H. Foundation funded six lectures by distinguished scholars on the general subject, "Science and Society." These men (they were all men) each spent two days on the campus, visiting classes and seminars, as well as each giving public lectures. That same year, the college received an invitation to participate on the popular television show, "The GE College Bowl." Five students and their coach (Robert Lafleur) travelled to New York City to compete against the University of Texas. Although they didn't win, they provided a real challenge in the second half and the college was proud of them. On 2 October 1967, a two-day seminar was held for students and public school teachers on "The Russian Revolution—Fifty Years After." Featured was a Russian MIG fighter pilot (who had defected), as well as university scholars and political commentators.

Founders' Day 1967 focused on the theme of "internationalism" and featured a "Phone In" from around the world. Dr. Spencer opened the proceedings by declaring:

In this larger world, where the actions
of persons in places as remote as

Saigon or Peking or Cairo vitally and immediately affect us, we cannot be satisfied to educate young women just for the polite arts of the local community. We cannot let them remain provincial... They must look at the world through a wide angle lens.

And to illustrate the college's growing international connections, Dr. Spencer, via satellite, cable and high frequency radio, spoke to alumnae and they spoke to each other in Hong Kong, London, Tokyo, Paris, Munich, and Madrid while large clocks behind his head showed the time in each location. The Mary Baldwin Bulletin reported, "A stone-silent audience of 1,000 students, faculty and parents of seniors listened in wonderment to Dr. Spencer's worldwide conference call—the first time an educational institution had done such a thing."⁹⁵

Dean Grafton and President Spencer were determined that this ferment of ideas and activities would be reflected in the classroom as well. Not only the faculty, but increasingly the students, shared in the decision-making as the curriculum was modified, added to, and finally totally reworked. College course offerings are selected, both from a broad consensus of what constitutes "core" learning for a certain discipline, as well as adequate library and laboratory resources to teach it, and specific faculty interests and expertise. As the college faculty doubled in these years, new courses shaped by these parameters appeared. In addition, college faculty often responded to parental, student or societal demands that certain subjects be included. In 1960, funded in part by the Algernon Sydney Sullivan Society, the George Hammond Sullivan Political Science Department was added to the Social Science offerings. Alan Geyer was the first faculty member and, when he resigned after five years, Robbins L. Gates succeeded him. There could hardly have been a more appropriate decade for extended "polysci" offerings, and both men were challenging and rewarding teachers.

When it became known that Dr. Turner planned to retire in 1962, there was immediate discussion about who and what would replace his popular senior seminar, "Problems in a Philosophy of Life," which was required for graduation. It was generally agreed that no one could replace Dr. Turner. After two years of debate and study, an interdisciplinary course, "Man and Contemporary

Culture," was introduced. Although it was a year's course, only one semester was required for graduation, and a student could elect either semester or both. The core faculty were from the Religion and Philosophy Department, but many other disciplines were represented. This effort lasted two years. Both faculty and students found the work thought-provoking, but since faculty participation was in addition to regular course loads, it could not be sustained for long, and eventually the Philosophy requirement for graduation was met by any Philosophy course a student chose to elect.

In line with Dr. Spencer's stress on "internationalism" and with increasing popular focus on Asia, Frank Price and Charles J. Stanley, successive professors of International Studies, introduced "The World Beyond the West"; "Oriental Religious Thought"; "Modern China"; "The Near East and Africa"; "Chinese and Japanese Masterpieces in Translation" and similar studies. Naturally, there were major changes in the Modern Language areas, both to prepare students for their overseas experiences and to provide a solid language major at the college for those who could not go abroad. Although no major was offered in Education, the college had a long tradition of preparing students to teach, and the courses in this area and in Psychology reflected state certification requirements, as well as an increasing interest in educational work for handicapped children.

An exciting development in this period was the translation and production of a series of medieval music dramas from the Karl Young collection of medieval manuscripts at Yale University. Fletcher Collins, Gordon Page, and a succession of dedicated and talented students, collaborating with scholars in the United States and England, were able to present several of these plays, including the great Easter trilogy. The college choir and other students joined professional singers at the Folger theater in Washington, D.C., and in performances in Upperville, Virginia, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and of course, in Staunton.⁹⁶

One of Dr. Spencer's objectives had been to add faculty to one-person departments. By 1968, that had almost been accomplished. Naturally, course offerings in each subject had increased dramatically—there were twice as many Math courses as had previously been available. There were five faculty members in English (which had always been a big department), four in History, three in Chemistry, five in Biology, five in Mathematics, ten in Modern Languages, three in Music, five in Psychology, four

in Religion and Philosophy. Only Drama and Physics were still small; Drama was seriously understaffed, but joined with the Music and English faculties in many collaborative projects. The 400th Anniversary of Shakespeare's birth was observed in 1964, and a Fine Arts Festival featured art, music and drama, including a performance of The Tempest. Readers' Theater was begun in 1963, and the college regularly won recognition at the Virginia College Drama Festival at the Virginia Museum Theater.

It is almost de rigueur that college women will complain about Physical Education requirements. Mary Baldwin students certainly did. There was a long-standing commitment to provide for the health and physical well-being of the students. In addition, teacher certification requirements imposed certain demands on the course offerings, and the college sought to emphasize skills that would be useful to students after graduation. In 1957, three years of Physical Education were required for graduation, including participation in a team sport, an individual sport, rhythm, and swimming. Ten years later, the three-year requirement was still in place, although there was great pressure to change it, and exemptions and extra credit options made it easier to meet. The courses were now graded as "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory," rather than being given a letter grade, but six semester hours had to be completed before one could be graduated. By 1966, Campus Comments was declaring that most students believed that only two years of Physical Education should be required. Physical Education courses, they said, demanded weekend activities such as attendance at tournaments. There were sometimes extra fees. There were tests and written assignments. It was hard on students who were away their junior year to make up the requirements; one shouldn't have to work out one's academic schedule on the basis of the Physical Education requirements! And, they said indignantly, they were not allowed to smoke while they were bowling!¹⁹⁷ By 1967, Physical Education courses were offered in golf, tennis, swimming, dance, bowling, horseback riding, fencing and badminton. Team sports were basketball and volleyball. Hockey had had to be dropped when the athletic field was sold. There was intercollegiate competition in dance (Virginia College Dance Festival), golf (Virginia Collegiate Open Championship Golf Tournament sponsored by Mary Baldwin each fall) equitation, swimming (including Red Cross Life Saving and the Dolphin Club), fencing (Virginia Intercollegiate Tournament for Women), and basketball.

And there was tennis. Mary Jane Donnalley had joined the faculty in 1959. She held over 60 tennis trophies and was recognized as one of the nation's top tennis authorities and teachers. In 1960, five all-weather tennis courts had been constructed at the top of Market Street hill. They were appropriately called the "Skyline" courts, and there were two rebound walls for practice, as well. The courts were uncomfortably close to an SMA dormitory. Wishing to screen the players from the catcalls and comments of adolescent cadets, Dr. Spencer suggested a "thick thorn hedge."

Under Mrs. Donnalley's leadership, Mary Baldwin College became a "power" in women's tennis in the 1960s and 1970s. The Middle Atlantic Lawn Tennis Association, (MALTA) beginning in 1960, regularly held its Women's Intercollegiate meets on the Mary Baldwin campus, and the college's players consistently won singles and doubles titles, in some instances advancing to national tournament levels. Alumnae will remember Nancy Falkenberg, Cindy Goeltz, Sandy Zeese, Charlotte Folk, Pat Kenehan, Jill Eiseman, Kit O'Bannon—all of whom won regional or national recognition. Nor was it unusual to find the president of the college on the courts, where he tried his skills against the college's champion players or their coach.

In 1963, the clan system (Scotch and Irish) had been replaced by four clans (English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish), with the intention of promoting intramural athletic competition and wider student participation. By 1968, the clans were no more and competition was organized by classes.⁹⁸

The college sought in these years to provide opportunities for those students who were well-prepared for college work. Freshmen were allowed exemptions and even academic credit based on Advanced Placement tests scores. In 1960 an "AB-3" program was established, setting up a schedule whereby a student could graduate in three years by combining advanced placement, overloads, and summer work. A few students took advantage of this, but more were completing their requirements at the end of the first semester of their senior year. No "remedial" work was offered on the theory that the rigorous selection process had not permitted entry to anyone who was not prepared for college-level work. The number of Honor Scholarships increased, as did their monetary amount. There were independent study opportunities, and by the mid-60s a special course for superior freshman and sophomore students had been instituted.

The basic curriculum, however, had not been materially changed since 1953. In 1967, the president appointed a faculty committee to investigate the curriculum, graduation requirements, and the calendar. Our structure is 15 years old and "too rigid," the committee reported. Nationally, colleges were reexamining and articulating the purposes of higher education and how to implement them. Students were better prepared than they had been. They did not need to spend their first two college years continuing their high school work. A small, church-related liberal arts college had a "unique opportunity" to work out a new system, with the advantages of close personal relationships and concern for each individual. Given faculty guidance, students should have the opportunity for more choice: their curriculum should be "flexible, creative, and challenging." A liberal arts college graduate, they reported, "should have a competent understanding of the methods of inquiry and modes of conceptualization appropriate to each of those areas of knowledge and activity which form the totality of the human experience." Hence the course offerings were to be grouped into four areas: Modes of Communication; the Natural World in Scientific Perspective; the Human World in Scientific Perspective; and Interpreting Human Existence. Students would elect studies from each of these broad areas according to their own interests and curiosity. "Course units" would replace "semester hours." Instead of a normal load of five courses, only four would be studied at one time, allowing for longer class periods, more focus on fewer subjects, and greater depth of study. About half of the college work would be distributed among these areas; the remainder would meet the specific requirements of a "major." However, the Physical Education requirement remained the same. There was a pass/fail option as well as conventional grading, and the registrar was left to cope with correlation of college transcripts of this new system with traditional semester hours. Although there was considerable debate, the faculty agreed to begin the new system in September 1968.⁹⁹

Anyone who has ever attended a college faculty meeting is aware that "big" proposals, such as a whole new curriculum, can pass relatively easily. But try to change the class "cut" system, when and how examinations are to be taken, whether or not to hold Saturday classes, and how to rearrange things so a longer-than-normal convocation period can be provided for a distinguished speaker, and you will face endless debate, impassioned speeches, pleas for the parliamentarian to rule on motions that

are out of order, demands for secret ballots, and arguments over who is entitled to vote. All of these issues occupied the Mary Baldwin College faculty in the 1960s.

One indication of the power and prestige of President Spencer was his ability to reintroduce Saturday classes. They had "always" existed at Mary Baldwin until September 1955, when the college had gone to a five-day week, partly with the pious hope that a whole weekend free would permit the students more "quality" time for their extracurricular sports and activities. Dr. Spencer believed in Saturday classes. Students came to college to learn, and that could be done on Saturday as well as the other five days of the week. In September 1959, the five-and-half-day week was reinstated. Faculty consciences understood that it made a more relaxed and balanced schedule, even though their own personal preferences might have suggested otherwise. The students had no such internal struggle. They did not like Saturday classes and mounted a long campaign to end them. It was not until social regulations were eased and more frequent "overnights" and weekends were permitted that a serious reconsideration of the issue was made. But Saturday classes remained until the "new curriculum" was instituted in 1968. By then, Dr. Spencer had left.

There were some major changes in the examination system, as well. The Student Government Association's curriculum committee played an important role in these developments. All examinations were taken under the Honor System, which meant professors did not remain in the classrooms while they were in progress; but customarily the dean's office made up the examination schedule, and she dealt as best she could with the inevitable distraught student who had four examinations in two days. Students wanted a "reading day" before examinations started; they wanted the faculty to refrain from giving tests or requiring term papers during the last week of the semester; they wanted examinations before Christmas; they wanted exemptions for seniors from examinations in their major field (on the grounds that seniors were required to take Graduate Record Examinations and comprehensives so they had already been tested); and most of all, they wanted to be able to set their own examination schedules. They did not secure all these desires, but they were listened to, and the faculty yielded where they could. By slow, careful steps the examination conditions were made more flexible, and in 1967 the students won a major victory: self-scheduled examinations. On

the whole, this system worked well. No privilege was or is more jealously guarded than this.¹⁰⁰

Even the special curriculum revision committee was unwilling to make recommendations about the college calendar. The two-semester system would remain in effect for several more years, although there were student pleas to consider a "short term" either in January or May.

Mary Baldwin was not immune from the trend away from strict rules and regulations about class cuts and grading reports. By 1968, only first semester freshmen and students on probation were denied "unlimited cuts" and only "unsatisfactory work" was reported at quarters instead of letter grades. In general, academic regulations were easing, in some cases almost disappearing, all over the country. Mary Baldwin remained, by most standards, a very conservative school; but, in contrast to earlier times, there was increasing reliance on student decisions. It remained to be seen if the college was moving along this untried path quickly enough to satisfy the cultural changes of the late 60s.

* * * *

It had been considered a triumph and a great relief when President Jarman's newly created college had been approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in 1931. It had meant academic respectability and national accreditation. It also meant, as time went on, increasingly sophisticated methods of evaluating colleges' performances and viability. Until the 1960s, this had been accomplished by detailed reports from the president's office. But, shortly after Dr. Spencer came to Mary Baldwin, he was informed that henceforth each member institution of SACS would have to undertake an elaborate Self-Study once every 10 years, after which a "visiting team" of educators would spend three or more days on the campus in order to review the report and to add their suggestions. Continued accreditation would be based on this procedure and the willingness of the college to carry out the recommendations that were made. Mary Baldwin was to undertake this project in 1963-64, but Dr. Spencer prevailed upon SACS to delay for at least a year, so that Phase I of the building program would be completed for their inspection. The Self-Study required participation and cooperation from all the faculty, the administrative staff, and the board of trustees. It

involved the collection and dissemination of much information the president might have preferred to keep confidential. It meant questionnaires to alumnae and students, research into poorly organized college records, a time commitment from many people who were already overburdened. But somehow it was done. Martha Grafton was Chairman of the Steering Committee and senior faculty chaired the other committees. After careful editing, the 218 page document was dispatched to Atlanta, and the "team visit" was awaited with less than enthusiasm. Dr. Spencer was in Germany when they came (February 1966), and, upon reading their final report, he was irritated. SACS had, among other points, said the college had no "long-range plans." Since the Spencer administration had insisted, both in physical facilities and academic goals, that it was planning for the next half century, this seemed unfair. "Perhaps it was because I was not here," he told the trustees... "They did not see our projections." In any case, the college was reaccredited and even complimented, and everyone breathed a sigh of relief and said to each other, "That's done for another ten years!" It was amazing how quickly the next decade went by.¹⁰¹

There were changes in some of the college "traditions," as well. Founders' Day was moved to the first Saturday in October, rather than being held on 4 October, and in 1962 it was combined with "Senior Parents' Day." Early in the Spencer administration it was decided to hold an "Honors Convocation" in the second semester, to emphasize the commitment to academic excellence that the "New Directions" was seeking. Students whose grade point averages qualified them for the Honors or Dean's list were recognized, and some of the most interesting speakers who visited the campus came for this occasion. There was increased interest in national honorary fraternities. A chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History) was chartered in 1965. And in January 1968, Dr. Spencer was informed that Mary Baldwin College was accepted by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa for "study." It would be three years before a final decision was made but, if there had ever been a personal goal that Mrs. Grafton and Dr. Spencer had set, it was to see the college with a chapter of the oldest and most distinguished academic honorary society in the country. It now appeared that this might be possible. Mary Baldwin students also began seriously to compete for summer study and graduate fellowships. During these years, several won support for summer study in England from the state chapter of the English-Speaking

Union, and two seniors were awarded Woodrow Wilson Graduate Fellowships.¹⁰²

The culmination of any academic year is graduation. Here, too, changes occurred, often reflecting the increasing pace of American life. Dr. Spencer was interested in this, as well, and influenced the changing patterns of ceremony. In 1964, he informed his staff that there should be a new diploma design. "Our old one is too large and also rather undistinguished, it seems to me...I want the diploma to express the dignity, grace and strength of the college." There were other efforts to bring Dr. Spencer's sense of "dignity" to the college ceremony. The time-honored Elgar's "Pomp and Circumstance" seemed to him too closely akin to high school ceremonies, and both Dr. Spencer and Dr. Broman wanted to replace it with more classical selections. The seniors balked and petitions and protests flooded the campus. The president compromised; the seniors could have their choice for the recessional. Dr. Broman would choose an appropriate processional selection. "While it is not what I would choose," Dr. Spencer wrote to Carl Broman, "I think it is too small a matter to quibble over and I have ok'd this." May Day had been removed from the year-end festivities, and Alumnae Homecoming had been added to the Commencement weekend. There was a reunion luncheon, a presidential garden party, a Sunday morning Honor Society breakfast and a baccalaureate held at the First Presbyterian Church. Commencement was now held on Sunday afternoon, and since there was no longer a specific "Class Day," the senior class gift, the passing of the class colors and the Laurel citations were now part of the Commencement ceremonies. Fewer and fewer underclass women stayed for graduation, and as the number of seniors increased, the custom of senior "attendants" was phased out.

Happenstance played a role in another modification of Commencement traditions in the Spencer years. One of the most popular Visiting Scholars had been Dr. Huston Smith, a Danforth lecturer from MIT who had spoken on "The God Seekers." The students had been so responsive to him that he was asked (at their request) to give the Commencement address on 3 June 1963. The Shenandoah Valley Airport had only recently opened and flights in were few, but arrangements had been made for Dr. Smith to fly from Boston and to arrive in time for the afternoon festivities. It also happened to be the weekend that daylight saving time went into effect. Dr. Smith's flight from Boston to

Washington was delayed, and he missed his Staunton connections. The schedule failed to take into account the changed time, and the result was that he was unable to reach Staunton by 3 p.m. Few events could be calculated to be more upsetting than no commencement speaker. Dr. Spencer stepped into the breach, made a few thoughtful remarks, and was greeted with loud approval. It had been a long day. There had been an eloquent baccalaureate address; there had been a special commissioning service for Terry Lee Alexander, who became the second "young lady" in Virginia to win her "Ensign" rating in the U.S. Navy while a student on a Virginia college campus; there had been 79 diplomas presented individually; and everyone agreed that not having a commencement speaker was an excellent idea. Thereafter, that custom prevailed at Mary Baldwin College for many years.¹⁰³

* * * *

The continued growth of the college had had a major impact on the faculty, which increased from 30 full-time members to 59 (not counting the instructional staff at Madrid and Paris). The sex ratios remained fairly constant, about 50-50, but the average age dropped considerably. In 1960, Dr. Spencer reported to the trustees that it was hard to acquire "good" faculty because Mary Baldwin was a women's college, it had a Virginia location (which portrayed "massive resistance" and racial prejudice to many young professionals), and, as a private, church-related school, its salary scale was low. In 1964, he added that there were "obvious difficulties in finding persons of Christian commitment as well as competence." He and Dean Grafton wanted "bright young faculty with relatively little experience but considerable future potential." In order to raise salaries, Dr. Spencer was willing to add a little to the faculty/student ratio, and he wrote that he would not fill a vacancy unless he could find the proper candidate to fill it—he would rather do without.¹⁰⁴

Faculty were recruited, in these more informal days, by "networking," contacts with graduate schools, and the use of the Cooperative College Registry. Dr. Spencer asked the faculty from time to time to make recommendations to him from among their professional colleagues and acquaintances. Occasionally, a potential candidate would make a direct personal inquiry. In any case, the faculty appointments of these years were for the most

part successful, and many of them remained for long years of service.

From the beginning of his presidency, Dr. Spencer had pressed the trustees to raise faculty salaries and compensation. At that first board of trustees meeting 21 March 1957, before he had even officially become the president, he had declared, "Unless we can raise salaries we will cease to be a quality institution," and, in spite of the many demands for his limited dollars, he kept this as a high priority. As the familiar request was presented year after year, one trustee demanded, "Does this ever end?" But it did not.¹⁰⁵ In 1959, he asked the faculty to express anonymously, by means of a questionnaire, their feelings about salary levels and other matters. Many refused to answer, saying that they did not have sufficient financial information to make suggestions, but there was general agreement that overall averages should be higher. Teaching effectiveness, they said, should be the number one criterion for determining compensation, followed by seniority and degrees. Many were opposed to "across-the-board" raises, and some felt community and church work should not be counted in evaluating performance. One answer asked for "at least" the "national averages" and said bluntly: "Fire us or 'retire' us when we do more harm than good...putting us out to pasture might be fine." There was considerable criticism of faculty who were paid for "outside" work or who held second positions elsewhere, but with the consent of the dean this continued to be permitted.

Working with the Association of American Colleges and later with figures from the American Association of University Professors, Dr. Spencer had a factual basis upon which to base his salary projections. He was also privy to information from the Virginia Foundation of Independent Colleges and thus had a pretty accurate idea of what the 13 independent colleges in Virginia were paying their faculty. As his objective, he set coming in among the top five of the VFIC. In 1957, when Dr. Spencer became president, the salary scale was \$3,500-\$6,000. By 1968, the average salary was \$10,671 and the senior professors were paid slightly over \$12,000 a year. There had been significant yearly advances, and the goal of upper level VFIC ranking had been achieved.¹⁰⁶

Nor were faculty, staff and employee benefits ignored. A thorough study of retirement and medical insurance policies resulted in the college making enhanced benefits available for their professional personnel. In addition, faculty children could attend the Tate Demonstration School tuition-free, everyone was

entitled to lunch in the Hunt Dining Hall, and there was a 10% discount on purchases at the bookstore. If one joined the faculty, 80% of moving expenses were paid, and low-interest second mortgages loans from the college were available toward home purchases.

As early as 1959, Dr. Spencer had asked the trustees to give formal approval to the Association of American Colleges statement on academic freedom. There has "never been a problem" concerning this, he reported, but "there should be board acknowledgement of the policy." This was shortly followed by acceptance of the American Association of Colleges "Principles of Tenure" and in 1963, the first faculty handbook setting forth specifically all the responsibilities and privileges of faculty status was printed and distributed. By 1965, the trustees had approved a sabbatical leave policy, and modest but increasing funds were set aside each year to help faculty attend professional meetings and to undertake summer research. By 1967, a part-time faculty secretary had been employed to help with test and manuscript preparations. The college also belonged to the Faculty Children's Tuition Exchange program, but Dr. Spencer was soon disillusioned with it. In 1964, Dr. Spencer wrote, "We have no credits available: the entire system became badly clogged some time ago and is virtually defunct."

Faculty promotion was on a merit basis and determined by the dean and the president. The average academic load was 13 hours with normally three preparations a semester, although many faculty exceeded these limits. After the building program was completed (1970), all faculty had individual offices, but in the early Spencer years there had been much "doubling up" and crowded conditions. There was also committee work, and as the size and disposition of the faculty increased so did the committee numbers. By 1967, there were 22 standing and ad hoc faculty committees. Some committee members were nominated and elected by the faculty; others were appointed by the dean and the president. By the end of the Spencer tenure, some faculty made reports on special occasions to the board of trustees and often participated on board committees. Likewise, there was student participation on some faculty committees. Faculty were also active participants in the student advisory system, particularly after the curriculum of 1968 was in place. There was also individual faculty research, and participation in the college's extracurricular activities. All of this was "accepted as the natural part of the workload of each

faculty member," reported the Self-Study.¹⁰⁷

This bland statement should not be taken to mean that the Spencer era faculty were indifferent to the great changes that were occurring in American society or even on their own campus. In spite of increasing competition for bright young faculty, the Grafton-Spencer choices were talented, energetic and ambitious young (for the most part) men and women. Faculty meetings were no longer the decorous and sedate affairs they had been in the Jarman era, although they did not reach the decibel levels of the 70s and 80s. There were clashes of personalities and opinion, and sometimes acrimonious debates over what might appear as trivial matters; i.e., should there be pluses and minuses in the grading system (no); should we smoke in faculty meetings (smoking was discontinued in faculty meetings in 1966); how can we arrange a longer convocation period for an outstanding program; (The "C" schedule, five minutes deducted from each class period to add to convocation or chapel, was universally despised by both faculty and students, but starting classes at 8:10 a.m. was deemed to be worse). There were other, more serious matters to discuss. Should Mary Baldwin apply for a chapter of the AAUP (one was approved in 1963); should there be student evaluation of the faculty (not in the Spencer era); should the college participate in "Project Opportunity" (yes, although well intentioned, it was short-lived). There was increasing faculty resistance to policy statements from the administration about which they had not been consulted; i.e., "all faculty will have Saturday classes"; "all faculty will post office hours and keep them!" Dr. Spencer was insistent that faculty attend chapel and convocations regularly, and, when their visibility diminished, he reminded them of his expectations. On the whole, however, faculty-administration and faculty-faculty relationships were amicable and based on mutual respect and often close friendships. It was not unusual after a prolonged and vocal faculty meeting to see opponents clustered around a club table sharing coffee, and much faculty social life centered around their working colleagues.¹⁰⁸

There were some poignant leave-takings in this decade. "Mam'selle" Flansburgh, Fannie Strauss, Dr. Turner, Dr. Thomson, Mr. Daffin, Dr. Carroll, Dr. Brice, Dr. Humphreys, and Miss Weill all retired, and Dr. Mahler resigned to accept a teaching position elsewhere. Few people remembered a time when some of these persons had not been on the campus, and the connections with the Jarman era were now almost severed.¹⁰⁹ There were

always special ceremonies for long-term retirees, and the custom of presenting Mary Baldwin armchairs to them was begun.

Many of the Spencer appointees followed college tradition and stayed for decades, if not lifetimes. Alumnae will recall with affection and respect James McAllister and Gertrude Davis (1958); Dorothy Mulberry (1959); Betty Myers (Kegley) and Ben Smith (1960); Barbara Ely, Jackson Galbraith, Frank Price (1961); Marjorie Chambers, Ulysse Desportes, Gwen Walsh (1962); Robert Lafleur and John Mehner (1963); Don Thompson, James Lott (1964); "Albie" Booth, Joe Garrison, Robbins Gates, Ethel Smeak, and John Stanley (1965); Mary Irving, Bonnie Hohn (1966); Jerry Venn, James Patrick, Bernard Logan (1967); Mary Echols, Frank Southerington, and Robert Weiss (1968).¹¹⁰

* * * *

It had been hoped that a larger student body would bring greater diversity in geographic origin, religious preferences, and pre-college experiences. To some extent this did happen-yet about 40% of the student body was from Virginia, and 29% more were from the southern states that had traditionally formed the recruitment pool. There were increasing enrollments from New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Arkansas year after year contributed 15 to 20 students. There were always eight to 10 "foreign" students, including those employed in the language laboratory. Patterns of religious preference remained relatively unchanged. There were always more Presbyterians than others (in 1968, 363 out of 701 students). Episcopalians were usually next (in 1968, 176) followed by Methodists and Baptists. There was usually Catholic representation (in 1968 there were 18), followed by a sprinkling of other Protestant groups. A small but increasing number of students indicated no religious preference at all. Economic diversity did not materially alter either. About one-third of the student body had traditionally received financial aid, and that proportion continued as a constant, although as tuition and fees increased so did the individual financial aid packages.¹¹¹

Any discussion of student life at Mary Baldwin College must take into account the world in which they lived and the pressures which surrounded them. The "Beatles" came to America in 1963 and midwived what came to be called the "Counterculture." John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas in November 1963, and in

response to that tragedy Congress enacted the far-reaching legislation of the Lyndon B. Johnson "Great Society." This included the Civil Rights Act, a Voting Rights Act, the War on Poverty, and the end, by constitutional amendment, of the poll tax. A federal office of Economic Opportunity was created, as was a new cabinet position, Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Medicare was approved, and Headstart, special assistance to Appalachia, and National Foundations of the Arts and the Humanities were established. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964, and the American involvement in Vietnam escalated in the years that followed. A civil rights march led by Martin Luther King from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, attracted national attention, followed by race riots of frightening proportions in Los Angeles, Newark and Detroit. The "black power" movement split King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and mass demonstrations against the Vietnam War occurred in many American (and European) cities. The University of California at Berkeley saw the birth of the Free Speech Movement (1964), the "love-ins," the open use of hallucinatory drugs, long hair, sandals, "flower children" and the "hippie generation." The United States temporarily occupied the Dominican Republic, the Soviets brutally crushed a revolt in Czechoslovakia, and Israel humiliated Egypt in a Six Day War (1967). The year 1968 may have been the most wrenching in recent American history; Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy were assassinated; the TET offensive in Vietnam was seen as making a United States victory an impossibility; police clashed with anti-war demonstrators. Richard Nixon was elected President of the United States in November 1968.

Faced with this litany of crisis and tragedy, it is almost inconceivable, looking back, to realize how innocent, how sheltered, how protected the Mary Baldwin College community was. This was not because the administration and faculty did not try to expose their students to reality; they did. All of the above events and topics were discussed in lecture series, in classrooms, in Christian Association programs, and student "bull" sessions. One can trace in Campus Comments and Miscellany the growing awareness of "life beyond the yellow brick walls" as the years go by, but as late as 1967 editorials deplored student "apathy" about lectures and convocations. The principal subjects for debates in these years centered around ending compulsory church and chapel attendance, modifying the drinking rule, changing sign-out and approved housing and the "apartment rule" policies as they re-

lated to Washington & Lee and the University of Virginia, and amending or rewriting the Student Government Association Constitution.

But the students were changing, nevertheless. They were more willing to criticize traditional customs and policies. They were increasingly resistant to "requirements," whether academic or social, and campaigned relentlessly and effectively for more "choice." They were less and less interested in the intellectually oriented lectures and concerts which Dr. Spencer and others had worked so hard to bring to the campus, and, to judge from the Campus Comments editorials and letters to the editor, their behavior in chapel was deplorable. By 1968, Mary Baldwin was definitely a "suitcase" college and, although a special committee planned attractive weekend events, a large proportion of the student population was likely to be elsewhere on Saturday and Sunday. The pressure of numbers meant more and more off-campus housing, which was usually restricted to seniors and juniors. They liked the greater freedom and intimacy of this living style, but this alternative, coupled with the physically larger grounds, diluted the close community that had existed on the "old campus." The YWCA became the "Christian Association," a kind of umbrella organization for social service projects, and some excellent work was done, but no one any longer claimed that it represented the entire student body. The "Scotch/Irish" clans (and their successors) eventually faded away for lack of support. Class Day disappeared and May Day was folded into the spring dance weekend, another victim of the disestablishmentarianism of the 1970s.

Most of this occurred so gradually that the extent of the changes was not obvious. It is only in retrospect that one can appreciate how much the basic standards and values were altering. Still, in some ways, the Mary Baldwin College "girl" (she did not yet think of herself as a "woman") of 1968 appeared to be the same kind of young woman who had greeted the Spencers in 1957. There were still dress codes; when she was in the classroom, the dining hall, downtown or at church, the Mary Baldwin student was clad in a skirt and blouse (with a little round collar), matching sweater sets and loafers or, on Sunday, in a dress, hat, and perhaps gloves. By 1968, the hats and gloves were gone, the skirts were much shorter, and waistlines had disappeared in the wake of the "mini," but most of the students were still "appropriately" clothed (at least by conservative Staunton standards). They could

be stirred to mass enthusiasms; the combined student efforts to raise money for the Library (and to a lesser degree the science building) were widely supported. There were three "mock" political conventions during these years (1960, 1964, and 1968) which attracted much student participation. The student campaign to "name" Spencer dormitory was spontaneous and solely student-directed. The Sophomore Shows during the Spencer years were increasingly complex and ambitious. A Junior Dads' Day was begun in 1967. The excitement over President Eisenhower's visit was genuine. Efforts to redesign the Student Government Association appeared to have provoked endless debate; and "room check" before 10:00 a.m. (to be sure the beds were made) was indignantly criticized. There was sorrow when the tradition of individually decorated tables at Christmas dinner was changed in 1964. The Social Committee would now do it. "Somehow it will be different," they mourned, "but then we are different—we are a big college now."¹¹²

The close relationships between faculty and students, so characteristic of the past, continued. But imperceptibly this, too, was changing. Some of the younger faculty did not object to a first-name basis—at least outside of the classroom. There were fewer "teas" held in faculty homes; they were replaced by picnics and cookouts. Class structure became less formal and "projects" and "demonstrations" replaced formal testing and term papers. Students "baby-sat" faculty children and even faculty pets. It was easier to work out the details of field trips, and thus the opportunity for greater informality existed. As always, the work in choir and glee club, in drama and in athletics, provided special opportunities for faculty-student contacts. And the major requirements of book discussions and "comps" meant that a senior almost always felt a special kinship with at least one professor in her discipline.

There were changes in the Student Government Association as well, although not as many or as radical as they were on other campuses. There was considerable effort in this decade to keep current with what other colleges' student governments were doing, but things on the Mary Baldwin College campus changed slowly.¹¹³

Foreshadowing future problems with the Honor System, the Student Government Association in 1963 created an Honor Court, separate from the Judiciary Board. Designed to work closely with the administration Advisory Board, the Honor Court would con-

sider major infractions of the Honor Code, leaving minor social violations to be dealt with by the "Judish." Emphasis was placed on the understanding that the honor system covered all aspects of student life, but the strain that the "apartment rule," alcohol prohibition, and unpaid IOUs at local shops put on the system was already apparent. For the first time, in 1962, stealing (in the dormitories) was reported. After an investigation, a student was expelled. The increasing legalism of the 1960s led to an official college "Statement of Protection of Personal Property." The Student Government Association, in the case of theft, "is free to use any means at its disposal" to discover the guilty, it warned. The students may call on the administration for help in recovering their possessions. When a student accepts her room assignment, she establishes a "tenant-landlord" relationship, and the college might undertake room "checks" to see to the security and protection of its property.¹¹⁴ Still, in the 1960s this remained a relatively "open" campus. Outside dormitory doors were seldom locked during daylight hours, faculty and students merely closed but did not secure their office or room doors in their absence, and pocket-books and personal possessions were left outside King or at the church during chapel/convocation period, or in the halls of Academic or Hunt during meals. Such casualness would vanish in the 1970s.

There was academic stress as well. Some of the recently employed faculty were not familiar with an honor system and sometimes failed to implement it. Increasing numbers of transfer students had to be oriented to unfamiliar freedoms. In 1964, there was a serious discussion about the integrity of academic work, and what constitutes plagiarism was explored in detail. Since all Honor Court hearings were confidential, decisions were made known by posting a notice in the dormitories for 48 hours, naming the student who was expelled or suspended or put on probation for Honor violations. Criticism of this policy led to the well-meaning attempt to include the student's name in the public notice only with her consent. By 1968, the notices were posted at the end of each semester, listing the offenses and penalties but giving no names at all.

The constitution of the Student Government Association had not changed materially for many years, and it is understandable that there would soon be student demands for a document more responsive to current needs. A new constitution was approved in 1964, but, except for the addition of the Honor Court, there was

little fundamental change from the former one. The methods of nomination and election were still viewed as undemocratic and unnecessarily complicated but would not be changed until the next decade. Nominations were by a committee made up of senior Student Government Association officers and the senior members of the Student Board. They chose nominees for approximately one-third of the total number of candidates for each office. Other nominations were secured by general petition from the student body. There was a two-slate system whereby a student who was defeated in the first slate election could be nominated for another office on the second slate. Elections were held in each dormitory. There were nominating and/or acceptance of nomination speeches in the Student Government Association Friday convocation, but there was no campaigning, and student interest was usually only moderate. Freshman votes still counted only half a point (a tradition left from the time when the freshman class had outnumbered the upperclassmen) and the whole process took four or more days. All upperclassmen signed the Honor Pledge each fall, but freshmen and transfers had a separate signing ceremony (poorly attended by others) in February, by which time they were considered sufficiently oriented to the Mary Baldwin system to be fully participating members. A point system sought to prevent any one student or group of students from dominating the system but, considering that it was often hard to persuade enough students to agree to be nominated to fill the slate of 55 officers, that hardly seemed necessary. On 1 May 1964, Campus Comments reported that only 120 out of 580 students had seen fit to attend the installation of the new student officers. Such a lack of support was "an insult" to the invited speaker, Dr. Taylor Reveley, and to the students elected to serve, Campus Comments declared. If student interest did not improve, it might be "sensible to dismantle the student government altogether and to just let the faculty run things," an editor suggested. By 1968, there were numerous pleas for a change in the election system. Let's elect "candidates with guts," demanded one letter to the editor, but generally most students still seemed satisfied or indifferent.¹¹⁵ The Student Government Association officers played an increasingly visible role in the numerous ceremonies and events of the 60s. They met governors and the President of the United States, trustees and foundation representatives, officials of the SACS, and distinguished college visitors. And they had major responsibility for shaping the slow, gradual modification of the social rules

the increasingly emancipated young Mary Baldwin College women found onerous and "absurd." Their duties and visibility would increase as the effects of the "counterculture" spread to Staunton.

Nothing seems to provoke more interest and often criticism among returning alumnae than changes in social rules. Actually, regulations and prohibitions were gradually but steadily modified over the years. The proper behavior and protection of young women at colleges and universities in the 1960s reflected middle-class society's views and, although women's colleges might be more restrictive than larger and more cosmopolitan universities, their deans were generally cognizant of each other's policies and adjusted their own accordingly. An additional complication existed in church-related colleges. Their trustees, who were mostly men and often ministers, were much more conservative in their views about young women than society in general. Dr. Spencer's careful balancing act between Student Government Association desires, Dean Parker's recommendations, his trustees' sensibilities, and his own moral beliefs held off prolonged dissension until almost the end of his administration; but it was obvious by 1968 that in loco parentis was under major siege.

Perhaps easiest to modify was the dress code. Students wanted to wear "Bermudas" and slacks in the Club on Saturdays and whenever more informal occasions occurred. By 1966, a heated debate about the new "pants suits" occurred. When queried, two male faculty members confessed to not knowing what they were, but asked, "Aren't mini-skirts cold when you sit down?" By 1966, slacks could be worn to class or even downtown if there were snow and the temperature was below 20 degrees Fahrenheit. When Grafton Library opened in September 1967, the administration viewed it as a showplace of the campus and expected students who were using it to be dressed as though they were in the classroom. There was much protest. Within two months, the Library "dress code" was changed. It was agreed that slacks and Bermudas could be worn in the library at night and during exam week. They were even permissible for Saturday meals in Hunt, but the 1968 Handbook made clear that no jeans or Bermudas could be worn to class, and no hair curlers worn under scarves were acceptable on campus "at any time." As early as 1966, students were asking that rules requiring their dates to wear collared shirts, ties, and jackets be changed. There was some easing of the restrictions for daytime men's dress, but more for-

mal attire continued to be required after 6:00 p.m.¹¹⁶

No pronouncement could banish "fads" and "fashions." In 1958, the students were having "hula hoop" contests and dancing the "Twist" and the "Bird." The early 60s saw hair "teased" into bouffant "beehives." Five years later it was much longer and straighter, and some young women even "ironed" their tresses. Pierced ears and skateboards arrived in 1965, and the "Beatle" Club flourished in Bailey dorm. There are more and more "ukes, guitars and folk songs," declared Campus Comments (1963) and at different times, the "Bombshells" and the "Skyscrapers" held forth in The Club. FM radio came to the campus (Dr. Spencer built one of the first in 1962), and for several years the students nominated a young woman to enter Glamour annual contest to select the "Ten Best Dressed College Girls." There were spring fashion shows, "combo" parties, and, by 1963, about three-fourths of the seniors had ordered their class rings for their little rather than their fourth fingers. Briefly "abercrombies" replaced "saddle shoes" ("rah rah's") as popular footwear. One went "hawking" at Craftons, the Rafters, the Foxes Den, the Elbow Room. There was the "Needle's Eye" coffeehouse, and after 1966 a student could have a private telephone ("oh joy!") in her room. A profusion of stuffed animals accompanied young women to college, and "tubing" on the Maury River with Washington & Lee men was increasingly popular. The average student allowance was reported to be \$38.00 a month, and profits from the campus cigarette machines were sent (on orders from Dr. Spencer) to the AMA's Education and Research Foundation. "Freckles," who belonged to the Pages, and "Penny" Timberlake were the campus dogs. In 1966, student criticism of Hunt menus led to the formation of a student committee to explore with "B.C" the changing food preferences of the 60s.¹¹⁷

By 1967, the "pill" had been invented and was legal. Three hundred thirty-five college student health service departments had been queried as to whether or not they would distribute it. Only 13 said they would. Mrs. Grafton was asked by the students her opinion of the matter. Her answer reflected the current wisdom that world population growth should be checked but that sex was a very "sensitive subject." Sex was not "safe" outside a marriage relationship, and the "pill" was not, in her view, appropriate for the unmarried.¹¹⁸ Both the Handbook and the college Catalogue for 1968 continued to carry the statement that "The College thoroughly disapproves of secret marriages...Failure to

report promptly a change in marital status will be considered grounds for dismissal."

The issues which often provoked prolonged debate among Mary Baldwin students and administration and which were the most difficult to relate to the "outside" image of the college with the church and community were so closely interrelated that it is almost impossible to discuss them separately. They all had to do with the opportunity for young women to make their own social and relational decisions as opposed to following regulations approved by college administrations. Most under attack were "approved housing," the "apartment rule," and the "25 mile" prohibition on the use of alcohol. Less important, but closely related, were the number of "overnights" and weekends permitted, and the issue of "adult residents" in the dormitories. ("We don't need policing," the students protested). They resented as an infringement on personal privacy, official checking to see that everyone had her bed made and her room "straightened" by chapel/convocation time on weekdays and by noon on Saturdays. They wanted greater freedom to take their dates places on campus, including, they said, to "study together" in the Library. They were increasingly resistant to required attendance at convocations, chapel and church services on Sunday.

As early as 1959, there were occasional requests for rule changes, and in 1960 the Student Board said that students over age 21 should be allowed to live by the State of Virginia laws. But the real crescendo of discontent focused on the years 1965 and thereafter, as other colleges experienced office sit-ins and clashes with campus police over "free speech" and other "freedoms." It seemed to the students "absurd" to have to "sign out" while their peers were riding "Freedom buses" in Mississippi and invading the Pentagon. Our old rules are "unrealistic," they wrote. "Is it too much to ask to be allowed to grow up?" Our social regulations "do not allow us to show social responsibility"; "we have little say-so in our social rules," they lamented.¹¹⁹

Dr. Spencer and his family were on sabbatical in Munich from August 1965 to August 1966, as these rules were being challenged. Dean Parker met with student leaders, had public forums, invited student representation and deans from other colleges similar to Mary Baldwin to meet with the student body. She resisted "piecemeal" changes and said that, if the whole system were to be revised, the Student Government Association must await Dr. Spencer's return. She and Dean Grafton kept Dr.

Spencer fully apprised of the swift changes that were taking place, and he planned a three-day "retreat" for the board of trustees and administration at the Peaks of Otter Conference Center not far from Roanoke within two months of his return (12-15, Oct. 1966).

The trustees who met that October in the Blue Ridge Mountains were a thoughtful, hard-working, conscientious group of men and women. They felt strongly their responsibility to keep the college free from the disruptions and disorders surrounding them, but wished to be sensitive to the deep social and political problems which were agitating the world's educational institutions. They were aware of the massive financial commitments which had been made to build the new campus, and they undertook a 10-year budget projection which they hoped would secure the college's financial stability. They made significant decisions about church relationships, and "about the college's responsibilities in regard to social regulation." They studied admissions policies, enrollment and expansion (should we build another dormitory?), the academic program, development and fund raising for the future. When they finished, a partial revolution in the very nature of the college had taken place. Their decisions were more significant for the future, perhaps, than the physical building program so closely identified with the Spencer years.¹²⁰

The trustees agreed to modify (but not to abandon) in loco parentis. Students should be given "increased responsibilities" based on a "gradation" from freshman to senior levels. Along with this, said the trustees, there must be added responsibility in maintaining "high general standards of conduct and dealing stringently with students" who do not live up to those standards. The college "should not abdicate" a definite responsibility in the matter of "boy-girl relationships" and should make "no apology" for upholding standards. Its policy should be "flexible" and characterized by "compassion and concern." The freshman program, decided the trustees, should include an "orientation" course "encompassing the moral, physical and sociological aspects of sex." The administration was left to fill in the details.

Within the next two years, both the "apartment" rule and the policy concerning the use of alcohol were modified. Although the college was opposed "in principle" to a student visiting men's housing at college and university towns unless "at least" a "third person is present," juniors and seniors could make such decisions based on their own discretion until midnight, after which a third person was still required. The number of "overnights" was now

unlimited and general permission slips were much broadened, but the statement that any student "found to be out of harmony" with the college standards of moral behavior could be asked to withdraw remained in both the Handbook and the Catalogue.

The whole question of the use of alcohol by Mary Baldwin students was a very complicated one. Early in the 1960s when the Student Board had recommended to the administration that the college students be allowed to follow Virginia's laws on the subject (an action reported in Campus Comments), Dr. Spencer had received many letters reminding him that the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly had taken an absolute abstinence view. "I solemnly question the right of any of us to seek variance from that ruling—certainly not a student body of a church college.... I shall count on you to hold the line as well as to encourage a more wholesome life among your students," wrote one correspondent. Dr. Spencer answered, "It is my strong conviction that alcohol and education do not mix."¹²¹

But the issue would not go away. Students reflected the attitudes and customs of their parents, and, in the more tolerant atmosphere of the 1960s, public consumption of alcohol was apparent and accepted, perhaps more so than in the 1990s. Students blamed the lack of male interest in attending Mary Baldwin College's two "big dance" weekends on the fact that their campus did not permit the same customs as did their dates' colleges.

The college had had, since the 1930s, the simple requirement that alcohol would not be used while a student was in residence unless she were under her parents' jurisdiction. There always followed a general expectation of good conduct, as noted in the student Handbook:

Whether living as a member of the college group or while away from the college, a student should remember that in the eyes of the public she represents the college and its ideals. For this reason the college requires her conduct at all times to reflect no discredit on those ideals.

As Dean Parker reported to the trustees at the "retreat," a committee comprised of faculty, staff and students had met

during the spring of 1966 to recommend reconsideration of the rule, based on increasing responsibility of students for their own decisions. A further rationale pointed out that with far greater flexibility in academic matters, students should be allowed that flexibility in social affairs as well. The committee proposed that each student be provided identification cards (with pictures); that no alcoholic beverages be permitted on campus or at college-sponsored activities or in automobiles; but left open the possibility of alcohol use "in town" for those over 18 years of age.

The trustees again agreed that the rules might be modified with the consent of the administration, and the November 1966, Campus Comments ran a picture of two upperclassmen drinking 3.2 beer in the Elbow Room.¹²²



Anne Elizabeth Parker

Within months, another, and much more serious problem concerning "substance abuse," faced Dean Parker. On 10 March 1967, Campus Comments had run an editorial on drugs on college campuses. "There's a new ticket ride," said the "guest" writer, who went on to mention morning glory seeds, airplane glue and "Robitussin" as ways of getting high. The newest discovery was apparently nutmeg, taken with black coffee—careful instructions

were included as to how it should be used. "There is a minor disappointment, perhaps, it doesn't get you quite as high as pot."

By the fall of 1967, a convocation speaker, Dr. Harry L. Williams, was discussing "Drugs in Today's Society," and the students were debating whether or not the use of drugs on campus constituted a violation of the Honor System. The Handbook of 1968 reflected this new aspect of college life. "The use, possession or distribution of the drugs of abuse" was prohibited and cases would be handled by the Honor Court, "acting in conjunction with the Faculty Advisory Board and with the advice of a qualified medical consultant."¹²³

A third major focal point of student discontent centered on compulsory church and chapel/convocation attendance. One of the problems, at least in the early years, centered on where to have chapel. Since the student body had grown and since after 1962 Waddell Chapel, even if it had been big enough, was no longer available, the only place remaining was King Auditorium. The atmosphere seemed unsuitable, and Dr. Spencer was able to report to the trustees in 1963 that arrangements had been made to use the sanctuary of First Presbyterian Church for chapel services. It was certainly more like a church service, but student compliance remained reluctant, although Dr. Turner and afterward Dr. McAllister worked with Mr. Page and Dr. Broman and the student Christian Association to provide varied and thoughtful programs. The time for the service was short—only 30 minutes—and the time between classes, particularly if one had to stop at the post office or drink a cup of coffee on the way, seemed inadequate. Students who were in the choir and who had a class immediately preceding the 10:30 a.m. service labored under special handicaps, but Mr. Page allowed them few excuses and the choir members were usually in place, robed and ready to sing long before all of the students and faculty had assembled. Unexcused absences were a judiciary offence, and at first there were assigned seats and roll was taken (an activity not conducive to worship). Later, after 1965, seating was by classes, and one was honor bound to report her own absences. On special occasions, when a distinguished minister had been invited, the dreaded Schedule "C" was employed. This meant only five minutes instead of 10 between classes and generally assured a breathless and tardy audience. There were also difficulties about where to hold convocation. If King Auditorium was used, as it was until 1966, it meant Mr. Frenger and his crew had to "set up" for 700 on Monday

and Friday and take down in time for Physical Education classes immediately before and after. Briefly arrangements were made to use the Dixie Theater for Student Government Association and convocation meetings, but this was totally unsuitable, one block farther and much resented. The students saw an opportunity to cut back on the three-year Physical Education requirement by complaining that they had to sit on the floor for their Student Government Association meetings, since there was not time to put up the chairs and take them down after their meetings in time for the next class. They blamed Physical Education for inflexibility.¹²⁴

There was also the problem of compulsory church attendance. This had been in effect since Miss Baldwin's day. For several decades students chose to attend whichever service they preferred, but, if they were in town and not in the infirmary, they were required to go and dormitory checks were made. There were the usual student subterfuges—attending the Temple on Friday night instead of Sunday church (they were informed they were welcome to attend Temple services where Dr. McNeil played the organ, but still must attend Sunday services unless they were Jewish); and attending "early Church" dressed in "school clothes," which "reflects discredit on herself and the College"; but it was an unusual student who questioned the validity of compulsory worship, at least until the mid-60s. Those who did were reminded that Mary Baldwin was a "church college" and that the policy had been clearly explained before they matriculated.

These questions were on the agenda at the Peaks of Otter meeting, and to them Dr. Spencer added some others. Must all faculty be members of evangelical Protestant churches, or can Roman Catholics, Orthodox Jewish persons, or even atheists be employed? How many of the faculty should be Presbyterian? Should all members of the Department of Religion be Calvinists? Should senior administration officers be Presbyterian? Should race be considered in the employment of faculty and staff (this was 1966)? Should courses in Religion be required for graduation? Should admissions preference be given to Virginia Presbyterians? To PCUS members? To any Presbyterian? Should financial aid continue to be offered to ministers' daughters?

Some possible answers to most of these questions involved changing church standards (which had been accepted in 1957) and possibly the college charter. But the board agreed that faculty recruitment should be "broadened," "to include members of all

Christian bodies." "It is difficult," they said, to insist that a majority be Presbyterian. Race should not be an exclusionary factor for either faculty or staff, and Dr. Spencer suggested that there might possibly be an exchange program with Stillman College. Required courses in Religion and attendance at chapel should be continued, but church attendance policies might be modified.

By 1968, the Handbook specified the college's belief in the value of corporate worship: "Mary Baldwin students are expected to attend formal church services on a regular basis. Failure to live up to this expectation will be considered as a lack of acceptance of the principles" of the college. No penalties, however, were specified for a failure to observe these principles, nor were checks on compliance made. Chapel/convocation attendance was expected. There was no roll taken, but unexcused absence was to be considered a Judiciary offense.

The principal means of student expression, other than Student Government Association general meetings, were the student publications. Advised and stimulated by Dolores Lescure's leadership and enthusiasm, Campus Comments and the Bluestocking regularly won First Class Honors and All American ratings. Campus Comments in particular was more than once judged the best among women's college newspapers in the Southeast. Campus Comments celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1964 and invited all previous editors to the party. The Bluestocking was imaginatively and accurately organized and its annual dedications, kept secret until the presentation banquet in the spring, were the cause of much speculation.¹²⁵ In 1960, Dr. Brice organized the 402 Workshop, an invited group of creative writers, among whose activities support for all the college publications, but particularly for the Miscellany, was announced. The literary magazine experimented with different sizes and colors of covers and sought to encourage student creative talents. The poems and short stories had many references to ocean waves, stars, love, death, and life's meaning. There was some evidence of concern with politics, Cuba, race relations, and Vietnam. Its tone was generally pessimistic. "We like very little or nothing of the world we live in, and we believe ourselves...the new breed who will take this sadly misshapen...planet and remold it to correct the errors of our elders...Just whom are we kidding?" asked one editorial. Another young woman proclaimed (much to the distress of some alumnae), "We have found there is no God...We are born dead, deceived."

Dr. Spencer had always defended students' right of free expression. On one occasion, he wrote to an irate college patron, "Most educators feel that students should be allowed to express their judgment on controversial questions even if their opinions should not coincide with established institutional policies." There is no question that occasional student editorials or comments were embarrassing, or even offensive, but there is no indication that any form of censorship or control was ever exerted by his administration, and all three publications continued and grew.¹²⁶

* * * *

It is interesting to trace the development of Dr. Spencer's ideas about women as he responded to the challenges of his presidency. In his opening convocation on 19 Sept. 1959, he declared,

You as women face a much less certain future. Most of you will eventually marry... you will automatically give up freedom of choice about many things in your life... your husband's occupation will determine your fields of interest, the geographic setting of your life...the sense of purpose in women's education is not as specific as a man's. Women need broad, non-specialized skills which will enable them to meet their responsibilities to their husband and children, and to society. Women are the custodians of culture. College is a good place to meet the right kind of man and he you.

It might have been Dr. Lewis or even Dr. Jarman speaking. A bit later, however, addressing a church group, Dr. Spencer insisted that more women should be encouraged to go to college. "Society does not understand about educating women seriously. It is fashionable in certain areas to send daughters to Virginia for a year or two to acquire charm and grace. I have no patience with that," he declared. "Women need a solid, well balanced education."

By 1963, writing to a free-lance reporter, Dr. Spencer had shifted, somewhat, his position.

Women today need to prepare for two careers; more than half the women who marry will eventually reenter the labor force...Women need an education based on broad principles... they must know how to analyze, discriminate, make sound judgments...[a woman] must be allowed her choice of the types of work she wishes.

In 1967, answering the question, "Which comes first—the community or the individual?", Dr. Spencer replied:

...both must be in equilibrium: the claims of both are legitimate. Society needs persons who understand that individual rights and community responsibilities are neither antithetical nor mutually exclusive. I hope Mary Baldwin will continue to produce its share of persons with this kind of understanding.

At what turned out to be his last public appearance, Dr. Spencer, in 1968, spoke to the Mary Baldwin graduating seniors. He had just returned from a trip to Europe to check on the program in Madrid and to look at the possibility of setting up a similar junior year in Munich. He had been unable to go to Paris because of student riots, and he said soberly that student "unrest" stretched from "Prague to Berkeley." It was, he remarked wryly, "reassuring [to find] that my office was still open, the desk and books as they had been left and student assaults being made, not on the Administration building, but on the exams then in progress." There is, however, he said no reason for complacency:

...We must acknowledge the fact that our very lack of disturbance would be considered ominous and unhealthy by those who feel that direct action represents the only solid evidence of concern on the part of the younger generation. I must say to you members of this class of 1968 that I, too, would be seriously disturbed by our business as usual situation

if I thought that it signaled a lack of concern on your part—a failure to share the almost intuitive reaction of your generation against the ineffectual nature of the solutions the older generation has offered for the world's ills, and the conscious or subconscious hypocrisy with which we have defended outworn platitudes.

For if this were so—if it were so that you do not share the legitimate aspirations of young people today for New Testament rather than Old Testament solutions—it would mean that you leave Mary Baldwin College after four years without two things which are essential to your making any contribution. The first is a proper understanding of the fact that despite our affluence and the pleasurable things that come with it, the world is not yet redeemed either in the material or the spiritual sense...

The second is a feeling of responsibility for doing something about this strife and misery. Of course it is quite possible, given the enclave of privilege in which most of us live, to isolate ourselves from it, to build walls which comfortably shut out the sight and sounds of the less fortunate. I desperately hope you will not yield to this very seductive temptation...

Actually, I do not fear such disillusionment. The careers you are choosing indicate that riots, protests and street demonstrations are not the only barometers of student concern...

...A fundamental cause of disruption at such places as Columbia and Berkeley has been a breakdown of the community of learning—a loss of the feeling of coherence and unity which comes from shared purposes and mutual respect. Here at Mary Baldwin our community is far from perfect. But community is still our recognized ideal, and when our unconcern for one another crops up, it is

apparent as an aberration rather than the norm. For at our best, we do have a sense of real community...

The accomplishment of teachers must always be vicarious. If what you succeed in doing is worthwhile, then what we have done is worthwhile. Here is the ultimate justification of the common interest and purpose we have shared with you for four years. As you leave, you carry our colors, and I can only say to you that we have both an earnest hope and a sure confidence that you will carry them well.

The college "girl" of 1957 had become, in Dr. Spencer's eyes, the college "woman" of the troubled 1968.¹²⁷

There was little warning, at least for the general college community, that Dr. Spencer might shortly resign. It was known, of course, that Davidson College would, due to the illness of President Martin, be seeking a new chief executive; but when Campus Comments had asked Dr. Spencer in February 1968 about such a possibility, he answered truthfully that he had not been "approached" on the matter. After the conclusion of the momentous Peaks of Otter retreat, Dr. Spencer had been actively implementing the recommendations of this meeting. He had reorganized his administrative staff in April 1967, and had drawn clearer lines of responsibility and reporting. He had secured additional help for the treasurer and business manager, Mr. Spillman, in the persons of Scott Nininger and Freeman Jones. He had participated in the planning for the Christian College Fund Campaign, which was due to enter an active phase in early 1969. The trustees agreed to his recommendation that Craven E. Williams be named vice-president for Development in March 1968, and Mr. Williams and Mr. Timberlake had begun preliminary plans for a major Mary Baldwin College fund raising project in the near future. A new Admissions Director, Jack Blackburn, was due to begin work in September 1968, thus relieving Miss Hillhouse of some of her many responsibilities. The class of 1972 had all been admitted, new faculty had been hired, and plans for the fall opening of the college were almost complete, when, on 11 July 1968, a formal letter was sent to "All Members of the Faculty

and Staff." It opened, "It is with genuine sadness that I write this letter." After explaining that "after much consideration over the past month," Dr. Spencer said he had agreed to become Davidson College's president and was resigning on 31 August 1968.

It is very difficult for me to leave. It would be impossible if I felt Mary Baldwin would suffer. However, a new president will unquestionably bring to our college new strength and a fresh impetus to further growth...I am proud of what we have achieved together, and confident that we have only begun to see what Mary Baldwin can become.

It was full summer; the students were gone, the faculty scattered, many staff and support personnel were on vacation. The news filtered slowly to all those concerned. There was hardly time to adjust to the change before the freshmen would arrive and classes begin. But there was no feeling of insecurity. Once again, and for the last time, the Triumvirate quietly took over. Dean Grafton was named by the board as acting president; Dean Parker, Dean Hillhouse (she had been named dean of admissions and registrar in 1967), and Mr. Spillman continued on with their usual tasks.

A search committee, which this time included three students, was appointed to seek a new president for the college, and Campus Comments printed in September a loving résumé of the Spencer years. As always, Mrs. Grafton found appropriate words for an ending and a beginning. Dr. Spencer, she said, was an "indefatigable worker, an imaginative leader and a warm personal friend to all of us." But, she added, "I like change. Life wouldn't be much fun without change and growth." She was due to get a bit more change than she had bargained for.¹²⁸

Notes

¹ Montreat, North Carolina is a Presbyterian Conference Center.

² Two members of the MBC board who were particularly interested in having Dr. Spencer come to MBC were John Newton Thomas and Eldon D. Wilson, both important and influential in the Presbyterian Church.

³ Richard Potter, Report to Board of Trustees, 15 Mar 1957 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

Minutes, BT 21 March 1957.

⁴ Monroe Bush, Jr. letter to SRS, 22 Oct. 1956, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁵ Memorandum of telephone conversation, J. N. Thomas and SRS, 1 Nov. 1956 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁶ There is some evidence that both members of the Synod of Virginia and of the MBC Board of Trustees were not at ease with Mr. McKenzie. They did not understand him and found him abrasive. Dr. Spencer was "one of their own" and the communication among them was trustful and open.

⁷ Plan of Development for the Future 1957 SRS Mss-MBC Archives.

⁸ SRS, letter to J. N. Thomas, 20 Dec. 1956, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

Requirements for becoming a Presbyterian Church College included:

- (1) 2/3 trustees to be approved by the Synod. Number trustees 30. Elected to 5 year term, 1/5 elected each year—two term limit.
- (2) President to be a Presbyterian.
- (3) All regular members of the faculty to be "active members of some evangelical church, the majority being Presbyterian"
- (4) Required courses in Bible for graduation.
- (5) Submit to Synod all financial reports.
- (6) Accredited by SACS.
- (7) Board include five alumnae.

The college charter already reflected all of these requirements except for #1.

Nothing was indicated about required church attendance or mandatory chapel.

⁹ In 1922, the synod chose all the trustees and "in effect owned"

the college, as they did Hampden-Sydney. The new charter only specified that they approve two-thirds of those trustees nominated by the current board and provided for board rotation.

¹⁰ Although J. N. Thomas wrote Dr. Spencer that the vote "brings to pass something for which I have worked and hoped for many years before you came into the picture...it was taken on its own merit and before the Committee on Nomination of a president had made its report," it is hard to believe that this action was not influenced by the known views of their prospective president. If they wanted Dr. Spencer, the charter would have to be amended, and it was.

¹¹ J. N. Thomas, letter to "Ava and Sam," 25 Jan. 1957, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹² SRS, letter to J. N. Thomas, 14 March 1957, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹³ In essence the Committee on Higher Educational Institutions of the Synod approved the preliminary development plans of MBC and H-S trustees; the synod campaign would be undertaken at the same time that each college conducted a campaign among its own constituencies—(non Presbyterians within the synod's boundaries and any possible donors elsewhere); funds contributed to the synod campaign could be designated; undesignated funds would be divided 45% MBC, 45% H-S and 10% Presbyterian Guidance Centers and Christian Campus life, and each would bear a commensurate amount of the expenses. The financial objective would be \$2.5 million. See "Our Church on our Campuses," A Summary of the Background of the Report of the Permanent Committee on Christian Education to the Synod of Virginia," 1957. A special offering in January resulted in \$10,000 sent to each college by May 1957. SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹⁴ SRS, "Why Choose a Church College?", nd. SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

SRS, "Commitment to Freedom," speech delivered at St. Andrews College, 4 June 1962, SRS Mss—MBC Archives. These objectives are not unlike those of the 1991 MBC Catalogue (p. 7) "Characteristics of the College of the Third Millennium."

¹⁵ SRS Mss—MBC Archives. The trips involved visits to 13 institutions and were paid for by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

¹⁶ Even if the student body reached 800 (which some were already discussing) Mary Baldwin would still be a "small" college. Dr. Spencer firmly believed that large state institutions lost the

sense of community and caring that characterized smaller institutions. It was necessary to increase the student body in order to achieve "economies of scale" and to provide greater diversity, but he and subsequent administration would struggle to keep the "friendly" intimate campus which had always been one of the major characteristics of the institution since the days of Mary Julia Baldwin.

¹⁷ SRS, letter to Martha Grafton, 24 Oct. 1956; 19 March 1957, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹⁸ In fact, the conflict between administration and faculty has been ongoing ever since the early 1960s, not only at Mary Baldwin but in colleges and universities throughout the country. What had been, in small colleges, at least, a "collegial" relationship, became, in the acrimonious 60s and 70s, "adversarial." It was muted at Mary Baldwin until the 1970s and will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁹ It is not possible to name all the men and women who so generously gave their time and talents on the board of trustees during Dr. Spencer's tenure, but some should be noted. From Staunton and the nearby communities came Richard Clemmer, Hugh Sproul, Jr., William W. Sproul, Gilpin Willson, Jr., Dr. Richard Potter, Rev. F. Wellford Hobbie, Mrs. Clyde Lambert, Mrs. Herbert McKelden Smith, and Dr. Albert R. Gillespie. Edmund D. Campbell served as president of the board of trustees until 1962 and then became General Counsel, a position he held until 1976. Among the faithful and influential alumnae board members during the Spencer years were Mrs. John Deming, Mrs. James Fancher, Mrs. Charles A. Holt, III, Mrs. Don A. Montgomery, Mrs. Robert H. Moore, and Mrs. Walter H. Woodson. Board members who had known and worked closely with Dr. Spencer included the Rev. John R. Cunningham, Dr. D. Grier Martin, Dr. Marvin B. Perry, Dr. John N. Thomas, and Mr. Eldon Wilson.

²⁰ The plaque on the terrace reads:

The Barbara Kares Page Memorial Terrace
given by her family, friends and the choir
and students of the college
in Honor of
Barbara Kares Page 1916-1962
A Highly Effective and Devoted Member
of the Mary Baldwin Staff
From 1949 to 1962

²¹ See Catalogues, 1958 and 1968. Of course these numbers do not include maids, cooks and kitchen help, physical plant and maintenance men and night watchmen. In these years, the college budget grew from \$700,000 to \$2,255,000. Full-time faculty increased from 30 to 56 not counting the faculty in Madrid and Paris. At the same time, the student body increased from 311 to 701. MBB Dec. 1968.

²² Self Study Sept. 1965. The system did, indeed, work well during Dr. Spencer's presidency. However, when five of these senior officers retired within a three-year period there was confusion and uncertainty among their successors.

²³ Self Study Sept. 1965. Minutes, Fac. 31 May 1958. SRS, letter to Ansley E. Moore, 19 Nov. 1962, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

²⁴ SRS Mss—MBC Archives. There may have been no "formal" administrative manual but senior staff became aware that they were responsible for the smooth functioning of their offices.

²⁵ Dr. Spencer could be flexible; it was a "Symposium" but if "Inauguration" would bring Dr. Toynbee, that is what he would call it. SRS Mss—MBC Archives. Dean Leyburn suggested that Dr. Toynbee had agreed to speak because of a "gaffe" which had appeared in his monumental history. He had written that Woodrow Wilson had been born in North Carolina, and it appealed to his sense of humor to be invited to view Wilson's birthplace in Staunton, Virginia. In any case he came, and although much bothered by the camera lights, spoke on "The Proper Study of Mankind is Man." James G. Leyburn, letter to SRS, 28 Sept. 1957 SRS Mss—MBC Archives. The date indicates that Dr. Spencer was already planning this symposium before he had discussed it with the board in Oct. 1957.

²⁶ The careful attention to detail and the combination of MBC and Davidson "connections" is apparent when one considers the following: Dr. Richard Potter, the Rev. Herbert S. Turner, and former President Frank Bell Lewis all gave either invocations or benedictions. Edmund D. Campbell, board of trustees president, presided at the inaugural convocation and spoke briefly. The charge was delivered by the Rev. John Rood Cunningham, former president of Davidson, and the Rev. John Newton Thomas (MBC board and faculty member of Union Theological Seminary) delivered a Dedicatory Prayer. Also present and participating were the Rev. Hunter B. Blakely (former minister of First Presbyterian Church in Staunton and Secretary, Division of Higher Education PCUS), Dean Martha Grafton; Dean Elizabeth Parker; Dr. An-

drew J. Mahler (MBC faculty), the Rev. Philip A. Roberts, Moderator-Elect, Synod of Virginia; the Rev. Bernard E. Bain, Moderator of Synod Virginia; the vice-mayor of Staunton, Richard W. Smith; Betty Lankford Peek, president of the Alumnae Association of MBC. College students from MBC, Hampden-Sydney, and Washington & Lee were on various panels, as were MBC faculty. It was a remarkable "tour de force" and reflected the broad range of acquaintances and friends as well as the empathetic understanding of MBC that the new president possessed. See Program: New Directions in the Liberal Arts, 15-16 April 1958, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

It should be remembered that the college had undertaken a conventional but elaborate and expensive inauguration for President McKenzie three years before (16 April 1955). To use a different format may have been a tactful way of avoiding notice of the short interval between presidents, but this was certainly not Dr. Spencer's principal motive. He was truly interested in innovative methods and contents of college curricula, and the symposium device was an effective way of highlighting that interest.

The seven deans were: Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell, Dr. Elizabeth Hoon (Mrs. E. Robert Cawley), Elizabeth Poole (Mrs. St. George Arnold), Inez Morton (King's College), Katherine Sherrill (Hood College), Elizabeth Parker and Martha Grafton.

²⁷ Campus Comments gleefully reported that over spring break, the dining room (this was, of course, the old dining room on the ground floor of Chapel) had been redecorated. The floor was black and white checkerboard tile, there was new beige wallpaper and modern "draperies." CC 15 April 1958. Even so, it is hard to imagine how all the guests and participants were fed in that limited space. The students had a "box supper" that night. At this time there was only one hotel in Staunton and one or two "guest houses." Accommodations for some of the visitors had to be found in private homes, including the president's and the dean's.

²⁸ The actual surgery was performed on 8 April 1958. In this era, the normal recovery period for an uncomplicated appendectomy was about ten days, more than half of which would have been spent in the hospital. Dr. Spencer's physicians were not at all pleased with his proposed schedule, but cooperated in every way they could.

²⁹ SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

³⁰ The number of letters written to prospective students (and

their parents) who had been denied admission to the college increased markedly over the years. Population growth patterns of the 1960s were such that a large number of college age students were competing for limited space. Although the student numbers at MBC more than doubled during this decade, the Admissions office was able to accept only one out of four or five applicants. In addition to formal notification, Dr. Spencer wrote many personal letters to these disappointed young women. Dr. Spencer's letters in this regard were models of tact and sensitivity. In another vein, Dr. Spencer routinely returned honoraria and checks for travel expenses to their donors, unless they were for activities directly connected with MBC.

³¹ SRS "Improving the Quality of Higher Education" speech, nd, no location, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

³² SRS, letter to Betty Morton, 31 Oct. 1962; letter to Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. 23 Jan. 1958, (Mr. Schlesinger did not come), SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

³³ Minutes, BT 14 Oct. 1957. 90-94.

³⁴ James W. Jackson, letter to SRS, 21 Feb. 1958; SRS, letter to Frank S. Moore, 28 May 1958; SRS, letter to John Cunningham, 24 June, 1958; SRS, letter to John N. Thomas, 19 May 1958, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

The problem arose in considering whether or not donors could "designate" contributions to either MBC, H-S, or PGC. Should this be allowed only after the proposed \$2,500,000 goal was reached or from the start of the effort? Should the undesignated funds be distributed on the basis of student enrollment, in which case H-S would receive considerably more than MBC, or should it be a formula 45-45-10? Should trustees of the two colleges contribute directly to the synod campaign or directly to the college with which they were identified? What about trustees who lived outside synod boundaries or who were not Presbyterian? What about alumni and friends who were not Presbyterian but who lived in the synod geographical area? When should they be solicited? How soon should the college start its own campaign; before the synod's, during or immediately after? Who would pay the expenses of Ketchum, Inc., and on what basis? It took all of 1957, and a good deal of 1958, to work out these answers. Understandably, both Dr. Robert and Dr. Spencer fought hard for their own college's interests, but generally Dr. Spencer mediated and compromised in his effort to strengthen the college-church connection.

³⁵ By 29 May 1959, pledges totaled \$881,254; cash receipts were only \$211,000, from which Ketchum expenses had to be deducted. In the end, MBC received about \$300,000 from the synod campaign. There had been some generous support. First Presbyterian Church in Staunton had pledged \$30,000, plus there had been an additional \$2,045 in individual pledges. Grace Covenant Church in Richmond promised \$75,000, and Second Presbyterian (in Richmond) promised \$100,000. Little Finley Memorial Church in Stuarts Draft (Dr. Grafton was its pastor) pledged \$500 per year for ten years. Its congregation kept its promise. There had been 14,085 gifts specifically designated for MBC; (Hampden-Sydney had 18,657 designated gifts), but 207 of the synod's churches had either ignored the whole thing or refused to participate. One letter to Dr. Spencer declared, "With the attitude of our church, I cannot help but fear integration in our church schools, colleges and churches. I will give nothing to an integrated school, college or church," and added that Dr. Spencer should not come for a visit.

The statistics and quotations in this section are all from the Spencer Mss collection, MBC Archives, labelled "Synod Campaign, 1958-59".

It was probably no help to anyone's feelings that the Methodists in Virginia successfully concluded a \$7 million campaign in 1961.

³⁶ SRS, letter to P. S. Clark, 17 Dec. 1964, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

As President Spencer and Pendleton Clark stood at the top of Market Street looking over the terrain of the proposed campus expansion, Mr. Clark said quietly, "This is a mighty rugged place to have to build on..." but, then, seeing the concern in Dr. Spencer's eyes, he added quickly, "but it has character." Dr. Spencer, thirty years later added, "It took a good deal of courage as well as imagination to convert the whole area into what it is today, and I think they deserve credit for that." SRS to Patricia Menk, 2 Nov. 1988, College Archives.

³⁷ Speaker's Kit, 1958, Christian Higher Education Foundation, np.

³⁸ The urban renewal remark was a bit pointed. The city government was taking the first preliminary steps towards a federally supported "urban renewal project" of its own, two blocks from the college campus. Already there was dissension in the community over the proposal, and, like many urban renewal projects of

the 1960s, the ultimate result fell far short of expectation.

Actually, the college asked for much more than simply the closing of Market Street. Encompassed in the property were three tracts of city-owned land, an undeveloped "Grand Park," and two other parcels designed for future parks. There was also the problem of a narrow, winding dead-end street called Sycamore where there were several private homes and which was supposed, sometime in the future, to connect up with Market Street at the top of the hill. Once the Bickle property was acquired, Sycamore would have to remain "dead end" unless the college would permit access. The final resolution left the Sycamore Street issue unresolved, and it has remained a point of contention with the private landowners from the mid-1960s until the present time.

The college acknowledges with gratitude the recommendations of the "Viewing" Committee, Fred Baylor, M. J. Reid, J. J. Kivlighan, John Clem III and Winston Wine, who recommended acceding to the college's request and to mayor Thomas Hassett, vice-mayor Lewis Knowles and Council who approved the recommendation on 26 March 1959.

³⁹ The timetable looks like this:

1957—Purchase president's home on Edgewood Road

1960—Heating plant, tennis courts

April 1961—Lyda Bunker Hunt Dining Hall-600+ capacity

Sept. 1961—"New Dorm". Named Margaret C. Woodson Residence Hall, April 1964, 136 students

Sept. 1963—"New, New Dorm". Named Samuel R. Spencer, Jr. Residence Hall April 1963, 172 students

Early 1963—Demolition Waddell Chapel; Wilson Terrace dedicated

Sept. 1967—Library opened. Named Martha Stackhouse Grafton Library April 1968

Summer 1967—Academic remodeled

Oct. 1970—Jesse Cleveland Pearce Science Center dedicated.

Between 1958-1965:

21 houses were purchased; many removed, including Bickle, McFarland, Bell houses.

1961—Removal of Covered Way, Sky High, Infirmary, Maid's Cottage—re-laying of heat and water pipes

1962—Removal Chemistry Building (Beckler) — relocated on first floor Academic until 1970 (after temporary relocation on ground floor of Chapel which then had to be removed).

Total cost: \$5,797,000+

⁴⁰ SRS, letter to Emmett B. McGukin, 13 Sept. 1961, SRS Mss—MBC Archives

⁴¹ The Spencer building program saw only the completion of Phase I and II. Phase III was projected for the mid-1970s and by then Dr. Spencer had resigned. Not all the proposals in phase III have been met, but most of them have, although not always in the manner anticipated thirty years ago.

Dr. Spencer reluctantly came to agree that MBC would participate in the National Defense Student Loan Program. "I believe most colleges will try to help their students by participating..." he declared. SRS, letter to Ben Beagle 4 March 1959, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁴² Throughout this decade, there were good friends of the college who gave regularly and generously to support college programs. Grateful acknowledgement to the Deming, Murphy, Wenger, Grant, Rosenberger, Conlon, Cooke, Davis, Donovan, and Montgomery families is made. In addition, the six children of Lyda Bunker Hunt donated \$450,000 in honor of their mother to build Hunt Dining Hall. This gift came at a time early in Phase I when it appeared that not only the synod, but the MBC campaign would fail. It was exactly the kind of encouragement Dr. Spencer needed to persevere with this project. Without the Hunt gift, perhaps the whole expansion of the 1960s would not have taken place. A generous bequest from Margaret C. Woodson provided additional funds for the complicated student tuition packages and a healthy boost to the endowment. The Ford Foundation made significant contributions during this decade. Handsome gifts for the Grafton Library came from the Richard D. Cooke family, from Charles G. Reigner, and from the estate of Austin Y. Hoy (in memory of his mother, Elizabeth Young Hoy). Foundation support included: U. S. Steel, Mary Reynolds Babcock, Frueauff, Esso, Kresge, and Benwood gifts. Friends of Barbara Page contributed \$15,000 for Page Terrace where Commencement is now held; the family of James D. Francis and the widow of Dr. James Cleveland Pearce supported generously the Science Building.

For much of this decade, Mrs. Emily P. Smith acted as National Alumnae Campaign Chairman. She was ably supported by T. Alex Grant, Hugh Sproul, Jr., James Sprunt and Richard Clemmer during Phase I. General A. A. Sproul was chairman of the 1963 MBC Community Campaign for the Library. Much credit should be given to John B. Daffin, who, as special assistant to the president, had been of great influence in securing the major gifts that came to the college during this decade.

⁴³ For most of these years, C. P. Nair was the competent and dedicated chairman of the Trustee Development Committee. Special acknowledgement should be made of James T. Spillman and various college legal counsels (Edmund Campbell particularly) who steered the way through the maze of government contracts and forms. Dr. Spencer was capable of imaginative suggestions when it came to fund raising. On 22 February 1961, he suggested that women's colleges should jointly solicit corporations whose profits came from women's consumer goods, such as cosmetics, hosiery, etc. Nothing further is mentioned of this suggestion. SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁴⁴ By 1966, after much prayerful consideration, the synod authorized a "Christian College Challenge Fund" for the benefit of H-S/MBC. The goal was \$2 million. Ketchum would again direct the effort, and Stuart Shumate (president of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac RR) and Philip A. Roberts were co-chairmen. The seven presbyteries of the synod each had a co-chairman, and undesignated gifts would be divided equally among the two institutions. Hopes for this effort were high. "I feel the Synod has a quite different attitude toward the colleges at this time," SRS wrote. (President's Report to the Synod, April 1964).

By April 1970 about \$1 million had been pledged. MBC's share was ca \$400,000—which was used for Pearce Science Center. SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁴⁵ The vice-presidents for development after James Jackson resigned in 1960 were Joseph W. Timberlake, Jr. and Craven Williams; the director of public relations and publications was Dolores P. Lescure; and the executive director of the alumnae association after 1962 was Virginia Munce.

⁴⁶ The bonds for Bailey Hall were retired Nov. 1966; the Library bonds are to be retired in 1995; Woodson and Pearce will be clear by 1999 and Spencer by 2012. The interest and return of principal payments for these four buildings amounted to \$202,000 annually, which in years of "tight" operating budgets could pose

a severe financial strain. In addition, of course, there were furnishings and equipment needed, upkeep and maintenance to be provided, additional utilities to be budgeted. Both Grafton and Pearce were air-conditioned (the only buildings then on campus that were), and library and especially science equipment is very expensive and needs to be kept state of the art. The operating budget of the college was \$700,635 in 1958-59 and \$2,255,191 in 1967-68. MBB Dec. 1968; Self Study Sept. 1965, Sept. 1975.

⁴⁷ Figures show that in 1970, in spite of increased tuition, the college "subsidized" each student \$5-\$600 a year. Financial aid to students in 1958-59 was \$35,907; in 1967-68, \$208,100. In 1958, the tuition was \$1,650; in 1968, a day student paid \$1,463. MBB Dec. 1968; Cat. 1958-1968.

⁴⁸ Pamphlet, "Tuition Unit Plan" 1960; SRS Mss—MBC Archives; Cat. 1960-1970.

⁴⁹ SRS was paraphrasing a quotation from Winston Churchill when he made this observation to the Synod of Virginia, as it met on the MBC campus, 17 June 1964. During the next decade, this concept of the role of the endowment seemed almost to be accepted, perhaps inevitably. Future trustees would have to deal with the consequences. Also, SRS, letter to R. T. Coleman, 12 April 1962. SRS Mss—MBC Archives. Also Schultz, Karen, "A Decade of Daring," MBB Dec. 1968.

⁵⁰ The Woodson bequest provided that the college would receive the income from 1/5 of her \$4 million estate annually. The assets were never transferred to the college and are managed by the Margaret Woodson Foundation. For purposes of bookkeeping, the \$800,000 was considered an endowment asset. The annual income from it in the 1960s and 1970s was ca \$32,000. In addition, the board had authorized the assigning of non-designated stocks and bonds held in the endowment fund as collateral for some of the loans of the development program. If, in the future, the college could not meet its obligations from its operating fund, some of its endowment was in peril. Self Study Sept. 1965, 88; Sept. 1975, 84. Minutes BT 21 April 1961.

⁵¹ MBB Dec. 1968, 4.

⁵² MBB Nov. 1957, July 1959, Dec. 1959, May 1964, Nov. 1964, April 1966, May 1967, Nov. 1967, June 1968, Dec. 1968. Campus Comments, 3 May 1963 reported that MBC led all the independent women's colleges of the South in the percentage of graduates listed in Who's Who of American Women; one out of every 88 graduates was so listed.

⁵³ The first recipients of the Emily Smith Medallions were:

Mrs. Richard D. Cooke
 Mrs. Neville Ehmann
 Miss Ruth D. See
 Mrs. Sidney B. Shultz
 Miss Fannie B. Strauss
 Mrs. William H. White, Jr.

CC 6 June 1965

⁵⁴ MBB Oct. 1960 Lyda Bunker Hunt (1889-1955) had been a school teacher in Arkansas before her marriage and removal to Texas. Her mother had attended the seminary, and she in turn sent her two daughters, Margaret and Caroline, to Mary Baldwin College. She was elected a trustee in 1939 and served until shortly before her death. She had always been interested in the campus expansion and had contributed generously (and anonymously) to the Bailey dormitory project, as well as many other projects.

⁵⁵ The building did have some unusual features for a college facility. The portico and stuccoed columns matched nicely those of Memorial, Hill Top and Wenger Hall, which were on a horizontal plane with the new building, but the facade was enriched by wrought iron trim, planting beds, and aluminum framed glass doors leading to the terrace. The kitchen and service area was designed by Howard L. Post, who was the Food Service Consultant for the United Nations. Mr. I. Delos Wilson of New York was the primary consultant on interiors for Hunt, Woodson and Spencer. He had his own business and worked well with Dr. Spencer and his MBC advisors, MacDiarmid, Page, Timberlake, Parker, and others, including students. The cupola atop the roof, adorned with the cast iron symbol of hospitality—a pineapple—is a yearly challenge as college maintenance men mount a Christmas star each December. SRS Mss—MBC Archives. MBB Oct. 1960.

⁵⁶ The official name is Margaret Cunningham Craig Woodson Residence Hall. She was a member of the board from 1940-1963 and was a generous supporter of the college. The building was named in her honor with a cornerstone ceremony 17 April 1964. Minutes BT 1 Nov. 1963, 17 April 1964.

The meditation room was made possible by Gladys Palmer Fickling and Elsie Palmer Adams. The old meditation room had been a small closet off the old chapel auditorium and the students had requested a new location. They shared in the planning for the Palmer Room. SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁵⁷ It is traditional to name college buildings only after deces-

ed individuals, but everyone agreed that "Spencer Residence Hall" was appropriate and the name was authorized.

MBB June 1963, Dec. 1963; CC 2 June 1963, 11 Sept. 1963; Minutes BT 10 Nov. 1961, 25 Oct. 1962; President's Report to BT, Oct. 1963 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁵⁸ Mrs. Gerald Donovan, letter to SRS, 12 Dec. 1961 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁵⁹ SRS, letter to Elizabeth Camp Ebbott, ?Jan. 1962 SRS Mss—MBC Archives. The Chapel's foundations were never strong enough to support the additional floor Mary Julia Baldwin had added in 1871. In the early years of the 20th century W.W. King had been concerned about the building's stability. Some bracing had occurred in the 1920s and further improvements were made in the 1930s, but the college was indeed fortunate that no major tragedy had occurred.

⁶⁰ CC 9 Mar. 1962; MBB Apr. 1962. A picture of the old Chapel was on the cover; a sketch of proposed outdoor Chapel on back cover.

⁶¹ MBB Dec. 1963. The Mary Julia Baldwin Memorial window was carefully removed before the Chapel was demolished and has since been mounted in the Grafton Library. Also discovered in a cornerstone from the building was a broken wine decanter and fragments of a document stating that the Presbyterian congregation in Staunton erected the building in 1817 "...the first year of the presidency of James Monroe."

Some years later, two antique urns, adorned with ram's horn handles were placed on either side of the Wilson Terrace entrance. They had come from an old estate in Augusta County and had been given to the college by Horace and Mercer Day in memory of Elizabeth Nottingham Day. CC 15 Feb. 1963.

⁶² Mr. and Mrs. Henry Wenger had been generous supporters of the college in the 1950s, and had contributed to the Bailey Residence Hall and Student Activities Building project. An additional gift had been made which Dr. Spencer added to the funds he was collecting for the library and he had written to ask what recognition they would think appropriate. The correspondence is lacking, but in 1963 a brief notice in college publications announced that the student activities building would be called the Consuelo Slaughter Wenger Building. Mrs. Wenger graduated from Mary Baldwin Seminary in 1919.

SRS, letter to Henry E. Wenger, 21 Dec. 1961.

SRS, letter to William B. Coleman, Jr., spring 1960 (re Ham

and Jam). SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

Shortly after the restoration of "Ham and Jam," the Alumnae Association commissioned bookends made in their image. These remained popular for many years and have been revived for the Sesquicentennial.

⁶³ SRS letter to John Owen, 5 May 1964, 15 June 1964, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁶⁴ Typed report in SRS Mss—MBC Archives by Richard B. Harwell. The Librarian in question was Gertrude C. Davis, who had come to the college in 1957 (after a temporary appointment earlier in the 1950s). She remained during the ensuing decades, coping with all of the pressures of lack of space, small budgets, and student discontent. She helped plan the new library, oversaw the transfer of the contents from Academic in the summer of 1967, and established the high standards of professionalism and service that have characterized the library ever since.

⁶⁵ At one time, Dr. Spencer very tentatively suggested he might call the library "Jefferson Davis" because a possible major donor was a devoted member of the UDC. He also considered "Woodrow Wilson" and a "League of Nations" Terrace with a large globe in the entrance foyer and flags displayed. Student reaction was immediate and again negative. It would look like the "World's Fair"; "we already have a Woodrow Wilson memorial [the Terrace] and I see no real point in having another"... "the ideas look out of place..." "The League of Nations is 'dead now'". CC 9 Oct. 1964. SRS, letter to Desiree L. Franklin, 28 Feb. 1962. The library remained unnamed until 1968.

⁶⁶ The final figure was \$1,500,000 including furnishings. The financial breakdown was as follows: \$326,676—Federal grant; \$639,000—Federal loan; and \$322,683—college funds. SRS Mss—MBC Archives. Clark, Nexsen & Owen were assisted by J. Russell Bailey of Orange, Virginia who was a nationally recognized library consulting architect, and every effort was made to incorporate the most recent and imaginative ideas about libraries in the design. The MBC tradition of open stacks was continued, and there was a big allowance for expansion. The building was free-standing and surrounded by terraces and graduated walkways with planters and trees. The traditional Mary Baldwin exterior was observed, cream or pale yellow paint and white columns, and there were many vertical windows and much sunlight. The floors were all carpeted (once the problem of static electricity was solved) and the mezzanine curved gracefully above the main floor.

⁶⁷ During the Spencer years, the college athletic field, which was some distance from the campus, was sold to groups of investors who were planning to build a regional post office, public health and social security facility and medical offices. This remaining portion of Miss Baldwin's farm brought the college \$140,000 but meant there was little space for "field activities" after 1965. In addition, the "Art Building" on the corner of Market and Frederick was sold to the First Presbyterian Church in 1968 for \$16,500. The college, after 1962, used the sanctuary of First Presbyterian Church for its biweekly chapel and annual baccalaureate services and, after 1969, the Tate Demonstration School was moved to leased quarters in the Potter Building to make room for the Science Center. Minutes EC 2 July 1968, 13 June 1969.

⁶⁸ CC 1964-65 passim; 1966-67 passim, particularly 4 June 1967.

⁶⁹ There have been three official versions of the institution's seal. From 1842-95 there was a shield with the letters AFS interwoven. From 1895-1929, the Baldwin family shield with oak leaves and squirrel was used for the seminary. Around the band were the words "Virtute et Opera." Since 1929, the college seal has incorporated the Baldwin shield encircled by "Non Pro Tempore sed Aeternitate" ("Not for the present but for eternity") CC 15 Nov. 1957.

⁷⁰ Mrs. Grafton had been told shortly before the public announcement. She said it was a "good thing or else I would have been dissolved in tears." The choir sang Psalm 150, for which the music had been written by Gordon Page. They also sang a selection, "A Hymn for Mary Baldwin," written by Mr. Page to the tune of an old Scandinavian folk melody. This had first been performed in 1966 but increasingly became an "unofficial" alma mater. A Campus Comments editorial called Mrs. Grafton "a warm and wise person," saying the library was a "symbol" of her "strength and faith." CC 25 Apr. 1968; MBB June 1968.

⁷¹ The faculty offices in Spencer were "substandard" because they had been created by plasterboard partitions, which touched neither the floor nor the ceiling. They afforded no privacy, poor lighting, and whenever a large lecture class was in session, the faculty heard it in their "offices." The lecture classes moved to Francis Auditorium or to a large lecture room in King by the early 1970s, freeing the space in Spencer for the "Chute."

⁷² The Chemistry department was designated as the John B.

Daffin Department of Chemistry by the board of trustees, acceding to the request of faculty and former students. MBB Apr. 1966.

John B. Daffin coordinated the committee work; honorary chairmen were Edwin F. Conger and W. P. Tams, Jr.; alumnae members were Margaret Richardson '46; and Josephine Hannah Holt '44; there were student members, community leaders, medical doctors, university physicists, chemists and biologists and industrial representation. Later Richard D. Robertson and American Safety Razor Corporation offered material as well as technical advice. Dr. John Mehner ably represented faculty wishes, throughout the planning.

⁷³ The infirmary was moved to North Market Street next to Blakely house.

⁷⁴ \$462,000 grant U.S. Office Education
 \$395,255 college funds (including synod's)
 \$772,000 Federal loan. Eventually, the total cost was
 \$2,200,000. MBB May 1967; June 1968.

During 1967-68, a student campaign to raise funds for the Science Center took place. There was a Christmas Carnival, a "Mad Hatter's Bizarre," faculty skits, for which tickets were sold, and bake sales. Jeanne Schaub was in charge of the student effort, but no final figure for the student contribution has been found. The effort had been so vigorous and well publicized for the library that it was perhaps too much to expect that the whole process could repeat itself. Also, the next two years (1968-70) while the Science Center was in the process of construction were a time of change, controversy and protest. Student attention was fragmented and overwhelmed. See issues CC 1969-70.

The Synod Christian College Fund Campaign began in 1968 and technically lasted until 1974, although, as always, the major contributions were made in the first year. Although a goal of \$2 million had been set (to be divided equally between H-S and MB), only \$1,093,000 in net receipts were realized. Expenses had amounted to \$71,000, and MB received \$492,681 to be used for Pearce. Only the undesignated gifts were divided equally between the two colleges and thus, H-S got a larger share. Auditor's Report, 1974; CC 1 June 1969.

⁷⁵ By 1964, there were 11.3 million persons between the ages of 18-22 in the U.S., an increase of 2.8 million from that same age group in 1952. That year, only 25% of 18-23 year olds were in college; by 1964, 42.3% were enrolled in colleges or universities. A

possible danger signal might have been noted. In 1951, half of all students attended private colleges; by 1964, only 35.4% (about a third) of them were in private institutions. The percentage of students enrolled in private colleges would continue to decline.

MBB Nov. 1964; Sept. 1968. These figures mean that in 1965 over 600 applicants were rejected (out of 1,000). Note that the number of freshmen enrolled declined after 1966, partly because retention in the upper classes improved and there was simply no room for more.

⁷⁶The Admissions Committee was composed of Dean Grafton, Dean Parker, Miss Hillhouse, and three faculty members who served three-year terms. Dr. Spencer was an *ex officio* member but, other than seeing that the committee had all available information about each applicant, he left them strictly on their own to make the best possible selections. SAT scores of entering students increased from 933 to 1080 between 1958 and 1968. MBB Sept. 1968

⁷⁷MBB June 1970, president's report to BT, 17 Apr. 1964, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁷⁸Cat. 1958, 13; 1964, 25. Dr. Spencer made it clear that in his view and Dean Grafton's the admission of black students was a policy decision whose time had come. It was the "right thing to do."

CC May 1963, Minutes BT 19 Apr. 1963, SRS, letter to Patty Joe Montgomery, 17 May 1963, SRS Mss—MBC Archives. It was not until 1968 that the first black young woman enrolled at MBC as a full-time boarding student. She was Lelia Ann Lytle (class '72) from Waynesboro, Va. She was shortly followed by Aurelia Crawford (class '74), but no black students actually enrolled during Dr. Spencer's presidency.

⁷⁹CC 3 May 1963, 25 Oct. 1963, 26 Feb. 1965, 16 April 1965. Generally, the college situation was made easier than it otherwise might have been by local community actions. The public library, movie houses and the downtown eating places were quietly desegregated in the early 1960s, and the public schools were desegregated in 1963-64. This is not to suggest that there was not tension and upheaval, and the city was actually part of a regional suit brought by the NAACP concerning the schools. But long before the case could be heard, the school board and the city (as well as surrounding areas) had voluntarily desegregated. There were no riots or massive civil disobedience demonstrations. Some members of the MBC community faculty and staff, including President Spencer, participated in memorial services and marches

for Martin Luther King, and chapel services took note of the tragic assassinations of the 1960s. Campus Comments had a policy of not "covering" national news events, and reading the college newspapers of these years gives little clue to campus emotions. Much higher visibility of these issues, the Vietnam War and eventually feminism occurred in the 1970s.

⁸⁰ Minutes BT 15 Apr. 1966.

President's Report 14 Apr. 1967. Dr. Spencer was a good prophet—the next decade was very hard for single-sex colleges—even more difficult than he could have dreamed it would be.

It is interesting to note that Davidson College, N. C. (formerly all male) became a coeducational institution within five years of Dr. Spencer becoming its president in 1968.

⁸¹ Quoted in MBB Dec. 1968.

Acceptance Address SRS, MBB May 1958 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁸² The equipment cost \$6,298 in 1958 and was contributed anonymously. There was considerable reshuffling of language faculty personnel and office space in this decade. All students had to present the equivalent of two years of a foreign language for graduation, and as the student body increased, so did the number of faculty. Occasional classes in Latin, in Chinese, and in Russian were also taught in response to student demand. Finding office space and determining whether or not there would be a Chairman of the Modern Language Department or whether each language would have its "own" senior member involved some interesting personality clashes. Mlle. Flansburgh retired in 1960 (she had been at the college since 1927) and Miss Fannie in 1962. Vega Lytton remained, and alumnae will remember Julian White, Dorothy Mulberry, Barbara Ely, Frances Jacob, and Kurt Kehr, all of whom were members of the college faculty during the Spencer years. There were others, some from France, Spain and Germany, but they usually stayed either one or two years and space does not permit listing all their names, although many achieved enduring friendships with other faculty and students.

⁸³ SRS Mss—MBC Archives; Minutes Fac. 16 Sept. 1958, 7 May 1963; President's Report 1960 SRS Mss—MBC Archives; CC 3 May 1963; Self Study 1965 p. 76.

⁸⁴ SRS, letter to Myron F. Wicke, 25 Aug. 1958, SRS Mss—MBC Archives

SRS Mss—MBC Archives

Pamphlets "The Independent Reading Program for Fresh-

man and Sophomores" June 1958, MBC Archives.

The list included: Homer, The Iliad; Rostand, Cyrano de Bergerac; Hugo, The Hunchback of Notre Dame; Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress; Durant, The Story of Philosophy; Virgil, The Aeneid; Goethe, Faust (Part I); Carroll, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland; Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter; Toynbee, Civilization on Trial; Dante, Divine Comedy, I; Aeschylus, the Oresteian Trilogy; Dostoevski, The Brothers Karamazov; Swift, Gulliver's Travels, Darwin, Origin of the Species. The choices were often modified over the eight years the program lasted.

⁸⁵ SRS, letter to Harold H. Laskey, 1 July 1959 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁸⁶ SRS Mss—MBC Archives; CC 24 Apr. 1964, 6 June 1965; Minutes Fac. 13 Apr. 1965, 4 Jan. 1966.

⁸⁷ Among the speakers and programs were: "America in Asia, How Ugly?," "Post Christian Era—Is It Now?," "College Manners and Morals," "Supreme Court, Temple and Forum," "The Latin American Revolution," "Our Expanding Universe," "India's Foreign Policy," "Dynamics of Marxist Revolution," "Value of Scholarship," "The Contemporary American Woman," "The U.S. and the Communist World," "Southeast Asia and the U.S.," "Oriental and Occidental Ideas," "Uses of Power in University Governance."

Among the lecturers were Dr. Charles Reigner, John Scott (of Time magazine), Denis Brogan, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Dr. Marjorie Reeves, Robert Speaight (Murder in the Cathedral), Dr. Huston Smith (MIT), Dean Vaman Kantak (University of Baroda, India), Basil Rathbone, Howard Nemerov, Helen Hill Miller, Dr. Roland M. Frye (Folger Library), Emlyn Williams, Dr. W.W. Sayre, Charles McDowell, Arthur S. Link, Erskine Caldwell, William C. Battle, Frank Bell Lewis, Joseph Campbell, The Rev. George A. Chauncy. Others were former Chancellor of Austria Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, Dr. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari (Director of the Museum of Modern Art in Madrid), Julian Marias, Dr. Katie Louchheim, Victor L. Butterfield, Bruce Catton, Jacqueline Grennan, General Alfred M. Gruenther, the Rev. William Glenesk ("Jesus Wore Long Hair"), Governor Hulett Smith of West Virginia, Paul A. Freund; Manuel Santana, (tennis exhibition), Arnold Toynbee, Dame Judith Anderson, and John Baillie of Edinburgh.

In addition, the National Symphony and the Columbia Boys' Choir appeared regularly through the King Series.

⁸⁸ President's Report 1963, 1964 SRS Mss—MBC Archives;

CC 3 Nov. 1961 (whole edition), 17 May 1963; Minutes Fac. 29 May 1961, 7 Sept. 1962.

Dr. Spencer visited Madrid in Nov. 1963 and was "much gratified"; the faculty, he said, are the "most eminent persons in Spain." Actually, Dorothy Mulberry stayed for three years in Madrid; 1962-65; and Dr. Ely became the director in 1965-66 for a two-year period. It was not always easy to persuade parents that their daughters would be safe in Franco's Madrid (and later in anarchistic Paris). Another spin-off from the overseas programs was student attitudes toward college social regulations after they returned. They "stimulated" the campus in ways Dr. Spencer had perhaps not anticipated.

Some European faculty did visit the college: Julian Marias was a visiting scholar for a month in 1965 and was here on at least three other occasions. Students in the Spanish house had fund raising activities to pay for Dr. Enrique Lafuente's visits in 1967.

⁸⁹ SRS, letter to Martha Grafton, 1963 SRS Mss—MBC Archives; Minutes BT 20 Oct. 1967, SRS Mss—MBC Archives; CC 29 Sept. 1967, 8 Dec. 1967.

⁹⁰ The Oxford program was really the child of Dr. Ben Smith and Professor Marjorie Reeves of St. Anne's College. She had visited Mary Baldwin in 1966, and a relationship between MBC and St. Anne's was established which endures to this day. After several years, the program was partnered with Davidson College and then became part of the offerings of a consortium of Virginia colleges and universities. There is always a resident director from a Virginia college.

⁹¹ MBB Nov. 1964, Autumn 1965.

⁹² MBB May 1965; Minutes BT 9 Apr. 1965.

⁹³ Almost all of these lectures and programs were attended by the entire student body, not always voluntarily. Most of them were presented during the "required" Friday convocations, and there are occasional remarks in Campus Comments about "boring" lectures and esoteric topics. But, in spite of student protest or indifference, there is no question that the intellectual atmosphere of the campus was enhanced by these events. They were part of the "intellectual vigour" Dr. Spencer had promised, and the students absorbed more than they knew from four years of exposure to these ideas.

⁹⁴ The luncheon tickets cost \$10 each and were sold on a first-come basis except for a small number reserved for distinguished guests.

The timing of this affair is significant. As far as Dr. Spencer and the college were concerned, they were still recovering from the elaborate cornerstone laying for Hunt Dining Hall, which had been held 22 October 1960, five days earlier. There was also the small matter of the luncheon beverage. Mrs. Smith insisted that there must be champagne for the luncheon toasts; Dr. Spencer reminded her that college policy forbade alcohol on the campus. There appeared to be a compromise with "sparkling" grape juice, but when the honorees' table on the stage was served, it was with champagne. The rest of the 700 drank apricot nectar. Even more important was the fact that the election of 1960 was less than a week away. The White House and Mrs. Smith both insisted that the trip was "non-political" (after all, Woodrow Wilson had been a Democrat), but many people did not think it was. Democratic Virginia had twice voted for a Republican president, and the Virginia senior senator Harry F. Byrd had supported Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956. When the word reached the governor of Virginia, J. Lindsay Almond (who supported Kennedy), that President Eisenhower was coming, a difficult problem arose. Almond solved it by flying to the Shenandoah Valley to welcome the President of the United States to Virginia, and then he immediately flew back to Richmond. The two Virginia senators, Harry F. Byrd and A. Willis Robertson, stayed with President Eisenhower all day. No reference was made during the entire Virginia visit to the pending 1960 election. In spite of this, Dr. Spencer did not escape unscathed. Several letters from alumnae and others criticized the Eisenhower visit, and one person even declared she had taken the college out of her will. SRS Mss—MBC Archives; MBB Nov. 1960; Oral interview, SRS and Patricia Menk, 9 Jan. 1991.

⁹⁵ The topics of the lectures are interesting: they included, "New Horizons in Ecological Research," "The Place of Computers in our Society," "Economics of Environmental Pollution," "Marshland Dramatics," "Impact of Deficient Diets on Human Behavior," "Fallacies about Feeding the U.S. and Feeding the World." MBB Nov. 1967.

The students at the College Bowl were Van Lear Logan, Susan Gamble, Anne Scholl, Barbara Shuler. The alternate was Kay Culbreath. The final score was 220-110. MBB May 1967.

The Russian Revolution Seminar was funded by the Teacher's Service Center of the American Historical Association. About 200 public school teachers attended the two-day event, which included

an art exhibit, a recital by the college choral group and movies as well as the lectures. Minutes Fac. 2 Oct. 1967.

⁹⁶ MBB Nov. 1966 The trilogy was composed of "A Visit to the Sepulcher," "The Lament of Mary," and "The Stranger." The students were Ginny Royster '64, Anne Corbin '64, Cecelia Flow '61, and Linda Dolly '61.

⁹⁷ CC 8 Dec. 1966, 8 Dec, 1967.

⁹⁸ MBB May 1964. Cat. 1968-69; CC 10 May 1963, SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

⁹⁹ This was an era of much student discontent around the country. There was criticism of huge lecture sections, graduate students teaching in place of distinguished professors, the impersonality of large institutions, the "publish or perish" mandate. In other places, faculty and administrative offices were occupied and trashed, demonstrations rent the academic community, and adversarial relationships became the accepted mode of communication. Campus Comments remarked, "We at Mary Baldwin are very fortunate that our faculty...is above all dedicated to the responsibility of teaching. Our professors are accessible both inside and outside the classroom." CC 5 Mar. 1965.

Mary Baldwin's answer to these challenges was the new curriculum. It is interesting to note that all but one member of the committee who drew up the plan had joined the faculty since 1960. Their academic credentials were impressive, coming as they did from major American and European universities, and they were influenced by these trends. The faculty, in accepting their recommendations, sincerely felt that they were following Dr. Spencer's commitment for "intellectual vigour." The committee members were Marjorie Chambers, Chairman; Ulysse Desportes; Joseph Garrison; Robert Lafleur; John Mehner; Frances Jacob; and Martha Grafton, *ex officio*. Minutes, Fac. 3 Jan. 1967; Cat 1968-69; MBB June 1968.

¹⁰⁰ CC 14 Apr. 1967, 17 Nov. 1967.

¹⁰¹ The early Self-Study (the college has now had three of them) was not opened to public perusal; nor were the "recommendations" published. The chapter on "Financial Resources" was considered particularly sensitive. Copies of the report were kept in the president's office for many years. Although some of the faculty resented the work involved, it did provide them an opportunity to collectively (and relatively anonymously) express their opinions about a number of aspects of the college's program. It was one more indication of the increasing openness of the college

world. "Institutional Self-Study" Mary Baldwin College, Sept. 1965 "confidential". Minutes BT Apr. 1964, 15 Oct. 1965, April 1967.

¹⁰² Beta Beta Beta (biology) had had a chapter since 1948. Minutes Fac. 23 Jan. 1968.

The Woodrow Wilson Fellows were Joan Goolsby and Ann Singletary.

¹⁰³ Dr. Spencer had already made one Founders' Day address and one regular commencement address at Mary Baldwin before 1963. He was generally very popular with the students, and if he had agreed, the students would have asked him to speak even more frequently. After 1963, he always made a brief presentation at commencements, but there were no more formal commencement speakers until the Lester administration. Dr. Huston Smith was asked to return for Founders' Day in 1963 and did so. The students dedicated the 1964 Bluestocking to him.

¹⁰⁴ President's Report, 11 Mar. 1960, 17 Apr. 1964. In 1964, there were 15 professors, eight associate professors, eight assistant professors, and 10 instructors. The age distribution was four between 20-29 years; 23 between 25-44 years; 13 between 50-64 years, and four over 65, and this reflected the situation for the remainder of Dr. Spencer's presidency. The faculty/student ratio was 1/14. Self Study 1965.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes, BT 21 Mar. 1957.

In these days, individual salary amounts were considered confidential, as indeed was the college budget, indebtedness and sources of income. Faculty appointments were made by the president with the advice of the dean, who usually (but not always) consulted with senior faculty of the discipline before choosing among potential prospects. A personal interview was required, but no classroom presentations were made, nor was any student input sought.

SRS Mss—MBC Archives

¹⁰⁶ In 1967, Dr. Spencer persuaded the trustees to allow him to add \$50,000 to the total faculty payroll, in order to qualify for Phi Beta Kappa consideration. He called it a "daring step" and compared it to FDR's call for 50,000 airplanes in 1940. It resulted in MBC being number 2 on the VFIC list, but only briefly.

Minutes BT 20 Oct. 1967

In 1967, the figures show that 60% of the faculty had been hired since 1960. The consequences of this in the outlook and attitude of these men and women is obvious. Fourteen faculty and

administrators were members of Phi Beta Kappa.

¹⁰⁷ Self-Study 1965

SRS, letter to William Wendel, 14 Sept. 1964 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹⁰⁸ Concerning student/faculty evaluation, the administration was generally cool to the idea. In 1959 a SGA committee had prepared confidential evaluations on each department and they had been distributed to the faculty, but they were not encouraged to repeat the exercise. Mrs. Grafton felt they had a "right" to do this if they chose, but, she said, "it might disturb student-faculty relations needlessly" and "it might be taken too seriously by the faculty themselves. Overevaluation is a menace which ought to be sensibly avoided." In 1967, a student faculty committee to study the whole concept was reactivated but no policy was adopted at this time.

"Project Opportunity" was sponsored in 1965 by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and the Ford Foundation. Seventeen "southern colleges" were to "search out" talented youths from disadvantaged backgrounds at the seventh and eighth grade levels and devise programs which would enrich their secondary school experiences and prepare them for admission to college. MBC joined the University of Virginia in focusing on two high schools in Nelson County. Some 52 children were involved, and they attended cultural and academic events on both campuses for several years. Funding disappeared in the 1970s. Self-Study 1965.

At the same time that the faculty voted to ban smoking at their meetings, they voted that smoking in classrooms would be permitted with the permission of the instructor.

¹⁰⁹ Part of the formalization of faculty regulations had provided that a continuing, or tenured, contract terminated at age 65. Yearly appointments might be made thereafter, at the pleasure of the president, until age 70 at which time retirement was mandatory. Some emeriti continued to serve in other ways. Dr. Turner acted as the college chaplain for several years, Miss Fannie worked closely with the alumnae office, and Mr. Daffin was special assistant to the president until 1967.

¹¹⁰ The Spencer appointments had considerable stability, although not all those listed stayed until they retired. Others who were on the faculty for a shorter period were William Kimball, Julian White, Mary Jane Donnalley, Alan Geyer, Anne Miller, June Woodhall, Kurt Kehr, Carl Edwards, Joanne Ferriot, and

Ellen Vopicka. Longtime library staff were Dorothy Ferrell, Alice Simpkins, Catherine Rosen and Janet Leonard. There were others whose tenure was briefer, and while appreciated, are not listed here. A complete listing of all faculty and staff is in the College Catalogues 1957-1968.

¹¹¹ Cat. 1968.

¹¹² The "Young Democrats" were organized on campus 22 Nov. 1963; the "Young Republicans" on 17 Jan. 1964.

Campus Comments described chapel and convocation behavior as based on "indifference, immaturity, pure laziness." A later comment asked sarcastically, "Should we sell popcorn?" Editorials said the students left "The Club" in a "gigantic mess," and another said that all students cared about is "flicking (movies), bridgebopping and discussing the merits of various fraternities". CC 16 Jan. 1959, 26 Feb. 1961, 21 Apr. 1966, 11 Dec. 1964, 21 Apr. 1967. Perhaps it should be remembered the student editors are frequently harder on their peers than their elders would be.

¹¹³ In 1965, President Spencer's report to the trustees mentioned, "...we have our normal share of student problems of varying kinds...[but] morale...is high and there is an unusual degree of stability in comparison with the unrest on many campuses...[There is now] an understandable social sensitivity with regard to the civil rights movement." President's Report 16 Apr. 1965. SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹¹⁴ Handbook 1965, 99.

¹¹⁵ Handbook 1959, 1968; CC 8 Feb. 1963, 1 Mar. 1963, 21 Feb. 1964, 17 Apr. 1964, 1 May 1964, 11 Feb. 1966, 29 Feb. 1968, 11 Apr. 1968.

¹¹⁶ CC 20 Oct. 1966, 3 Mar. 1966. There were heavy snowstorms during the decade of the 60s; 11 separate episodes in 1960-61; 15" fell on 19 Mar. 1960 and 30" in Mar. 1966.

¹¹⁷ All of these references are in Campus Comments 1958-68; "Mystery Meat" turned out to be, in answer to a student's query, milk-fed veal from Wisconsin! The students still rejected it. CC 24 Feb. 1966. Alumnae will enjoy recalling the mercantile establishments "downtown" (no malls as yet) who supported student publications by their advertisements. Rick's "Coed Corner," Central Drug Store, Morgan's Music Center, the Palais Royal, Hogsheads, Schwarzschild's, Leggetts', Woodward, The Homestead Restaurant, Bennie's Shoe Store, Fink's Jewelry, H.L. Lang, New York Dress Shop, The Sportsmen, Emily's Knit Shop,

Carl's Pastry Shop, all welcomed the students year after year.

¹¹⁸ Needless to say, the MBC Infirmary did not provide "the pill." CC 2 Nov. 1967. Zero population growth was a very popular movement in the late 1960s. Couples planned merely to replace themselves and a family of two children (one of each sex) was considered "ideal."

¹¹⁹ All of these reactions are found in Campus Comments for these years. From time to time, the MBB would print stories about changing student mores, but always "after the act" and with little emphasis on the process involved. Alumnae, of course, were often the harshest critics of these changes and administrators spent much time and effort in "explaining" and defending new policies. Generally Dr. Spencer had such good rapport with alumnae and board members, who trusted him, that they accepted his word that new relationships were inevitable. Future administrations, dealing with more extreme issues, had greater difficulty in winning acceptance.

For those who have forgotten, the "apartment" rule provided that students could visit apartments or "cabins" in Lexington and Charlottesville only when two or more couples were present. They were not allowed to attend parties in motels or hotels. The "approved housing" required that a student make room reservations through the dean's office when she was spending the weekend at a college or university town. She was expected to "check in" with her hostess and to observe college "hours" for returning. The hours were quite generous—Friday 3:00 a.m.; Saturday 2:00 a.m. The much resented "25 mile" rule extended all college regulations about driving in automobiles, times for sign ins and outs, and the use of alcoholic beverages to the territory within a 25 mile radius of the city limits of Staunton. A student was on her honor to report any personal violations of these regulations and also to encourage other students whom she might observe violating them to report themselves. Failure to do this constituted a serious Honor violation. Handbook 1962 and others.

¹²⁰ One prerequisite for a successful college president is that he have trustees who will come to meetings, work hard and are generally supportive of his program. By 1966, there were many new faces on the board, partly because the rotation rule had had time to take effect and partly because of the attrition of age and illness. Dr. Spencer had used these opportunities to appoint congenial, like-minded, but not uncritical, persons, many of whom were personal friends. At a time when many college presidents

were suffering from unsympathetic or insensitive boards of trustees, Dr. Spencer generally had the support of both his trustees and his administration.

Among board members who attended this momentous meeting were Charles P. Lunsford, Chairman; C. P. Nair, Albert R. Gillespie, Edmund D. Campbell, Bertie Deming, John P. Edmondson, Katherine N. Fishburn, William H. Foster, Jr., F. Wellford Hobbie, Willard L. Lemmon, Frank S. Moore, Emily P. Smith, W. W. Sproul, John N. Thomas and Eldon Wilson. New members were: John H. Cecil, Horace P. McNeal, Patty Joe Montgomery, and Marvin B. Perry.

¹²¹ The college reiterated its belief that premarital sexual relationships were unacceptable behavior and was thus, idealistically, placing the decision about such matters in the hands of the junior and senior college women. Students had not been slow to point out that having another couple present, or even one other person, was hardly a guarantee of "appropriate" sexual behavior—"apartments" usually had more than one room, they asserted.

W. J. B. Livingstone, letter to SRS 13 Apr. 1961; SRS, letter to W. J. B. Livingstone, 14 Apr. 1961 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹²² A poll among MBC students in the spring of 1966 revealed that out of 604 students participating, 488 said they drank alcoholic beverages; and 467 said they wanted the MBC requirement changed. Materials for Peaks of Otter Retreat, SRS Mss—MBC Archives. In 1966 Virginia state law permitted the sale of 3.2 beer to individuals over eighteen years of age.

It should be pointed out that the college statement about "in the eyes of the public" constituted a poor reason, in the views of students of the 1960s and 1970s. According to the counterculture ideals, one's behavior came from inner needs and desires and to conform to "public opinion" as setting the standards of one's behavior was hypocrisy. By no means all of the MBC students accepted the configuration of "situation ethics," but the influence of these ideas permeated college campuses and did affect decisions.

See CC 8 Dec. 1966. The girls called it "alcoholic liberty." This was only the beginning of the modification of this and other social rules.

¹²³ CC 10 Mar. 1967, 27 Oct. 1967, 17 Nov. 1967.

Handbook 1968 The Handbook warned that the college was not responsible for "enforcing Virginia state laws concerning

alcohol or drug consumption, nor could it help those who were arrested for violating such policies." The whole issue of police on campus lay in the near future.

¹²⁴ Among the difficulties about the unsuitability of King Auditorium for chapel was the frequent dropping of knitting needles which made a ringing noise on the gymnasium floor and rolled beyond the reach of their sometimes embarrassed owner. CC 14 Mar. 1958, 1 Mar. 1963, 12 Apr. 1963, 9 Dec. 1965, 11 Feb. 1966, 21 Apr. 1966, 21 Apr. 1967.

¹²⁵ Helen Miller ('35) recalled Dr. Jarman reprimanding her when she was Campus Comments editor for having a graduation edition appear on Sunday. That must never happen again, he warned. Now, she observed, you always have a Sunday graduation edition. CC 10 Jan. 1964.

¹²⁶ Miscellany 1963-64 Spring; CC 24 Feb. 1966

SRS, letter to—— 8 Sept. 1958 SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

¹²⁷ Address to MBC student body 19 Sept. 1959. SRS, letter to Karen K. Huffman, 17 Jan. 1962. Church address, ca. 1963. President's Report 12 Oct. 1967. SRS Mss—MBC Archives.

MBB 1968

¹²⁸ CC 22 Feb. 1968, 17 Sept. 1968, SRS Mss—MBC Archives, Minutes BT 18-19 Oct. 1968.

The Search Committee was composed of Willard L. Lemmon, Chairman, Bertie Deming, Alum., the Rev. John D. MacLeod, Jr. (BT), Dr. Marvin Perry (BT), Dean Grafton, Ben Smith (faculty), Marjorie Chambers (faculty), Claire (Yum) Lewis (student), Sue Stephens (student) and Sharon Ellis (student).

Since 1945, Mrs. Grafton had served as acting president three or four times depending on how technical one is. In 1945, she had directed the college for two years, after Dr. Jarman's illness and before President Lewis had arrived; in 1953, she served for one year, after Dr. Lewis resigned; and she had virtually been president in 1965-66 when Dr. Spencer was on leave. In 1968, she again filled the position until Dr. Kelly arrived.

On 19 Oct. 1968, the board of trustees voted a sincere and eloquent Resolution Regarding the Resignation of President Samuel Reid Spencer, Jr. It said in part:

As an outstanding educator he emphasized that the quality of the educational program depended upon the high qualifications of faculty and students,

and on a demanding curriculum. Furthermore, he sought constantly to improve these two areas.

For his vision and leadership in the extensive building program, for his constant drive toward the betterment of faculty and faculty salaries; for the establishment of the international program; for his untiring efforts toward the strengthening of the financial structure of the college; for his warm-hearted friendliness toward every student, faculty member and college employee; for his development of effective participation of the students in the best interests of the college; for his interest and concern in every detail of college life, and for his daily example as a Christian gentleman, we honor him.

For these eleven years of dedicated service to the college, the Board of Trustees is deeply grateful. Leaving us he carries with him our love, respect, admiration and good wishes as he assumes the position of president of Davidson College.



William Watkins Kelly



SIX

**New Dimensions:
William Watkins Kelly
1969-1976**

T

he board of trustees gathered for its regular fall meeting at the Peaks of Otter Conference Center 18-19 October 1968. The 1968-69 session of the college had opened quietly. The presidential selection committee, chaired by Willard L. Lemmon, was unlike that small select inner group who had chosen Dr. Spencer 11 years before. This time there was administration, faculty, alumnae, and student representation, as well as trustees, and each shared in the laborious process of winnowing the more than 100 applications that were received in response to the widespread request for nominations. This "shared consultative" process was a reflection of how much and how rapidly perceptions of college government had changed in the previous decade. And it was a warning of the bitter conflicts to come among students, faculty, administration and the public, not only at Mary Baldwin College, but at almost every educational institution in the country.

After the disastrous Democratic presidential nominating convention in Chicago in the summer of 1968, student protesters disrupted classes, occupied and burned university buildings, intimidated boards of trustees, and appalled administrators and alumni at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Duke, Michigan, Berkeley, San Francisco, and elsewhere. The "causes" the students embraced were many and varied: they included the ending of the Vietnam conflict; stopping the military draft; ending investments in South Africa; halting federal money for military research in

university facilities; and demands for black studies, women liberation agendas, pollution and environmental concerns. Convinced that they could not "trust anybody over thirty," students demanded an end to course and graduation requirements, the abolition of all restrictive social regulations and a share in the governance of their institutions. A small minority wanted to "radicalize" all youth and destroy the "corrupt" political and social system of the country. Other young people "dropped out," joined communes, embraced (or made up) strange religions, made "love not war," smoked "pot" and experimented with hallucinogens. In the summer of 1969, 400,000 of them converged in the rain and mud of Woodstock to participate in the symbolic "dawning" of the Age of Aquarius.

The impact of all of this on middle America was profound. Reflecting this concern, the Mary Baldwin Bulletin, Alumnae Issue, May 1969 printed A Special Report, titled "Who's in Charge?" and "Who's in Charge at Mary Baldwin?" in which the various constituencies of a college or university were analyzed. In addition to trustees, administration, faculty, students, and alumni, the "constituencies" included the "community" and the "American people."¹

A few conclusions from this lengthy report warrant attention. Trustees were viewed by the discontented as the "Establishment" and were the ultimate focus of all of the turmoil, but when the institution was threatened by "earnest, primitive, single-minded fanatics or calculating demagogues," trustees had to make decisions to protect the institution. College presidents now had a "service role"; they were caught "in the middle" between trustees, faculty and student demands. College presidents must defend "institutional integrity" but should expect the authority of the administration to "erode" in the 1970s. No president, the report warns, "can prevail indefinitely without at least the tacit support of the faculty." But the faculty themselves were changing. They "moved around" a lot more than they used to and no longer perceived an "organic relationship" to their institution. They wanted to participate in decision-making but resented the time it took to do so. Many of them joined or led student protests. The community, on the other hand, expected colleges and universities to serve society, and changes in educational institutions were perceived as threats to vested interests and were resented. Lastly, the American people had power because both the federal and state governments had contributed billions of tax dollars to pub-

lic and private institutions since World War II and, in the end, the people would fail to support those institutions which they perceived as contradicting American values.

What, however, did all this have to do with Mary Baldwin College, seemingly so remote, both physically and intellectually, from this ferment and disorder? Essentially the 1968-69 session was a hiatus, a holding action, a pause between the old and the new. It was as if the college gathered itself together to absorb all of the changes and challenges of the Spencer era and would thus be able to present a cohesive community for the new president when he or she should arrive. It was comfortable to have Martha Grafton as acting president. She was a known quantity - an "unflappable realist" who had announced shortly after Dr. Spencer left that all the college groups would share in the decision-making process. "The genius of our government," she wrote, "is that the College is small and everyone knows everyone else. Communication is easy and there is no reason... to outline in detail where authority rests. No passing of authority from trustees, to president, to faculty, to students will bring good governance unless there is respect and good will in each line, no matter what might be written down."

Because there was "respect and good will," the school year passed peacefully. The college had the highest enrollment in its history (713) and the largest annual budget (\$2.5 million). Construction of the new science building was begun and the Christian College Challenge Fund campaign got under way with much better organization and effective planning than any previous Synod campaign had done. The Founders' Day speaker, Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, a native Virginian, an alumnus of Virginia Union University and Dean for Special Projects at the University of Wisconsin, spoke on "Education and Social Renewal." Later in the year, a mass communication seminar, "The News As It Is or Isn't" brought Marlene Sanders, Charles McDowell, Clark Mollenhoff, James W. Dean and Richard Tobin to the campus. They were well-received and attendance was good. There were the usual University Center speakers, and the King Series continued. The 1968 election results were analyzed and discussed. Dr. Spencer returned for the Honors Day Convocation, and the spring alumnae seminars were so popular that they were repeated for the students at their request.² In April, 1969, a faculty/student benefit ice cream eating contest was held and, to everyone's surprise, Marguerite Hillhouse ate more vanilla ice cream

than anyone else.³

This was the first year for the "new curriculum" which had been so carefully proposed in 1967. Students had participated in the planning for the more relaxed requirements and the opportunity for more concentrated advanced studies.⁴ They also had won the right to schedule their own examinations. Almost everyone had the privilege of unlimited cuts, and classes were no longer held on Saturdays. Students sat on the faculty curriculum committee; they participated in the bookstore and food service advising groups. Students organized many fund-raising events for the science building, and three young women were full-fledged members of the presidential selection committee. In the spring of 1969, the board of trustees invited the Student Government Association to send non-voting representatives to the board committees on educational policy, student life and building and grounds. At the request of the SGA, the board of trustees had given reluctant consent to changing the historic compulsory church and chapel attendance rules.⁵ Although seemingly "immune" from the disturbances on college campuses elsewhere, it is apparent that some behind our yellow brick walls were aware of the causes of student discontent elsewhere and had taken steps to respond to the more reasonable of them.

The school year culminated with a student-inspired and organized "Martha Grafton Day." Beginning at 6 a.m., the students hung banners from the Library and decorated the hill to Hunt with paper flowers and helium-filled balloons. There was a corsage from the staff of Campus Comments and flowers from the SGA in her office when Mrs. Grafton came to work, only to discover that her crowded daily calendar had been filled by the students, who planned to cancel their appointments so that she might have the day to herself. That evening, Dr. and Mrs. Grafton were honored at a candlelight dinner in Hunt Hall, where the following resolution was presented:

Whereas, to the students of Mary Baldwin College Martha S. Grafton has been a source of wisdom, compassion, and strength, and whereas amidst days of national campus rebellion Mary Baldwin has seen peaceful progress because of her insight and open-mindedness, and whereas her unexcelled administrative abilities

are accompanied by personal qualities that have inspired the lasting devotion of every student, the Student Government Association of Mary Baldwin College hereby proclaims Martha S. Grafton Day, May 20, 1969.

The faculty, in their turn, honored Dean Grafton by establishing the Martha S. Grafton Academic Award to be given each year to the class valedictorian.⁶

* * * *

The presidential selection committee was ready to present its recommendation to the board of trustees at a special called meeting on 14 January 1969. Their choice was William Watkins Kelly, the 40-year old Director of the Honors College at Michigan State University. He had been reared at Big Stone Gap, Virginia, where his father had been the superintendent of Wise County schools for 50 years. He was a graduate of VMI and Duke University and had served for three years as a lieutenant in the Air Force, teaching English at the newly opened Air Force Academy in Colorado. He had been at Michigan State since 1962, but had had an academic administrative internship at Rutgers University during the 1964-1965 university session. He had continued to teach part-time, usually an honors course in American Thought and Language, and had just recently been made Director of the Honors Program which involved 1900 students and 90 academic departments. He was married to a Hollins graduate, and he and Jane were the parents of four lively young boys. In almost every way, it appeared to be a perfect match for the college's expectations and hopes.⁷ The trustees accepted their selection committee's recommendation, and, at a called convocation that afternoon, Dr. Kelly was introduced to the college community. He received a standing ovation.

Dr. Kelly was frequently at the college in the months that followed. He spoke at a synod Christian College Campaign fundraiser dinner in March; attended the installation of the SGA officers in April, met with some of the members of the VFIC, and spoke to the alumnae at their homecoming on 30 May 1969. He answered questions freely; at the synod meetings he gave a detailed explanation of why he chose to come to Mary Baldwin

College. It was a challenge, he explained, to learn more about a particular segment of higher education; he had been impressed by the college community, and in particular by the selection committee, and by the beauty of the physical plant. He had likewise been encouraged by the support the State of Virginia and the church were giving to higher education and by the contributions of the VFIC, which suggested business and industry concern.

Having graduated from a single-sex college, Dr. Kelly had no difficulty in perceiving the viability of separate gender education, and he was sympathetic to the expanding career opportunities for women in the 1970s. And, he added, both he and Mrs. Kelly wanted to come back to Virginia.

On other occasions, Dr. Kelly spoke of his concept of "shared responsibility" for college governance. "We must," he said, "rely on the collective wisdom of the entire academic community... the faculty voice in college government is essential and central... students have a proper and more meaningful role in the governing of their institution." And he pledged to give students leaders his "cooperation and support." But, he concluded, a college president must be an "active and responsible" leader.⁸

It was agreed that Dr. Kelly's inauguration would be held on Founders' Day, 4 October 1969, and a committee to plan the event was organized with some of the persons who had been on the selection committee agreeing to assist in these formal ceremonies. It was a traditional inauguration with delegates from 56 colleges and universities participating in the colorful academic procession to Page Terrace. The board of trustees, which had just concluded its fall meeting, was on hand as were the parents of the 146 seniors who would be "invested" with their caps and gowns. The president of the Danforth Foundation, Merrimom Cuninggim, delivered the principal address, "Commiserations are Out of Order"; there was a brief, enthusiastic response by Dr. Kelly, and the event was concluded by luncheon in Hunt Hall.⁹

At his inauguration, Dr. Kelly announced that he had appointed a "President's Committee on the Challenges of the 70s." The committee followed the now familiar pattern of "diverse" membership; i.e., trustees, administrators, faculty, students and alumnae, and was charged to study "all facets of our present educational programs" and to suggest "specific goals for the continued development of Mary Baldwin College over the next decade." Chaired by Richard P. Gifford, a trustee from Lynchburg, the 15 members worked diligently and conscientiously. In the

spring of 1971, the committee's work was concluded and, after careful administrative study, the report was released to the college community.¹⁰

"The style of a college must be appropriate to its purposes," declared the preface of the report. In the future, as in the past, Mary Baldwin College must be characterized by openness, service, trust and a search for truth. Its continuous Christian character would be revealed through the quality and the tone of the community life it sought to foster. But, the report warned, there must be "no coercion": "a Christian commitment is meaningful only when it is deeply personal and independently made." The "ethos of academia needs to be a combination of intellectual power, intellectual excitement and moral concern," the document concluded.

There followed specific recommendations:

1. The college should employ a chaplain whose responsibility would be "intellectual stimulus" outside the classroom, as well as developing more fully the sense of community within the college and between the college and its neighbors.
2. The president should institute regular discussions among the college constituencies about the meaning of "liberal higher education" and what constitutes excellence in teaching and learning.
3. The college should continue its effort to achieve greater heterogeneity; the report stated, that there was a "moral imperative" for more black representation. In the selection of new personnel, "diversity of viewpoints should be placed second only to the need for competence."
4. Mary Baldwin should, "for the time being," remain a women's college.
5. The freshman year should be enriched with "innovative seminars, lectures and discussions" and the advisor system should be improved.
6. The college should consider its responsibilities toward women as students and women's role in society through conferences, workshops, lectures and counseling sessions.
7. The college should employ a full-time career counselor.
8. There should be increased summer use of the campus—i.e., workshops, special "short terms", and sessions for superior high school students.

9. The college should begin planning a fine arts center.
10. Enrollment should be increased to 900+ (but not more than 1000).
11. An Honors Program should be instituted.
12. The possibilities of a MA degree program should be considered.
13. The overseas study and consortium programs should be expanded.
14. Student evaluation of the faculty should continue.
15. The college should serve the community by organizing evening classes, volunteer programs and similar activities.¹¹

The members of the committee had not been asked to consider the specific financial implications of their recommendations. They were aware, of course, of the severe inflation of the early 70s, the drop in admissions applications and the burden of debt that the college already bore. They were careful when they developed their recommendations to note that almost all of them had financial impact, and they made a tentative effort to set some priorities as to when changes should be undertaken and which should come first. The fact that the report was taken seriously and that Dr. Kelly and his administration sought to implement most of the recommendations quickly, added immeasurably to the financial stresses of these years and to increasing faculty and student frustration.

Not all the suggestions of the committee were universally approved. An editorial in the Staunton News Leader criticized the plea for "diversity of viewpoint, second only to... competence." "Must the faculty and staff include communists, radicals, revolutionaries, Black Muslims or Panthers, agnostics, atheists, unreserved pacifist, or just plain anti-Americans?", the writer demanded. Response was immediate. "The social, political and religious opinions of the faculty members are not the legitimate concerns of the college," wrote one faculty member. Another declared, "You have done a disservice to the college and the community and to the relationship of mutual respect (and sometimes affection) that holds them together."¹²

Although basically a lack of communication (the editor said the simple addition of the word "academic" in front of the word "diversity" would have satisfied him as to the committee's intentions), this little controversy was indicative of the growing discord and mistrust that continued to escalate during these trou-

bled years. During the time (16 months) that the president's committee had taken to research and write their report, a great deal had happened, both at Mary Baldwin and elsewhere in the world, that had exacerbated tensions and heightened criticism of the college both within and without.

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Dr. Kelly's inauguration had been on 4 October 1969. Eleven days later, the first of several national Vietnam Moratoriums was proclaimed by the many groups and organizations who opposed President Nixon's policies. Students closed down universities in many parts of the country and announced that on 15 November 1969, a massive protest "March on Washington" would be held. At Mary Baldwin, some students and faculty "marched" from Page Terrace to the County Courthouse where a brief prayer service was held. On 15 and 16 October, there were panel discussions, student and faculty speeches, both from the college community and neighboring institutions, and much activity. Classes continued to meet, there was no physical violence, but tempers were short, student friendships severed and community apprehensions heightened. The following month, a few students and faculty went to Washington, D.C. to participate in those emotion-wracked events.¹³

Several college conferences had been scheduled for the 1969-70 session, and the Staunton community, already divided and appalled by national and international events, was uneasy about some of the topics and the viewpoints of the speakers. A program in February entitled "The Ghetto-Why?" brought an impassioned Shirley Chisholm to the campus; a March symposium on drug usage; an April "Earth Day," and a student-alumnae "Conversation on Contemporary Christianity" all contributed to campus divisions and community suspicions. It was with considerable misgivings, that the invitation to former Secretary of State Dean Rusk for 6 March 1970 was honored. The evening lecture was billed as a "conversation," was well attended and completed without incident, but the fact that the sponsors were concerned about the secretary's safety and the possible physical threat to King Auditorium shows how far public civility had eroded in two or three brief years.

Alumnae Homecoming had been scheduled for 15-17 May 1970. The alumnae and several faculty had been invited to "make

the scene" and to attend a seminar with President Kelly titled "Alumnae Ask?". On 30 April, President Nixon ordered an "incursion" into Cambodia, and college campuses, including many that had previously been unaffected, erupted with renewed violence. Five days later, four college students were killed by National Guardsmen at Kent State in Ohio, and shortly thereafter two black students at Jackson State University in Mississippi were shot, this time by state police. The Mary Baldwin students reacted as did their peers, with shock and horror. Classes were cut, a "peace march" was held, panel discussions were organized and telephone lines were clogged as young people phoned each other and worried parents telephoned their daughters. Traditionally, early May was the busiest time of the academic year. Exams would start in two weeks; there were term papers to write, class projects to complete; graduation was set for 7 June. Many colleges and universities throughout the country closed or were shut down. Others lowered academic standards by allowing the substitution of "action programs" for final examinations or accepting as the final grade for a course the class record as of the first of May. The colleges which Mary Baldwin most closely related to, the University of Virginia and Washington & Lee, provided alternate examination equivalencies, as did Hollins, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and Sweet Briar, but all remained open.

It had been an uneasy spring at Mary Baldwin; the "community" of which the president's committee on the Challenges of the 70's was writing so approvingly had suffered severe strains. Many students had fathers, brothers, friends or lovers in the military and resented the accusations and rhetoric of those who opposed U.S. policies toward Southeast Asia. There were faculty and staff members with honorable military service and/or children of their own in the armed forces, who were perceived by other colleagues as part of an "establishment" they deplored. For the first time, there were class tensions; seniors were critical of freshman attitudes toward tradition and college regulations, and the expected freshman "deference" toward seniors was noticeably lacking. Campus Comments editorials, perhaps hoping to arouse student response, had been acrimonious and divisive; alumnae, parents and even some private individuals often connected with the business world had written to Campus Comments in bitter or sarcastic protest. And now came this upheaval about Cambodia.

Few college presidents had to deal with the crises in the midst of an alumnae homecoming, but Dr. Kelly had that difficult task.

The alumnae program proceeded according to schedule, even to the entertainment at the Kelly's home before the traditional banquet. If the host was a worried man, he did not show it unduly and the following Monday, 18 May, after having read a prepared statement to the students supporting their concerns, Dr. Kelly asked the faculty, at a called meeting, to approve two options for final examinations which, he declared, were within the limits set by the college regulations. A student could take an "Incomplete" and would be allowed to finish her course requirements and the examinations by 19 September 1970, or she could change her course registration from a grade to a Pass/Fail. Student requests that they be allowed to negotiate with individual professors for other alternatives were denied. Only one senior took advantage of these choices. The remaining 156 graduated on schedule.¹⁴

Generally the college community approved President Kelly's and Dean Grafton's handling of the spring crises. Fortunately, the college soon closed for the summer and by the following September there were other, more immediate concerns to occupy faculty and students.¹⁵

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Dr. Kelly faced many problems: some were of his own making; others from external circumstances beyond his control; still others a mixture of both. None was more pervasive and had more serious consequences than the frequent turnover of administrative appointments. When Dr. Kelly accepted the presidency of Mary Baldwin College, he "inherited," as Dr. Spencer had done, a well-trained, stable, loyal administrative staff. In fact, he inherited the same staff Dr. Spencer had had: Dean Grafton, Dean Parker, Dean Hillhouse, Mr. Spillman, Mrs. Lescure, Mrs. Davis, Miss Carr, Dr. Pennell. But he was aware that some of these individuals would soon be retiring, and, much as he appreciated their support during his first turbulent year, perhaps he looked forward to a future in which a staff of his own choosing would be in place. But nothing in his brief, troubled administration proved to be more difficult.

Between 1969 and 1976 there were four academic deans, three deans of students, two vice-presidents, four career planning and placement officers, a succession of chaplains, increasing and uncontrollable computer personnel. In the few areas where there was personnel stability, expanding government reporting regula-

tions, an inflationary spiral at unprecedented proportions, an energy crisis and lack of sufficient support staff made key officers ineffective. Dr. Kelly himself was increasingly away from the campus, as the necessity for meeting alumnae, synod and VFIC patrons expanded and, after 1973, the growing demands of the New Dimensions campaign absorbed his time. He was never able to pull together an administrative team which worked well. Accustomed to the triumvirate and their associates, and to expecting the administration to be competent, the faculty and students were bewildered and finally frustrated- and, of course, so was the president.

What went wrong?

Early in Dr. Kelly's first year it was announced that three senior administrators, Grafton, Hillhouse and Spillman, would retire in June 1970. Search committees carefully chosen to reflect college constituencies were quickly approved to seek appropriate replacements.¹⁶ In two cases, appointments were made from within the college itself; Alfred L. (Albie) Booth, who had been on the mathematics faculty since 1965, became registrar, and F. Freeman Jones, who had been appointed assistant business manager in 1967, became the treasurer and business manager. Both men were U.S. Naval Academy graduates, with many years of military service, and had had several years experience at the college. At a time of a new president it seemed wise, and economically advantageous, to secure this continuity.¹⁷

Replacing Martha Grafton was a different matter. The dean selection committee faced a formidable task, partly because their concept of the characteristics which they were seeking in a dean were so colored by their experience with "Mrs.G." They finally recommended the appointment of Elke Frank, a graduate of Florida State University, Radcliffe College and Harvard, who had been awarded her Ph.D. in Political Science in 1964. She had held several teaching positions and was warmly received when she was introduced to the college community on Honors Day, 13 February, 1970.¹⁸ She would begin her deanship in July 1970.

The processes by which these appointments were made, and particularly the tendency to appoint from "within" because of increasing economic concerns, were continued throughout the Kelly administration. Certainly, the concept of a broadly based selection committee is laudable and is now customary. But the "shared responsibility" idea can lead to an administrator (in this case, the president) accepting a committee recommendation with-

out personally doing the work necessary to be sure that the appointee being chosen will suit his own needs and governing style.

Although there was some physical rearrangement of administrative office space in the summer of 1970, there was no major restructuring of the administrative organization. The new appointees had no clear-cut lines of responsibilities delineated, nor was there an effective mechanism in place for avoiding duplication and contradictions of effort. Only Freeman Jones had direct experience in the position he was to hold. All of the three were fortunate in that each of them had knowledgeable and loyal support staffs, but, without strong leadership from Dr. Kelly, they each tended to feel isolated and to act unilaterally.¹⁹

Elke Frank's appointment proved not to be a happy one, either for her or for Mary Baldwin. She knew no one at the college or in the community and, although sincerely welcomed, she was unaccustomed to small colleges and small town mores. She resigned as dean within a year of her appointment. Elizabeth Parker acted as both academic dean and dean of students from October 1971 until January 1972, at which time Marjorie B. Chambers of the Philosophy and Religion faculty (1962) became the academic dean. Her selection was widely approved by both faculty and students; her contributions (to be noted later) were many. It was a great misfortune when, at the end of the 1974-75 session, her health forced her resignation. It was a time of major financial crisis for the college, and again Dr. Kelly turned to the faculty to find a dean. He chose Dorothy Mulberry, the organizer and one of the directors of the Academic Year in Madrid. She had come to Mary Baldwin in 1958 and was knowledgeable about administration, conscientious and hardworking.²⁰

Other changes continued apace. The dean of students, Elizabeth Parker, would soon complete 30 years at the college. No one was surprised when, in January 1972, she, too, announced she would retire at the end of the session. She had always had good relationships with the students and had adapted to the rapid changes of the previous decade with more grace and flexibility than might have been expected; but the world of the college students of the 70s was hard for her to accept. She was deeply touched when, on her birthday, 20 October 1971, the students proclaimed "EP" Day. She was honored at a luncheon, complete with a birthday cake and many gifts from student organizations.²¹

After Miss Parker's retirement, the office of the dean of

students was redefined (to make it more in keeping with student customs) and the title was changed to "Director of Student Life." The new director was Brooke Woods, who at the end of two years (1974) resigned to join her husband in Pennsylvania. The need for continuity was great, the time was short, and Dr. Kelly was fortunate in being able to persuade Ethel Smeak, of the English faculty, to become the next dean of students. The old title was resumed and the duties somewhat loosely redefined. Dr. Smeak was both an alumna (class of '53) and a faculty member (since 1965), connections which Dr. Kelly hoped would smooth relationships with those constituencies. The final years of the Kelly presidency were difficult for everyone, and Dr. Smeak chose to return to teaching in the fall of 1976.²²

Although there was greater stability in the office of the vice-president, here, too, there was some lack of clarity as to function. Craven E. Williams had come to the college in the last months of the Spencer presidency, 1968, expecting to work with him. However, he agreed to stay on during the interim year, 1968-69, and was asked by Dr. Kelly to continue during his administration. The vice president coordinated the work of the director of information services (successively Dolores Lescure, Sioux Miles, Janet Ferguson), the office of alumnae affairs (Virginia Munce), and the various combinations of career planning and placement tried by the Kelly administration (Edward Soetje, Fran Schmid, Frank Pancake). He was responsible for promoting and administering all gifts and grants, the annual fund, and bequests. Williams had played a major role in the Synod Christian College Challenge Fund Campaign and in general college-synod relationships. By 1972, when plans were begun for the New Dimensions campaign, Williams obviously needed help and Roy K. Patteson, Jr., was named director (later vice-president) of development. Craven Williams resigned in late 1974, and Roy Patteson was the only vice-president until the end of the Kelly administration.²³

None of these key administrative appointees really had the time or the staff to become familiar with his/her duties, much less be prepared to suggest substantive changes that would lead to a greater coordination of effort. There were unfortunate personality clashes: the new director of the physical plant found it difficult to work with the supervisor of interiors and furnishing, and she with him; Mr. Jones, to whom they both reported was never able to mediate the conflicts; the director of food service, under attack, in her view, from all sides, found it increasingly difficult to serve

the "special" dinners for which she was famous, as both her budget and her staff were cut. Some events, especially for students, had to be catered, which, of course, put additional strains on tempers and budgets. Divisions of responsibilities between the offices of the academic dean and the dean of students, alumnae affairs and information services, development and the career and personal counseling center all added to the confusion and conflict. Dr. Kelly was away from the campus almost as much as Dr. Spencer had been, particularly after 1973, and the lack of administrative coherence was so obvious that the trustees in 1974 approved the appointment of a temporary executive assistant to the president to undertake an administrative reorganization as well as to direct the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools required Self-Study.²⁴

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Mary Baldwin entered the computer world in September 1968 when Albie Booth persuaded the administration to approve the leasing of three hours a day of computer time from a downtown business. Originally planned to help the alumnae office organize its records, there was also some student interest, and a course in computer programming was added to the curriculum in 1969. By 1971, Computer Analysis was also being taught, and both Mr. Booth and Dr. Robert Weiss of the mathematics faculty were convinced that a strong liberal arts college should include more computer courses. In 1970, the college purchased an IBM 1130, and by 1972 the mysterious clicking machines and noisy printers had been located on the ground floor of the Administration Building (displacing the Alumnae Office) and had moved inexorably into the life of the campus. The bulky machines required three rooms and a hallway, were vulnerable to lightning and electrical outages, and were hardly installed before they were out of date. By 1973, it was necessary to upgrade the system with 16K memory, a 2314 type disc drive, a faster printer, and more storage space. A staff of three--a director, a systems analyst-programmer and an operator programmer--was necessary to run and maintain the system, and it was here that the Kelly administration encountered more conflict.

At first it had to do with the education of the college community about this new equipment. As early as 1970, students were complaining about computer identification numbers. "It is," wrote

one young woman, "an insult to the basic premise of close community feelings... it has taken our freedom of choice of scheduling..." Although every academic discipline was to be affected and changed by computers, many liberal arts faculty, particularly older ones, felt threatened and confused by this new information tool. Office personnel had to be trained to submit their material in a form dictated by the keyboard and had to learn to interpret the reports which increasingly filled their "in" baskets. At a time of rapid change in so many areas, the strain the new technology imposed was a necessary but added burden.

It was not long, of course, before the system was indispensable. The alumnae and development offices, admissions, the registrar, and, belatedly, the business office, all came to depend on the ubiquitous machines. To help pay for the equipment, some "outside" work was contracted; a HEW-sponsored five-year spinal cord research project, and a data analysis of jail populations were undertaken. The National Science Foundation-sponsored "Women in Science" project demanded computer time as well. And by 1976 the number of student computer courses had increased to eight (with some duplication), and the students had to have access to the machines at night. Scheduling computer time proved to be a divisive and emotional issue, which added to the misunderstandings among administrative offices, and among faculty and students. It was admittedly hard to anticipate that, in the short space of six years, the computer could have become such a central issue, but it was not until 1976 that a computer use committee was created. Much distress could have been avoided if more careful advanced planning had been done.

However, the greatest problem about the computer for the Kelly administration was the cost. As early as 1970, Dr. Kelly was warning his staff and the faculty that the college was facing a deficit of current operations budget. The early computer leasing arrangements had cost \$25,000 a year. Although the initial purchase in 1970 had been partially paid for by a \$50,000 grant from the National Science Foundation, each year seemed to require updated equipment and more room. At a time when faculty salaries were either only minimally increased, or not at all, three additional well-paid technical personnel were required in the computer center. As the debate over the college finances deepened, the computer center became one of the focal points of bitter criticism.²⁵

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The changes and challenges of President Kelly's six-year administration came with such rapidity and such overlapping and confusion that it is only from the modest distance of 15 years that one can sort them out. When Dr. Kelly was elected the sixth president of the college, the trustees suggested that some revision of the college charter would be necessary shortly. The last major revision had taken place in 1957 at Dr. Spencer's insistence that the college comply with the Presbyterian Church's understanding of church-relatedness. In the 1960s the statement of purpose had been modified to specify that neither race nor religious belief were to be regarded when the admission of otherwise qualified students or the hiring of faculty were considered. By 1969, there were strong reasons why the "non-sectarian" status of the college should be further clarified. The state of Virginia was considering offering financial assistance in the form of grants and loans to students attending private colleges. Bill Kelly lobbied hard and successfully for the passage of these bills. But, in order to qualify, a student had to attend a "non-sectarian" college. The Mary Baldwin trustees made several attempts to word a revised charter paragraph which would still reflect the long Christian (Presbyterian) association of the college but would be defined by the Attorney General's Office as "non-sectarian". Several versions were proposed but it was not until 1974 that the phrase, "under auspices which reflect the rich and continuing Christian heritage of the institution," was deemed acceptable.²⁶ Thereafter, Mary Baldwin students participated in the Tuition Assistance Grant programs, which provided modest support toward the much higher cost of private college tuition.

Changes in the charter, however, affected the college-church relationship as well. Any agreements the college signed with the synod might well affect its "non-sectarian" status. The "non-sectarian" status, in turn, affected synod relationships. To complicate matters further, the synod was changing. In 1973, the Synod of Virginia became the Synod of the Virginias, and had expanded to include parts of West Virginia and Maryland. In addition to Mary Baldwin and Hampden-Sydney, Davis & Elkins and King Colleges were now within the geographical bounds of the new synod, and would, presumably share whatever financial resources were contributed to the colleges in the future.

The Synod of the Virginias proceeded to appoint a "Task Force on the Relation of Synod and Its Colleges," which in turn developed a "covenant agreement" statement. Each college administration was asked to critique the "covenant agreement" and early in 1975 Dr. Kelly did. There was some debate over descriptive terms, Presbyterians being capable of great obtuseness, but the principal source of disagreement arose from the synod's proposal to reduce by 20% each year during a five-year period its already modest annual contributions to its colleges. In place of these unrestricted funds, a "Visiting Team," appointed by the synod would meet annually with the college administration, and future synod financial support would depend on the visiting team's recommendation.²⁷

The original Task Force proposals were made in 1974. It was not until ten years later (1984) that the final "Covenant agreement" between the synod and Mary Baldwin College was signed. The final document omits specific mention of a task force and merely states that the synod pledged "to continue financial support for the college in the Synod's Operating Budget."²⁸

The trustees did, nevertheless, wish sincerely to continue a close relationship with the church. Most still considered the college as "church-related," and what had once been a legal requirement now became a voluntary undertaking. The Challenges of the 70s committee had placed great emphasis on a reevaluated role for a chaplain and Dr. Kelly sought to fulfill this commitment, but with indifferent success. After experimenting with a part-time and then, for two years, with a full-time chaplain, financial necessity and limited student interest resulted in Carl Edwards and Jim McAllister, Religion and Philosophy faculty members, assuming the necessary chaplain duties, on a part-time basis.

In April 1971 the Christian Association and the Religious Life Committees joined forces. "The Christian Association is dead," reported Campus Comments, "but its spirit will be retained in the Religious Life Committee. They will work closely with the chaplain and there will be less bureaucracy," it was reported.²⁹

Many of the campus changes concerning religious life came at the instigation of the students. Shortly after Dr. Kelly arrived, he asked Dean Parker to request the president of the SGA to identify the "proper student group" to be responsible for the blessing in the dining hall and "to urge the student responsible to make a meaningful and appropriate prayer." In 1974 Campus Comments reported that "grace before meals was curtailed several years ago"

due to a request from a group of students who insisted that this "infringed on their civil liberties as non-Christians." Grace had been replaced by a "moment of silence," which was now a "giggling chaos." Any effort at silent worship was thus ended and another tradition slipped into the past.³⁰

The students had campaigned for several years before Dr. Kelly arrived to alter the compulsory church and chapel attendance rules. A Campus Comments editorial called chapel a "crippler" - "Required chapel is a habit, not an experience." It should be voluntary, not "dictated," the editorial continued. A campus survey revealed that 195 students opposed compulsory chapel, 56 supported it; 18 faculty opposed, 13 voted to continue the practice. On 10 April 1969, the SGA voted to end compulsory chapel and appealed to the trustees to listen, and the board shortly thereafter agreed that "under the principle of Christian freedom" compulsion would be ended. Chapel thereafter would be held once a week, on Wednesday morning in First Presbyterian Church, and the entire college community was "encouraged" to attend. The Religious Life Committee tried hard to provide varied programs and to meet student needs. A "house church" Thanksgiving service was held in Hunt Lounge (which indicates the expected number of attendees), Hanukkah was observed at the Temple, students were invited to a "folk mass" at St. Francis Catholic Church, contemporary liturgies and "love feasts," Quaker meetings, were all tried. A Film Festival was held one year in lieu of the traditional Religious Emphasis Week, but the 1970 Conference on the "Christian Life and the Institutional Church" was termed "a real bust." "Nobody can get really excited about discussing Christianity - What is there to say?" asked Campus Comments. By 1975, chapel had been moved from Wednesday mornings to Sunday evening at 5 p.m. and had been relocated to Hunt Lounge.³¹

All of these events, coupled with the radical changes in the student social rules and regulations, would have made it difficult for any president during these troubled years. Dr. Kelly's files have many letters from distressed parents, donors, and ministers. It was not easy to answer them.

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Dr. Kelly's relationships with his board of trustees provided some of the stability that his administration staff did not. Charles

P. Lunsford and John P. Edmondson were the president and vice-president respectively in 1969; Willard L. Lemmon, who had chaired the search committee which had recruited Dr. Kelly, became president in 1970 and John P. Edmondson in 1971. Thereafter, the combination of Ralph Kittle and Richard B. Gifford presided over the board until the summer of 1976. Throughout the Kelly presidency, Edmund D. Campbell continued on as General Counsel. During the Kelly years, the board of trustees reflected the changes of the other college constituencies. It became more open to information and suggestions, and its decisions were reported in Campus Comments and by Dr. Kelly's annual "State of the College" speech to the student convocations. In 1969, the trustees had invited students to sit on appropriate board committees, and their comments were considered seriously. The trustees were a bit more reluctant in agreeing to faculty attendance, but, by October 1971, non-voting but participating faculty representatives were invited to the board committees; and one faculty member at large was elected by his/her peers and was invited to attend and to speak at the full board meetings. In 1972, the trustees held an "open, informal meeting" in Hunt Lounge to which any student and faculty who wished might come. That particular format was not repeated, but increasing opportunities for faculty and trustees to "meet and mingle" at receptions and dinners were provided.³²

In 1973, an Advisory Board of Visitors was created. A membership of 50 was proposed and the ABV was instructed to interpret the college's goals and programs to the college constituents; to "counsel" the college administration and trustees; and to help advance the college development program. Members were to be drawn from those who had an interest in or concern about the college and were to reflect wide geographic and occupational areas. The ABV met annually at the college, sometimes at the same time as the board of trustees, and it was hoped that they would provide a "pool" from which future board members could be drawn. The ABV identified "career planning" as a program of special interest and helped support financially a course to be taught to sophomores on that subject. Its members were also interested in admissions and evaluated procedures and programs of that office. Some of Dr. Kelly's strongest supporters were members of the ABV and he had recruited many of them. The first chairman was Betty Southard Murphy, a distinguished Washington attorney who specialized in labor relations and had been

associated with the NLRB. She was ably assisted by Charles Collis, a vice president of Fairchild Industries and the father of an alumna. He later became the second chairman. For several years the ABV struggled to identify its duties and functions. It came into being at a time of great stress for the Kelly administration, and the initial intention of finding new supporters for the college who were neither alumnae nor parents was slow in being realized. Now almost 20 years old, the ABV has become a valued partner and is more comfortable about its functions.³³

In 1973, the trustees introduced still another addition: former trustees who had rotated off the board were designated as "Associate Trustees." They received all the information that the regular trustees did, and were invited to attend board meetings. They did not sit on committees and, of course, did not vote, but this was yet another attempt to retain the interest and good will of old friends of the college.

Although well intentioned and reflective of the president's concept of "shared responsibility," there is no question that these additional groups added to the paperwork and the expenses of the administration. The time and effort involved in organizing the agendas, in arranging transportation and housing, in providing orientation sessions and campus tours, in preparing the trustees' packets of information, in sending the advance mailings, and planning the receptions and dinners, placed a great strain on office personnel and administrative budgets.³⁴

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Most people liked Bill and Jane Kelly, their four boys and their Old English sheep dog. They were an attractive family, cultured and talented, and they soon made close friends in the community as well as at the college. Bill Kelly had a good public presence, he spoke effectively and clearly, and he was truly committed to an "open" administration. But, there were some rough spots which would not have been the focus of as much resentment as they were, if finances had been less strained. The Kellys moved into the president's home on Edgewood Road, but had requested funds for remodeling and enlarging the residence so that more college entertaining could be done there. The executive committee of the trustees approved a specified amount on 30 January 1969, although Mrs. Grafton warned them that there was no money earmarked in the budget to pay for the upgrading. A large, two-

story wing was added to the building, the kitchen was expanded and completely modernized, and other less expensive changes were undertaken. The costs far exceeded the authorized amount, and although the end result was a lovely, gracious home which, true to their word, the Kellys used for many college receptions and entertaining, there were those who questioned the necessity of the project.

There was also a different management style, which some in the college found hard to accommodate. Dr. Kelly disliked disappointing people and he tended to say to them what they wanted to hear, rather than being specific about decisions that had been made. Thus it often appeared that he promised one thing and did another. In truth, he found it hard to make disagreeable choices - and postponed making them as long as possible. He was very open to all of the college constituencies about some of the financial problems (and was generally much more "public" about budget and enrollment figures than Dr. Spencer had been), but he was always convinced that "next year" the budget would balance, raises could be given, threatened programs could be rescued and that there would be more students. When these things did not happen, there was disillusionment and anger.³⁵

In retrospect, it would appear that those at the college tried to do too much, with too few resources and too little time. A simple listing of "extra" campus activities during these six years gives some indication of the amount of student, faculty, and administration effort that was required to plan and promote them:

- 1970-71: Inauguration of President Kelly
- Dedication of Pearce Science Center
- Exchange Consortium begun
- A major 3 day Conference on Women in Industry
- A 2 day Seminar on "Military Challenge to
Democracy in Latin America"
- The installation of Phi Beta Kappa, Lambda
Chapter
- A major Fine Arts Festival.

- 1971-72: An SGA sponsored conference on "Student
Activism"
- Seminar on China-U.S. Relations;
- Business Men and Women in Residency
program

- "Peace" March
"Mock" Democratic Convention
- 1972-73: Seminar on Women's Liberation Movement
A "Consciousness Expansion" ESP Conference
which included a "whirling dervish"
Program on Human Sexuality
Alex Haley spoke on Black Heritage
- 1973-74: Ellen Glasgow Centennial Conference (partly on
MBC campus, partly in Richmond).
Woodrow Wilson Visiting Fellows Program
begun.
New Dimensions Campaign announced
ABV begun.
Wenger Hall addition begun
Governor's School for the Gifted begins summer
residence program
- 1974-75: New Curriculum implemented
Professor Willie Lee Rose delivers the first
annual Carroll lecture
Alternative Series - Women of Achievement
United Black Association- sponsored State
Senator Douglas Wilder, who spoke on
"Implementation of Social Change"
Administrative Reorganization
SACS Self-Study
- 1975-76: Bicentennial Campus events
Dr. Kelly announced his resignation in September-effective June 1976
A conference on America and the Arts
Air Force Band Concert
A series of American Women in Seven Perspectives
Dedication of Wenger Hall in May
"Mock" Democratic Convention
SGA sponsored 6 week Muscular Dystrophy
Benefit Drive with a 24 hour marathon
dance.
Installation of Laurel Circle ODK
First "Science Day" on campus (high school
seniors)

In addition, of course, there were the usual college traditional events, such as Founders' (Senior and Freshman Parents) Day, Apple Day, Junior Dads' Dance, college Christmas programs, winter and spring dances, sophomore class show, meetings of the board of trustees, ABV, alumnae council, student elections and SGA installation, alumnae homecoming, Honors Convocation, the King Series, University Center lectures, athletic interscholastic and intramural events, including MALTA. Most of these events were appropriate and were the kinds of activities a concerned college should have been undertaking for its students. But there were simply too many of them within a short space of time. It is reasonable to suggest that the feelings and attitudes of the faculty and staff, and even of the students, would not have been so strained if some of these activities had been postponed. There should have been more selective planning.

All of this went on against a background of chaotic national and international events, most of which had psychological impact on the campus. Warren E. Burger replaced Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Apollo 11 landed and retrieved men on the moon; the details of the My Lai massacres were made public; the 26th amendment to the Constitution gave the vote to 18 year olds; Nixon and Kissinger went to China; and the SALT treaty was signed. Nixon was elected to a second term and in November 1972, Hanoi and North Vietnam were subjected to renewed bombing attacks; the Watergate conspiracy took place; and the trials of conspirators began. There was a "cease fire" in Vietnam, but another Arab-Israeli war brought an oil embargo, a severe and shocking gasoline shortage, inflation and economic hardship. Roe vs. Wade was decided affirmatively. Vice President Agnew resigned and Gerald Ford was appointed to replace him. In 1974, Richard Nixon, facing impeachment, resigned as president; Gerald Ford became president of the United States; South Vietnam fell to the Communists in 1975 and Americans settled into the uneasy Bicentennial year of their nation's birth. That fall, Jimmy Carter was elected President of the United States.

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Many of Dr. Kelly's problems as president of Mary Baldwin College stemmed from the financial difficulties of these troubled years. Dr. Spencer had managed in spite of the major building program to balance the operating budget each year, but Dr. Kelly

was able to do so only twice in his six-year presidency. By 1975, the cumulative college operating budget deficit was close to \$500,000 and funds to pay current expenses were borrowed from both internal resources ("quasi-endowment") and from external lending agents. As funds from the New Dimensions campaign began to appear, some of these also were used for ongoing needs.³⁶

How had this happened so quickly? Even before Dr. Spencer's resignation, Mr. Spillman had been warning that the college's financial health was inexorably linked to enrollment and that declining applications were a danger signal. Spillman had also been opposed to the guaranteed fee program, which, in a time of inflation, cost the college funds it could ill afford to lose. Dr. Kelly and Mr. Jones were both aware of these dangers, and, early in the Kelly administration, enrollment figures were carefully monitored and the guaranteed fee program was phased out. But neither expected the speed with which enrollments collapsed. Between 1965 and 1972, the number of applicants for admission declined by 56%, from the record high of 1,024 to 448. Of the applicants accepted by the admissions committee, about 50% would eventually enroll; and of the enrollees, from 36-50% would have left before they graduated. As the large classes of the late 60s and early 70s passed through their four years and graduated, their numbers were not replaced by the entering freshmen, so total enrollment steadily declined. The suggestion of the Challenges of the 70s committee that enrollment be taken to 900 seemed empty and pretentious less than three years later. By the 1974-75 session, the number of boarding students had dropped to 581.³⁷

Were there explanations for this dramatic decline? Of course there were, and many of the causes involved factors Mary Baldwin was powerless to change. During the previous decade, enrollment in state colleges and universities had increased rapidly and several all male institutions, including the University of Virginia became coeducational. A growing system of community colleges had provided an inexpensive alternative to the traditional boarding college. The restless young of the turbulent 70s wanted to be "where the action was"-i.e, urban environments and larger campuses. With women's liberation philosophies blooming, coeducational institutions seemed at first thought more attractive to young women. Population demography was no help either. The total number of women of college age in the United States declined during the 1970s, so the pool of possible registrants had shrunk.

This was a decade of economic hardships, higher inflation rates than had been seen since the 1920s, energy crises, and a number of out-of-state students preferred to stay closer to home. Add to this the slowness (from the students' point of view) with which a college seen as "church-related" changed restrictive social rules, the yearly increase in tuition and fees, the frequent turnover in administrative offices, the, in some cases, unpopular curriculum changes, the decline in morale and the "privatization" that seemed to pervade the campus, and it is a tribute to the college community that retention held up as well as it did. There were even modest increases in admissions applications by 1976. The worst crisis came in 1974-75 after the Paris and Madrid programs had been discontinued. Rumors both on and off campus quickly spread that the college itself was closing, and, in fact, many women's colleges had shut down during those unhappy years.³⁸ There is not much that can be done about such rumors other than to continue plans and programs and prove by longevity that the rumors are false. Mary Baldwin was in no immediate danger of closing but some of the above enrollment and budget trends had to be reversed, quickly.

Although they recognized the difficulties their decisions imposed, the trustees had made the judgment that the recommendations of the Challenges of the 70s committee would be followed. Mary Baldwin would remain a woman's liberal arts college and would remain "church-related." Having agreed on these two basic premises, the trustees and the Kelly administration developed a master plan for improving the college's economic viability. It was a carefully thought out plan, probably the only one that could have been envisioned, and its components have essentially formed the blueprints for the college's decisions ever since.

It involved the following emphases: The admissions program would be carefully evaluated and improved. The many factors involved in a student's desire to transfer, usually at the end of her sophomore year, would be studied and remedied. The business office would focus on efficient use of limited resources and would recommend ways to cut expenditures. And, most importantly, new sources of revenue would be found, including a major increase in the endowment, in order to assure the financial health of the college.

There was, however, a hurdle if these ideas were to be implemented. All of them, one way or another, cost money, in some cases a good deal of money, in order to succeed. In addition, they

would cost time and effort from trustees, administration, and faculty, and the cooperation of the students, many of whom in the early 70s were not in a cooperating mood. Such an effort required that all of the college constituencies understood and would work together. Inasmuch as these plans were at least partially achieved, it was due to real sacrifices and dedication on the part of many individuals who labored under less than perfect conditions.

* * * *

Jack Blackburn had come to the college as director of admissions in 1968, partly to help relieve the burden on Marguerite Hillhouse, who could no longer sustain the duties of both registrar and admissions.³⁹ He was well-trained, young and enthusiastic and headed what was probably the happiest office in the administration in spite of the fact that he was the "point man" of the financial crisis. The Self-Study said, "Communication within the office is open and immediate. No staff member hesitates to ask or give an opinion... Decision-making is thoroughly democratic... Once a decision is reached, it is implemented quickly..."⁴⁰ The whole process of recruitment changed rapidly in the early 1970s. In the 1960s there were many more applicants than could be accepted, now the problem was to increase the visibility, attractiveness and challenges for the small number of young women who wished to attend a single-sex, church-associated college. Four admissions counselors traveled widely in areas from which the college students had traditionally come and to new, "undeveloped" markets as well. Honoring the emphasis on diversity, recruitment of black students and other ethnic minorities was emphasized, as was the admission of a limited number of foreign students. National Merit Examination Scholars were individually approached. The Student Search Service of the Educational Testing Service was employed to provide lists of names of prospective applicants. In 1971 and again in 1974 admission movies were commissioned, and colorful admissions posters were widely distributed to churches and elsewhere. The catalogue was likewise brightened and modernized, and smaller, less-technical pamphlets were widely distributed. Prospective students were invited for weekend visits at the college. Alumnae chapters appointed "alumnae aides" and entertained the high school young women and parents of their areas at teas and receptions. After its inception, the ABV likewise sought to advise admissions, using

the techniques of marketing and persuasion with which some of their members were familiar. Some current students volunteered to visit their former high schools while they were home on vacation, or to telephone "prospectives"; students formed the "campus guides" and escorted visitors up and down the hilly campus. Eventually a "WATS" telephone line was made available for further direct communication efforts. By the mid-1970s these efforts achieved some success. Applications began to show a modest increase.⁴¹

The second component of the plan was to increase retention of the students once they were enrolled. The Spencer administration had worked hard to reverse the traditional pattern of students who would attend the college for two years and would then transfer to major coeducational state universities, and had had some success in so doing. But by 1974 the attrition rate was about 50%, and the college made a determined effort to reverse that dismal statistic. The first step was to study the curriculum, to be sure that what was being taught and how it was presented met the needs and perceptions of young women. In keeping with the greater "freedoms" in other areas, the revised curriculum emphasized choice and few, if any, specific requirements. This, in turn, required a better and more extensive academic advising system. Based on the premise that more and more young women would be seeking careers in areas not previously open to them, opportunities for internships and "experiential" learning were provided. Phrases like "designing your own major," "interdisciplinary studies," and "teaching assistantship" began to appear. Another new schedule provided shorter and longer learning periods. "Competency" based evaluations and several grading options were added to the program. The advantages that a single-sex college could provide for young women were extolled. There was a concerted effort to promote career counseling and placement programs.

In addition, students who were planning to transfer were asked to participate in an "exit interview," and their answers as to why they were leaving were evaluated to see what could be remedied. In many cases they indicated that their social life was "unnatural" (due presumably to the lack of "parietals"), and the dean of students and SGA officers led what was a revolutionary change in student living conditions. Peer advising programs were instituted, student opinions sought and listened to, and active student participation in all facets of student life were encouraged. Students attended trustees, ABV, alumnae, and faculty meetings,

and held voting seats on many faculty committees. They were on the President's Review Board, the Center for Voluntary Action, the Religious Life Committee. At a time of stringent budget limitations, the Wenger Student Center was remodeled and doubled in size. As in the case of admissions, all of this required additional expenditures.⁴²

* * * *

It is certainly accurate to say that the trustees were concerned and shocked by the yearly deficits in the operating budgets. Such figures indicated financial mismanagement, for which the trustees were ultimately responsible, and they quickly set up tighter controls on the budget process. A preliminary budget was to be prepared, the process starting in December before the next session. The budget was adjusted as enrollment figures were refined, given tentative approval by the financial and executive committees in May, and final approval early in the fall when firm income figures were available. Expenditures were to be checked quarterly (later monthly) to be sure that they remained within approved limits, and a thorough examination of physical plant expenditures, of programs, and of social activities was ordered.⁴³ Mr. Jones and his staff felt increasingly overwhelmed. Each year new federal (and after the TAG program was instituted, state) regulations made accounting and reporting procedures more difficult. Pension plans and health insurance policies became more complicated, student aid "packages" more convoluted and harder to justify. The trustees wanted five-year projections; grant applicants wanted complicated statistical analyses; the registrar wanted facts and figures to feed the computer; the curriculum, priority, and budget committees wanted program cost comparisons; and the Self-Study financial resources committee demanded difficult analyses. In addition, the business office was ultimately responsible for all purchasing and distribution of supplies and equipment, for the maintenance of the physical plant and student support services (food, dormitories, health, security, library purchases, automobile control and parking), for payroll and benefits, for negotiating short term loans, and for short term investments to help income match expenditures. The finance committee of the board of trustees had the responsibility for the management of the endowment fund corpus, the living trusts, the bequests, but their efforts had to be coordinated with Mr. Jones.

Efforts were made, by means of seminars and training programs, to improve the efficiency of the business office employees and to incorporate computer techniques into their operation. To give them more time to perform their duties without interruptions, Mr. Jones announced to other administrative offices that he and his staff were not available for consultation or assistance until ten o'clock in the morning or after three in the afternoon. There was much resentment. A student bank had existed on campus since the days of Mr. King, but in 1972 it was closed and thereafter students had to maintain their personal accounts in downtown banks. This, too, was resented.⁴⁴

There were dedicated and hard-working personnel in the business office, some of whom had worked with Mr. Spillman in the 1960s, but the complexities and contradictions of the 70s left them frustrated and bewildered. As was the case with the admissions office, Dr. Kelly reluctantly decided that additional personnel were needed and the staff increased from 9 in 1968 to 15 in 1976. In addition, the trustees required, in 1974, that an experienced accountant be appointed as comptroller. He would have direct access to President Kelly and to the board, although he would normally report through the business manager.

In spite of all this effort, each year the budget process became more painful. Dr. Kelly rightly understood that a college to continue to succeed must appear to be successful, and his public pronouncements were upbeat and optimistic. He was also hopeful in his dealings with the finance and executive committees of the board. He assured them each fall that the budget would be balanced, and when it became apparent that it would not be, there always seemed to be a plausible explanation. It was not for two or three years that the trustees as a whole became deeply concerned, and then, of course, they too were caught in the quagmire of declining enrollment, rising costs, and an inadequate endowment.

Part of the difficulty stemmed from the assumptions that went into the budget projections. One was the conviction that at least 210 freshmen would be enrolled each year when, in fact, that number was not reached after 1972. Another was the difficulty in calculating full-time equivalent students. By the mid-70s there were so many variables and options for student enrollment that accuracy in FTE's, essential for estimating income, was often sacrificed for "head count" figures, with disastrous consequences.⁴⁵ Another factor was the decline in endowment income (and in the total value of the endowment) as the yields of stocks and bonds and

the synod's annual payments declined. The funds from VFIC were also seriously curtailed, as businesses and corporations felt the pinch of the recession. Also, their dissatisfaction with campus demonstrations and violence was reflected in lower contributions.

There were appalling unexpected expenses. In 1972 the Staunton Council informed the college that it planned henceforth to collect a \$30,000 annual service charge. There were anguished appeals to the State of Virginia agencies and, in 1974, the city charges were dropped to \$5000, an improvement, but still a shock when no such charges had been previously imposed.

In 1974-75 the Arab oil boycott brought long lines at gasoline pumps and serious disruption in energy supplies throughout the U.S. The crisis could hardly have occurred at a worse time for Mary Baldwin College, since '74-'75 and '75-'76 saw the height of the financial crisis which the Kelly administration had not been able to solve. In 1974 the Virginia State Corporation Commission warned that gas supplies to major industrial, educational and government sites might have to be curtailed. Although the college heating system used gas (which was much the cheaper fuel) there were alternate controls for the use of oil, and, fearing that gas supplies would be rationed, Roger Palmer, the physical plant supervisor, arranged to purchase and store 36,000 gallons of oil during the summer of 1975. Early that fall, the college was informed that its gas supplies would be cut by 84%. The reserved oil would last for about 36 days and cost about double what gas would have cost. Rigid heat conservation methods were promptly employed. A legal representative attended SCC hearings on behalf of the college, warning the commission that the college might have to close unless order #19180 was rescinded. The administration considered extending the Christmas vacation in order to conserve oil. Early in January 1976, however, Columbia Gas obtained extra supplies of fuel and the immediate crisis ended; but not the apprehensions for the future.⁴⁶

Other additional expenses were incurred in the student financial aid programs. As tuition and fees increased, so, too, did the amount of student aid required. The overall percentage of students receiving financial aid did not materially change during these years, but the amount did; in 1969 the college committed \$147,256 of its own funds to student aid packages. By 1975, the figure was \$247,183.⁴⁷

The college was now legally required to participate in unemployment compensation programs. Federal regulations required

refunds when students left before the end of the year that would not have previously been granted. Other pronouncements mandated affirmative action programs, equal access plans, sex discrimination studies, grievances procedures to be approved and put in place. All of this took faculty and staff time and money.

To help compensate for declining enrollment, the trustees reluctantly agreed to raise tuition and fees. At first Dr. Kelly would have a "state of the college" convocation and attempt to explain the reasons for the increase, but the general student reaction was usually so unfavorable that by 1973 the notice was merely incorporated in the catalogue and in the spring financial statements sent to parents. Students were now charged fees for permission to bring their automobile to the campus and paid additional sums for single girl or off-campus housing. A graduation fee appeared. There was a near student revolt when, in 1976, a \$100 fee for academic overloads was proposed.⁴⁸

The administration tried desperately to economize. By the end of the Kelly administration, the college had withdrawn from the King Series and University Center programs. College memberships in professional organizations were cut; some positions which were vacated by retirement or resignation were not filled; funds for faculty research and attendance at professional meetings all but disappeared; the library book budget was severely restricted. On two occasions, in 1971-72 and again 1974-75, there were no faculty, administration or staff raises. Increases during the other years were selective and minimal and could not begin to compensate for inflation. Naturally this had a major impact on the college's comparative ratings with AAUP standards, with the other institutions of the VFIC and with women's colleges with which Mary Baldwin customarily compared herself. Morale on campus was seriously affected and both faculty and students demanded access to budget figures and priority decisions. It is interesting to note that Campus Comments declared, "After examining the budget and noting the lack of endowment, we have come to the conclusion that the financial administration of the college are (sic) doing a miraculous job." (1972) The faculty were not as sanguine. They formed a budget advisory committee with at least one member elected by the local AAUP chapter, and with student representation, as well. They met monthly with Mr. Jones and demanded that that stressed administrator provide them with "instructional cost analyses" of all educational programs. The administration "should," they declared, "seek their

advice," and the faculty representative to the trustees' meetings regularly reported on faculty frustrations. In 1975, the budget advisory committee was dissolved because a new priorities committee would absorb its functions, but it was never clearly defined during the Kelly years how priorities were established and who was responsible for the final decisions.⁴⁹

Nothing that the Kelly administration did, however, to curtail expenditures met with the bitter criticism that the decisions to end the Paris and Madrid academic programs provoked. The Paris program, established in 1968, had really hardly had time to get firmly established before its director was told that it would be discontinued at the end of the 1972-73 session. The Madrid program had been instituted in 1962 and had achieved a solid reputation and recognition. Both programs had been carefully organized, with a major emphasis on language skills and cultural immersion. Their faculties were made up of distinguished scholars. The students and their families had been, for the most part, glowing in appreciation. The programs had been the capstone of the Spencer international emphasis efforts. However, in the uncertain environment of the 1970s, the number of Mary Baldwin students who enrolled had declined; students from other institutions had likewise diminished, and the college could no longer afford the luxury of overseas faculty. The Madrid program was reluctantly ended at the end of the 1974-75 session, after 13 largely successful years. Although Dr. Kelly had gone in person to both Paris and later to Madrid to explain these painful decisions, the students, many parents and some faculty refused to understand and accept. It was an emotional, wrenching time on both sides of the Atlantic and probably did more than any other single factor to lower faculty and student morale.⁵⁰

Although all these painful efforts to cut expenditures were made sincerely, still, paradoxically, the college continued the Spencer building program, bought and sold property, purchased technical equipment and funded new positions.

Construction for the Jesse Cleveland Pearce Science Center had begun in July 1968, a year before Dr. Kelly had come to the college. The building was completed in April 1970 and was dedicated on Founders' Day 3 October of that year in a ceremony similar in form and style to that of the Grafton Library and Hunt Hall. Hans Mark, Director of Ames Research Center, NASA, delivered the address, "The Uses of Science." The cost of construction, equipment and furnishings was \$2,200,000, making it

the most expensive of the Spencer buildings, and the peculiarities of the financing added to Dr. Kelly's financial burdens. Nevertheless, after years of cramped, inadequate facilities, the science faculty at last had a physical setting equal to the excellence of their academic programs.⁵¹

Additional walkways and landscaping were now necessary, as was the usual exterior painting of the older (and not so old) buildings. For several years the college had leased the Wilson apartments (on the corner of Market and Frederick street) for student housing, but in 1971 the trustees bought the Woodrow Terrace apartments for \$55,000 and thereafter students were housed there. Once the science classes had moved to Pearce, there was a reorganization of the space in the Administration Building. The business office was moved to the ground floor of Academic, which on 17 April 1970 was dedicated as the James Spillman Annex. The old Biology Building became, in 1972, the Alumnae House, and a "Date House" was created out of the college-owned building next to Blakely on Market Street. A parking lot had already been constructed beside Blakely, but in 1972 an additional lot was necessary to accommodate increasing numbers of student cars. Originally planned to cost \$50,000 (which would be paid for by the students' automobile registration fees), the final bill was \$125,000 due to rock and drainage problems. That same year, an anonymous gift provided lights at the skyline tennis courts. By 1975 the Guidance and Counseling Center was moved back to Riddle, which was no longer needed as a dormitory, and Edmondson, 212, and the Gooch House were all closed as the needs of student housing decreased.⁵²

The major building project of the Kelly years, however, was the proposed addition to Wenger Hall. Consuelo Slaughter Wenger, class of '19, and her husband Henry had long been good friends of the college. They had contributed to the remodeling of Bailey dormitory and in the 1950s had given funds for the student activities center, which had later been named in Mrs. Wenger's honor. In 1970, Wenger housed a small student "club" and snack bar, the student post office, Miller Lounge, the McFarland Language Laboratory and language faculty offices. There was need for a greatly expanded student center, and the trustees agreed that plans to expand Wenger would be approved, provided the money was in hand before construction was begun. Plans called for a student "rathskeller," offices for SGA and student publications, the transfer of the bookstore from Hunt, and expanded area

for student entertainment of their friends. The language faculty would be moved elsewhere and the building would be devoted solely to student needs.

There was some money already available; the Wengers had been making contributions to be used toward expansion of the building since the 1960s. A campaign to raise the anticipated cost of \$500,000 was begun in 1972. The college architects, Clark, Nexsen, & Owen, who by now were thoroughly experienced with the college's difficult terrain, projected a handsome addition with patio space and the high-quality interiors that had characterized their other college buildings. Some generous gifts were made, and in 1973 the trustees approved putting the project out for bids. The results were disappointing; the only bid exceeded expected revenues by \$125,000. Modifications were made, and eventually a contract for \$580,000 was approved with work to begin in the summer of 1975. The construction proceeded slowly; rock was, of course, an "unexpected" complication, and materials were delayed; but by early 1976, the building was ready for occupancy. The final cost was \$725,000.

The expanded Wenger Hall was dedicated on 1 May 1976 during alumnae homecoming. The address was given by the Honorable Andrew P. Miller, the Attorney General of Virginia, who spoke on pluralism in education. Since it was the United States Bicentennial year, the Wenger Student Center was designated the college's "bicentennial building." President Kelly presided at the alumnae luncheon, the glee club sang, Mrs. Wenger and members of her family were in attendance, Miss Parker came from Chattanooga for the ceremony and Patty Joe Montgomery was awarded the Emily Smith Medallion. Although it rained, it was a joyous occasion, which briefly masked the tense and serious difficulties of the 1975-76 session.⁵³

The occupying of Wenger brought some other physical changes to the campus. The bookstore had moved from its cramped quarters in Hunt to the new building and Mrs. Moore retired. The new manager was Helena ("Tidge") Roller, and the expanded space made possible a wider selection of books, supplies and mementos for student needs. The space in Hunt vacated by the bookstore now became a large lecture room and a small chapel. The language laboratory, which needed new equipment, was transferred to the first floor of Grafton Library, where it unhappily competed for space with the curriculum materials laboratory of the Education department. Also on the first floor of Grafton

were the audio-visual facilities and the Art Department. Although a small amount of money was found for updating the language equipment, the swift pace of technology had made the entire facility obsolete. Nothing, however, could be done about it, and the successive assaults on the Modern Language academic offerings seriously weakened what had, at one time, been a strong and flourishing department.⁵⁴

Most of the expenditures for the physical plant during the Kelly years were probably necessary. Maintenance and upkeep simply had to be done and new standards of fire regulations and security were mandatory. It would have been inconceivable to delay the Pearce Science Center, which had in fact been approved and begun before Dr. Kelly arrived. The addition to Wenger perhaps might have been postponed, although the principal donor, Mrs. Wenger, was anxious for it to proceed. What might have been done differently, perhaps, is that cost overruns on these projects might have been anticipated, based on past experiences, and planned for. Undue reliance on synod funds should have been avoided; history should have warned that projected synod receipts seldom materialized.

* * * *

It had been immediately apparent that, even if increased enrollment, improved student retention, more economical expenditures of resources had all succeeded, the college simply had to have reliable sources of income beyond student tuition, alumnae support, and government gifts and grants. The endowment had to be dramatically increased so that income from investments could be counted on each year to help pay operating costs and to retire debts.

As early as January 1972, Dr. Kelly suggested to the executive committee that a major capital funds campaign should be considered, and, in April, the trustees gave their consent. This was to be the most carefully and professionally planned of all of the college's efforts and involved an "internal case statement," a time-table of events, five year financial projections and specific goals for specific objectives. As with each of the other three strategies to improve the college's financial well-being, this also involved initial outlays of money. Craven Williams would not be able to devote sufficient time to the campaign on top of all of his other duties, so a new Director (later VP) of Development was ap-

pointed. Roy K. Patteson, Jr., joined the college in 1972.⁵⁵ A professional "fund-raising consultant" was likewise employed and a name for the campaign was chosen. It would be called "New Dimensions," and would be directed by a National Development Council, which Bertie Deming was persuaded to chair. The effort was carefully conceived and organized, and more than two years of work had been done before the public announcement was made in January 1974. The immediate goal (by August 1977) was to secure \$7 million. It was hoped that an additional \$2.8 million might be raised by 1980. There were disappointments as the campaign progressed, but also some major triumphs. More than \$3 million had been promised before the general phase solicitation began. The largest single gift in the college's history, up to that moment, \$1 million, was announced in early 1975. This kind of commitment helped to reverse the impact of the rumors that the college was closing at a time when such support was badly needed.⁵⁶

Thus, by the mid-1970s, a determined effort had been made to identify the factors which were causing such economic stress on the college and to remedy them. All the college constituencies agreed on the identifications. The process of remediation was where there was prolonged debate. By the summer of 1975, some trustees were privately very apprehensive about the college's future.

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In 1967 Dr. Spencer had appointed a faculty committee to reevaluate the curriculum. After a year's study and consultation, a new format had been approved and was instituted in the 1968-69 session, the interim year between Dr. Spencer's and Dr. Kelly's administrations. Designed to meet the "individual needs and interests of " modern young women, the new plan allowed "flexibility, choice, study in depth and independent work." The old pattern of specific courses with very few freshman and sophomore electives was replaced. There were now broadly defined "General Education Requirements" which could be met in a variety of ways over the four-year college program. A student could choose to "major" in a traditional discipline, or, with the approval of her advisor, work on interdisciplinary or independent studies. There were other changes; instead of semester hours, one earned "credits" and fewer courses were studied at one time. A pass/fail option

was available. In the eyes of many, this "new" curriculum seemed revolutionary-even suspect. Still, as many students discovered, some old limits and restrictions remained. Physical Education classes were still required, as was a course in either Old or New Testament. Seniors were still faced with a "general examination" in their major fields and were required to take the Advanced Tests of the Graduate Record Examination. Traditional letter grades remained, and although class cuts were unlimited, attendance was still required at the first and last meetings of each class as well as two days preceding and following holidays. The calendar was also a disappointment. First semester examinations continued to be held at the end of January and graduation took place in early June. The "new" curriculum was barely begun before the tinkering and altering started. A number of "piecemeal" changes were voted on before 1972 when two faculty committees were appointed to review, again, the curriculum as a whole.

In the meantime, some significant changes were made. Within three years, the calendar was adjusted so that first semester examinations were given before Christmas. Commencement was now held in mid-May; Physical Education requirements became less rigorous; the Religion major was dropped, as was the required course in Old or New Testament. By 1972, the "calendar days" cut policy was abandoned, as was the provision that seniors take the GRE in their major fields.

In an effort to broaden academic opportunities as well as to provide some different learning environments, Mary Baldwin College joined, in 1970, seven other colleges and universities in an "Eight College Consortium." Any student, usually in the junior year, might spend a semester or a year at any one of these other partner schools and still be considered as enrolled at her or his own institution. The program was modestly successful. Mary Baldwin women tended to choose either men's or coeducational colleges and thus had an opportunity to observe academic and faculty similarities and differences. With some modifications the consortium program has continued to the present.⁵⁷

The commitment to breaking down the barriers among disciplines was reflected in the various efforts at providing "interdepartmental" courses, especially, given the particular interest of the president, in providing distinctive work for honor scholars. For several years an "Honors Colloquium" titled "The Transformation of Value in the Twentieth Century" was team-taught. Another course, designed particularly for sophomores, addressed

"The Twenty-First Century - A Forecast of the Human Milieu." Primarily designed for honor scholars, these courses were also open to others, space permitting, and major efforts were exerted to encourage students to see the interrelatedness of knowledge. Since the financial problem of the college made it impossible to give them released time, the faculty involved taught these courses as overloads; consequently, the offerings were limited and enrollments were never large. It was hoped that the participants would provide "intellectual leadership for the campus without being 'elitist'," but on at least one occasion, Campus Comments editorialized that "students abuse the new curriculum and the faculty are just as dull and uncreative as the students... Almost no one takes Independent Study opportunities."⁵⁸

For several years there was a determined but largely unsuccessful effort to institute an optional, three-week "mini-semester" in May. The concept was that a variety of courses would be taught by Mary Baldwin faculty both on and off the campus. A student chose only one course of intensive study and would receive regular college credit. In 1972 some 13 courses were offered, but the only ones that had respectable enrollments were Marine Biology (in North Carolina), Ornithology (taught in Michigan), Art (in New York museums) and London theater. Only 35 students had registered, and when, in 1973, a second attempt was made, even lower enrollment brought the experiment to an end. "Our students are not interested in staying on campus at the end of the academic year," Dr. Kelly reported to the trustees.⁵⁹

There were also efforts to utilize the long Christmas vacation (second semester now started in mid-January) to provide externships and "experiential learning" opportunities. The college made a serious effort to arouse student perceptions of the new opportunities awaiting women, but the time limitations made it difficult to arrange for more than a few days' externship, and only a modest number of students responded to the opportunities. Those who did found the experience valuable - and they set a precedent for the future.

Still, there were some rewarding achievements in the early years of the Kelly administration. In 1967, Dr. Spencer and Mrs. Grafton had judged that the college might now be able to meet the criteria for the establishment of a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. Every president since Dr. Jarman had aspired to this highest of academic honors, but each, restrained by Martha Grafton's caution, had not wished to apply, only to be rejected. But, with the end

of the Spencer building program in sight, with a doubled enrollment, a new library, adequate faculty salaries, and a strong liberal arts curriculum, Dr. Spencer made the decision to send the necessary petition. The only difficulty that could be seen was the small endowment, but in 1967 that did not seem as large a problem as it would later become.

The process of admission to Phi Beta Kappa takes three years. It involves an on-campus visiting inspection committee and voluminous reports and forms to fill out. There were 14 Phi Beta Kappa members on the faculty, and they formed the nucleus of the petitioning group. There were several steps in the involved process, and, long before the outcome was known, Dr. Spencer had gone to Davidson, Dr. Kelly had been installed as president, and Mrs. Grafton had retired. It was not until September 1970, that the college was officially notified that its request had been approved. The final arrangements were made and, on 26 April 1971 in the Reigner Room of the Grafton Library, the Lambda Chapter of Virginia of Phi Beta Kappa was officially installed by the President of the United Chapters, Dr. Rosemary Park. Her address was called "The Right to Excellence." Mary Baldwin was the eleventh college in Virginia to receive a Phi Beta Kappa chapter.⁶⁰

On 1 March 1976 another signal honor occurred. The Laurel Circle of Omicron Delta Kappa was installed. Mary Baldwin was the first woman's college in the United States to be granted privileges of membership in this distinguished college leadership honorary, and it was a fitting addition to the celebration of the United States' Bicentennial year.

There are other changes to note, small in themselves, but debate-provoking at the time. In 1970, the Tate Demonstration School, which was leasing space in the Potter Building of the First Presbyterian Church, added a kindergarten program.⁶¹ The summer program to Oxford was discontinued in 1970, due to low enrollment, but revived in 1971 in a partnership with Davidson College. This arrangement ended in 1981, but the Summer at Oxford program continued. Students from the consortium colleges joined Mary Baldwin women in this unique summer study opportunity. After a great deal of debate, the faculty agreed in 1972 to address their colleagues, on formal occasions, as Mr., Mrs., or Ms., regardless of their advanced degrees. The perception of the Committee on the Status of Women was that students (and others) tended to address men faculty as "Dr." (whether or not

they were entitled to that status) and women faculty as "Mrs." or "Miss." The experiment was only mildly successful. That same year, after an equally impassioned debate, the faculty agreed to dispense with bells announcing the beginning and ending of class periods. The old system was worn out, classrooms were now widely dispersed, there was no money for more sophisticated equipment and, in spite of the prophesy of dire consequences, the faculty proved capable of starting and stopping at appropriate times without outside assistance.

The Grafton Library used the early years of the Kelly presidency to grow into its new quarters. Although sharing space with Art, Audio-Visual, Language and Curriculum Materials laboratories, Music, and Drama, the librarians were assured that they had first priority as the Library's physical needs increased. They concentrated on improving the collection, adding materials on women's studies, black culture, and Biblical and religious subjects. The elimination of outdated or inappropriate material continued. The library staff regularly scheduled tours as part of freshman orientation, offered a course in information resources, taught student assistants reference skills, expanded bibliographical aids and sought means of evaluating their services. The Library budget was cut by 13%, and again in 1975-76 an even more extensive cut was proposed. Library staff salaries were "frozen" when other faculty salaries were, and, as elsewhere, the staff felt that they needed more clerical help. It seemed difficult to understand, therefore, when in 1973 a new Director of the Library, Philip C. Wei, was hired. Gertrude Davis, who had been at the college for 18 years, was designated as an Associate Librarian and Head of Technical Services. The only explanation given was the desire to elevate the Director of the Library to the same status as others designated as "directors," and to increase library services as the intellectual center of the campus. The new arrangement did not work well, and Mr. Wei resigned in June 1976.

To help compensate for the loss of funds, and also to make more visible the library's services to the community, a Library Associates group was organized in 1972. Charter membership was 205, and an Advisory Council headed by Mrs. Virginia Perry planned some well-received programs. The library collection benefited by their interest – and their dues.⁶²

The Challenges of the 70s committee had emphasized that the college should consider "more closely" its responsibilities towards its students "as women" and that it particularly explore the

possibility of career awareness in areas not traditionally associated with either women or liberal arts. In December 1970, a major conference, "Women in Industry: New Perceptions from Government, Industry, and Education," was held on the campus. Endorsed and planned by a trustee committee, chaired by Ralph W. Kittle of International Paper, Inc. and the president's office, the three-day meeting featured nationally recognized speakers and four major corporate officers. The papers and seminar presentations were later published, and the consensus was that business and government had a lot to learn about liberal arts and women, and that liberal arts colleges needed to encourage their students to prepare for and to seek positions in middle management when they left school.⁶³

There followed serious efforts at establishing a Career Planning and Counseling Center on campus. In 1971-72, Edward A. Soetje joined the staff of Vice President Williams' office, but financial considerations and other factors led to the conclusion that his position could no longer be funded. From 1972 until the almost-end of Dr. Kelly's presidency, Fran Dudley Schmid, acting as the Administrative Assistant to the Vice President, tried valiantly to develop an appropriate Career Planning Center and to encourage recruiters to visit the campus. Although Fran Schmid had been at the college as a student and employee since 1940, this was a new area of college service, and she taught herself as she sought to help the students. Her office arranged "externships" for the students who were interested, and she began to build a library of career planning materials. The major curriculum revision of 1974-75 put additional pressure on this office, and in 1975 Frank R. Pancake, on partially released time from Political Science, was named Director of Career Planning and Placement. He and Fran reported to Roy K. Patteson, who had become vice president in 1975.

This program was further handicapped by the undefined relationship that existed between it and the Career and Personal Guidance Center headed by Dr. Lillian Pennell. It will be recalled that this center, sponsored by the Synod of Virginia, had been associated with the college since 1955. In the 1960's, as enrollment had doubled, the Center was moved from Riddle, which was needed as a dormitory, to a house which the college rented on Coalter Street, not far from Spencer dormitory. Here it was out of the mainstream of campus life, and few Mary Baldwin students took advantage of its services. One student remarked that

she would have gone if it had not been for the "stigma" attached to it. Presumably, she was reflecting a prevalent attitude, that only those academically or emotionally in difficulty needed counseling-and besides it was church funded!

In the 1970s the ABV and Dean Smeak worked hard to set up a program to make students more aware of setting life goals and of the many opportunities awaiting them. Dr. Pennell and her staff were incorporated in a plan designed to affect students during their four years of college. During orientation and in a series of conferences held thereafter, freshmen would take a battery of aptitude and interest tests designed to show them their strengths, weaknesses, and vocational bents. This information would assist their faculty advisors as they helped the freshmen plan a four year program. Sophomores would take a course in Personal and Career Development, funded by the ABV in 1975-76 and taught by a member of Dr. Pennell's staff. During her junior year, a Mary Baldwin student was encouraged to try externships and experiential learning opportunities, and her senior year was to be devoted to completing her portfolio, meeting recruiters and learning about employment opportunities. It was a carefully thought out program, and, as is true with most new ventures, it needed time to become known and accepted. It also needed more professional staffing.⁶⁴

Two more aspects of the curriculum need to be recalled. In September 1972 the college began a ten-week evening program of "enrichment" and academic credit courses for adults. Taught by the college faculty and various adjuncts, the program was ordered to be self-supporting. The original enrollment was 110, 11 of whom were regular college students who paid no additional fee. Spring enrollment was not as successful, and in succeeding years the evening courses were offered only in the fall. Eventually college student participation had to be limited, since it was generally perceived that the evening courses were "easier" and students opted for this possibility. Called "Continuing Education," some kind of community programs have been sponsored by Mary Baldwin College for the last 20 years.⁶⁵

Pursuant to the 70s Committee report, the college also sought to develop summer programs. The luxury of the three-month summer vacation, when all the maintenance, painting and repairing could be done, came to an end. One of the first such activities was a summer Tennis America Camp. This was a franchise camp, associated with Billie Jean and Larry King. The campers would

use the college facilities, and it was anticipated that there would be a modest profit for the college. A three-year contract was signed in 1973, but the enrollment remained low and the college summer tennis club, available to townspeople and the college faculty, resented sharing the available courts. The second year saw even lower enrollment, and Tennis America was declared bankrupt that fall. The college was owed a considerable sum and eventually recovered at least part of it, but no profit from this venture was realized.⁶⁶

Much more successful was the Governor's School for the Gifted program, which Dr. Kelly, with his interest and experience in honors programs, had done a great deal to bring about. The State of Virginia was persuaded to fund, each year, beginning in 1972, three summer programs for talented high school students, to be located at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Mary Washington College and Mary Baldwin. Because of her modern science facilities, and because of Dr. Kelly's role in securing the legislation, Mary Baldwin College was chosen as the site of the program focusing on science and technology. For the remainder of Dr. Kelly's presidency, Dr. Ben Smith organized and directed the Staunton Governor's School. Not only did it add to the college's prestige to be chosen as one of these locations, it was hoped that the young women attending would become interested in returning as Mary Baldwin students. Some did.⁶⁷

The Spencer curriculum had been in existence for less than four years, when there was serious consideration given to another major curriculum study. In part, this came from the President's Committee's suggestion, but more from faculty perception that the curriculum as it stood was a compromise and did not really speak to the needs of the young women they were trying to serve. The Academic Dean, Marjorie Chambers, had read widely in educational philosophy and methodology and was fully committed to helping the college's young women become aware of their own capabilities and in providing them with the opportunity to prepare to take advantage of the new options which were emerging. A thorough-going intellectual herself, the dean envisioned a whole new college environment for questioning, thinking, learning and experiencing without lockstep procedures and boring repetition of materials already mastered. Delivering the Honors Convocation address 25 January 1973, Dean Chambers said that we must eliminate "societal stereotypes of what women should be." Women must "gain" the courage to use their intelligence...

"this college is a place devoted consciously to helping women gain the courage and self confidence to fight against inner and outer barriers." The following October, Dr. M. Elizabeth Tidball spoke at Founders' Day and suggested that graduates of women's colleges succeeded in non-traditional careers better than women graduates of coeducational institutions. "A woman's college," she said, "is a good place to be."

The faculty appointed an ad hoc Committee on the Improvement and Evaluation of Teaching (CIET) and expanded the membership of the Educational Policy Committee (EPC). They ordered an exhaustive study of the 1968 curriculum. Both committees had student members. Throughout the 1972-73 session and during the summer of 1973, the two committees labored. They imposed, not only on themselves, but on all the faculty and many of the staff, extraordinary demands in terms of questionnaires, forms, meetings, discussions, evaluations, and workshops. All academic classes were cancelled on 5 April 1973 so that an all-day seminar on alternative teaching methods and modes of learning could be held. No one could question the commitment and the energy of these committee members, but they were sometimes hard to live with. In September 1973, the committees were ready to present their proposal, "A New Educational Pattern for Mary Baldwin College," to the entire faculty. The complicated plan was discussed in the regular September and October faculty meetings, written versions were distributed, and, at a called meeting 22 October 1973, the proposal was put to a vote. Six members of the faculty were absent, as were, of course, those who were involved in the overseas programs. There have been few faculty meetings at Mary Baldwin College as prolonged and divisive as this one. There first had to be a decision on who was entitled to vote, and then whether absentee ballots were to be allowed, and whether the vote would be by secret ballot. The faculty next had to decide whether the proposal should be voted on as a whole or broken down into its component parts and voted on separately. The two committees were adamant that the "package" had to be accepted in toto, that all the parts were necessary or the program would be severely handicapped. Eventually all these issues were settled and the ballots were counted. The decision was made to accept the "New Educational Pattern," but the vote was uncomfortably close and the objections many faculty and students had were long-lasting. It took several years and some modification before the program could fully reach its potential, and,

although parts of it remain 20 years later, experience showed that some of the idealistic expectations were not grounded in reality. However, it should be remembered that the 1970s was an idealistic decade.

The essentials of the new program can be briefly described: There would be five divisions, instead of academic departments, each headed by a coordinator. Two of the "divisions" were concerned with "Professional Training and Experiential Learning" and "Interdisciplinary Studies." The divisional structure, it was hoped, would encourage collegiality and would permit students to see the interrelatedness of traditional subjects. Students would "design" their own programs, assisted by knowledgeable and sympathetic faculty advisors and by a competent and capable career and advising center. There were no specific distribution or graduation requirements, since the advisor would, presumably, see that each student during her college years developed a well-rounded program and a coherent "concentration of studies." The calendar was divided into five terms, two of six-weeks duration to be completed before Christmas, a four-week January term, and two more six-week terms in the spring, thus allowing the possibility of different time learning frames. Students were to choose not only different-length courses, but were to seek different learning formats, i.e., lectures, discussion, self-paced study, laboratory experience, and seminars. The January term was designed to encourage externships or to provide the opportunity for a concentrated examination of one subject. Grading was to be based on "competency" as described in the course description.

In addition, a pilot program for freshman studies would be initiated, although the numbers of faculty needed to carry out the concept (four, plus visiting lecturers for 55 students) imposed a severe strain on the diminishing faculty. Also planned was a renewed, more comprehensive system of student evaluation of the faculty and of individual courses.

The most serious objections to the new proposal came from the Science faculty, for whom it imposed special difficulties, and from some of the language faculty, the Fine Arts and from Physical Education. Their fears of severe impact on their enrollments were not totally borne out over the next few years, but there is no question that the new curriculum imposed additional teaching and advising responsibilities on an already over-stressed faculty.⁶⁸

In spite of all this, the "New Educational Pattern" was in-

stalled for the session 1974-75 - hardly a propitious moment. In spite of the timing, the college community adapted and some even found themselves challenged and excited. Because insufficient funding, staffing, and time were apparent difficulties, the faculty proceeded to establish a priorities committee to keep, as they expressed it, a "close watch over educational programs and budget matters." That same year, the required 10-year SACS Self-Study had to be undertaken. Again, the burden on faculty, staff, and to a lesser degree, trustees and students, was great; but it did provide the opportunity for an objective review of the college's situation. The "Recommendations and Conclusions" of the Self-Study were to have unexpected consequences.⁶⁹

A word much heard in the 1970s was "relevant." Faculty, no more immune than other human beings to current fads and fancies, sought "relevancy" in their course offerings. They developed new courses and included current materials in older offerings. Not all the new courses introduced in these years survived, but many of them did. Examples include: The History of Black Americans; War and Social Change; Ibsen and Strindberg; Science and Religion; England and the Chesapeake World; Jews in the 20th Century; and Sociology of Women. Others were: Death and Dying; Women in Society; Accounting; Linguistics; Biochemistry; The Letters of Paul; Social Biology; Musicology; Social Protest in America; American Architecture; Anthropology; History of Jazz; The Role of Women in Hispanic-American Literature; and by 1976, when an Economics/Business Major had been introduced, courses in Business Law, Principals of Marketing, and Personnel Management had been approved. In 1976, an ROTC program (working with established programs on other campuses) had been accepted and the expansion of teacher certification programs into Special Education categories had begun. Two special programs were of considerable interest, one funded by the National Science Foundation and coordinated with Hollins, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and Sweet Briar titled "Increasing Women in Science through Reshaping Role Perception," was directed by Psychology professor Donald D. Thompson. This experiment coordinated lectures, seminars, films, field trips and internships for young women at the participating colleges with the expectation that more of them would elect a scientific career as their perceptions altered. The other was a grant which enabled a Mary Baldwin College Mathematics instructor and three students to work in applied mathematics at NASA's Langley base

during the January term or in the summer.

In 1974, another dimension was added to the college's intellectual environment. The Carroll Lectures, the first endowed lectureship in the college's history was established by Jane Frances Smith (class of '37) honoring her history professor, Dr. Mary Swan Carroll. These annual programs brought distinguished historians and archivists to the campus for a series of presentations and for classroom discussions with students and faculty. The first Carroll lecture was presented 24 September 1974 by Willie Lee Rose, who spoke on "The Domestication of Domestic Slavery" and "Childhood in Bondage." Subsequent years saw equally stimulating and provocative topics.

* * * *

It is perhaps ironic that the Special Report titled "Who's in Charge?" had noted that no president of a college or university "can prevail indefinitely without at least the tacit support of the faculty."⁷⁰ Dr. Kelly had made a promise to the MBC faculty, early in his presidency, that he would include them and all other of the college's constituencies in his decision-making process. He tried sincerely to do so. But of all of the various groups at the college, it was the faculty that caused him the most trouble.

In 1969-70, the faculty numbered 61. Enrollments declined sharply and six years later, in 1975-76, there were only 52 full-time equivalent faculty employed. In the intervening years, six of the older professors retired and often, because of demographics, were not replaced. Others, discouraged by the financial crises, left when they could. Bill Kelly had appointed about half of those who remained, and it might have been expected that this would promote a special relationship; but in most cases it did not.

It was a curious faculty. Of the 40 men and women who came to Mary Baldwin between 1969 and 1976, only eight remained 20 years later. It was a relatively young group, both in years and in experience at the college.⁷¹ They were well-qualified, with about two-thirds of them holding Ph.D's. About half were women, who were often paid less for comparable work than their male counterparts. The 1970s was a time of limited academic opportunities for the flood of bright young graduate students who were completing their work at distinguished universities, only to discover that they were unable to find teaching positions. Particularly vulnerable were liberal arts graduates, and many were forced to accept

positions in institutions for which they felt themselves to be over-qualified. The effect of this on their attitudes toward the colleges which employed them was sometimes unfortunate. Salaries were low, not only at Mary Baldwin, but throughout the country. Double digit inflation eroded their earnings (most had no savings), and many colleges could not afford cost-of-living increases. In the case of Mary Baldwin, as has been seen, there were two years during the Kelly presidency when there were no increases in salaries at all, and this added to faculty frustrations and economic hardships. There was little faculty mobility during these years. If one had a position, one kept it if he/she could, because the chances of finding another were so small. If one had tenure, that was almost a guarantee that one would stay where he/she was for the rest of his/her professional life, whether or not one was satisfied with the position. There was nowhere else to go. Many institutions, particularly smaller ones, were in danger of becoming "tenured in," but efforts at preventing this only added to insecurities and hard feelings.

Mary Baldwin's new curriculum sought to focus on areas of expanded opportunities for women such as Business and Economics, Computer Training, Biology, and Special Education, which meant that faculty competent in those areas needed to be hired; but what did you do with your present faculty in areas such as languages, Physical Education, Religion, Philosophy, and Music, where enrollments were declining? Some faculty sought to develop new skills, or to construct new courses in areas of perceived needs; but there were little or no funds to support such professional reeducation, and not many of the "older" faculty could make these transitions. All of these factors shaped faculty perceptions of themselves and of the institutions which employed them. Many of the younger ones brought with them the ideas and concepts of their peers from the 1960s. There was a suspicion of authority, a mistrust of administrators and trustees, an "adversarial" style of confrontation, a nagging sense of injustice, an impatience with tradition, courtesy and good manners. All of this did not make for a happy faculty-or tranquil faculty meetings. On the other hand, these were very bright, hard-working, conscientious professionals who wanted to teach, for the most part enjoyed their students, and wanted to change the academic program to meet the concerns of the 70s. They were agreeable to student evaluations of their courses and methodologies, although few of them carried idealism to the point of believing that anyone other than themselves

should see the evaluations. Many of them sympathized with student efforts to modify social regulations and frequently shared student perceptions of social and political concerns. Physically, they differed from previous faculty, as well. As student dress codes vanished, so, too, did faculty conventional dress. Few of the younger male faculty wore jackets and ties to class, and young women faculty wore the same blue jeans, or peasant skirts, loose shirts and sandals as their students. This was an era of much preoccupation with hair. The students wore theirs long and straight, usually falling onto their faces and obstructing their vision. Men's hair was also noticeably longer, and, in October 1969, Campus Comments remarked that seven faculty "sport hairy facial additions." When one of these individuals was asked why he grew a beard, he answered, "You don't usually ask a tree why it grows leaves."⁷²

The faculty worked hard. The Self-Study estimated conservatively that most of them spent between 53 and 55 hours weekly on their professional duties.⁷³ They were over-organized. There were eight standing faculty committees, some of which required much time and effort. In addition, two ad hoc committees, the committee on improvement and excellence in teaching and the committee on the status of women, were extremely time-consuming. There were 14 other "college" committees, all requiring some faculty representation as well as faculty presence at trustees' and ABV meetings, which were expected. They were, of course, expected to attend college functions and to support student athletic, artistic and social endeavors.⁷⁴

The new curriculum, because of its divisional structure, had led to a reorganization of the faculty, but it seemed to many that the divisions simply added an additional layer of bureaucracy, rather than lessening collective faculty activity.

Because of the financial stresses and because many members of the faculty considered that economic measures which affected them had been decided without their knowledge, they insisted on sharing in the "governance" of the college. Much of their committee work on priorities, faculty tenure and status, budget, and status of women came directly from their perception that the administration was not dealing fairly or honestly with them. They understood the reasons why there were financial difficulties, but they disagreed with the distribution of the limited resources. As the total number of faculty decreased, they were fearful that further cuts would imperil academic standards, and they

insisted that the new curriculum, to be properly implemented, required more, not fewer, faculty numbers. In addition, they bitterly resented what they perceived to be unnecessary staffing in administrative offices and the increase in administrative budgets at the expense of the faculty.⁷⁵

The presence of the AAUP was more prominent on the campus during the Kelly years than it had ever been before. The local chapter was active in demanding that AAUP guidelines for salaries and fringe benefits, academic freedom, status and tenure be accepted by the administration. A greatly enlarged and detailed Faculty Handbook was published, after being reviewed and endorsed by the national AAUP, and some administrators and trustees felt the erosion of their previous authority and resented it.

The newly appointed Committee on the Status of Women (1974), having studied a scattergram of faculty salaries, reached the conclusion that there were "male superstars" and "female cinderellas" on the college faculty. Twenty women were paid less than the median salary (\$12,565), but only nine men were. Although the highest salary was \$17,850, only three women earned more than \$15,000. This was not, the committee decided, the result of intentional sexual bias; it reflected "social expectations" and "market place" realities. But immediate positive action should be taken.⁷⁶ The administration responded by asking, "How?."

Attendance at faculty meetings was poor all through the Kelly era, but absences of 17 or 18 were not unusual during the crises years of 1974 and 1975. People were tired and discouraged. The Self-Study concluded the section on the faculty with the following evaluation:

With respect to new measures of faculty participation in institutional governance, we think that the faculty, at this point in time, is already carrying too heavy a responsibility in this area. We recommend, therefore, that the areas of faculty concern and administrative concern be more clearly defined than they now are, that the faculty attend only to those matters which fall under its purview, and that the committee structure of the college be simplified as much as possible. We respectfully suggest

that entirely too much faculty time and energy have been spent in recent years on internal governance and changes in the organization of the college. Teaching should be the first priority for our faculty, and the priority should be restored and sustained.

It was a conclusion with which many could agree.⁷⁷

* * * *

The alumnae network had been firmly established during the Spencer years, and the "partnership" concept with the college had been well reinforced. Virginia Munce had been the Director of Alumnae Activities since 1963. By 1969, when President Kelly arrived, she had established a well-organized office, an active and dedicated Board of Directors for the Alumnae Association, and a popular calendar of annual events. In spite of the Spencer and then Kelly special fund-raising campaigns, the alumnae "annual fund" grew, both in numbers of participants and amounts raised. There was an excellent Mary Baldwin Bulletin which twice a year was devoted to college news and alumnae activities, and a vigorous chapter visitation program had kept the far-flung local chapters active and stimulated. The alumnae liked Dr. Kelly and his family. He met them easily and was comfortable in their homes and visiting the local chapters. Some alumnae, of course, were now members of the board of trustees, the advisory board of Visitors, and the National Committee for the New Dimensions campaign, so they were fully aware of the deepening financial crises, and they made extra efforts to support the college and to identify areas where they might be helpful.

Always mindful that the present students were tomorrow's alumnae, the association regularly sponsored a "senior banquet," usually in the fall, to introduce the students to the functions and responsibilities of alumnae work. They established a Student Relations Committee in 1971 and created a modest fund to help pay the expenses of student leaders who wished to attend state and regional leadership conferences. Some alumnae responded to requests that they address the various career seminars that were organized during these years to acquaint the students with professional options; and their "continuing education" March seminars, held in Hunt Hall, were popular, not only with local

graduates and the community, but with students as well. The alumnae sponsored the last Honor Society Breakfast (15 May 1970), and a dinner for Elizabeth Parker, Ruth McNeil and Lillian Rudeseal when they retired (24 April 1972).

They did some things for themselves as well. When Biology vacated the building on New and Frederick, the alumnae asked President Kelly to allow them to return to what had been, in the 1930s, the Alumnae Club House. They shared the space with the Career Planning and Placement Center but were delighted to return to more private quarters. They established, in 1970, a new category of alumnae membership - "honorary, non-voting" - and elected Martha Grafton and Mildred Taylor as the first two honorary members. That same year, they began the custom of an Alumnae Worship Service during Homecoming. Initiated by James McAllister, Herbert Turner, and Thomas Grafton, this quickly became a beloved tradition and has continued to the present.

The class notes, so laborious to collect, edit and print, but beloved by alumnae as a way of keeping in touch with friends and classmates, had been dropped from the Bulletin in 1969 as not befitting the dignity of an expanded and professionalized journal; but in May 1975, the custom of class notes was renewed by, apparently, popular demand and has been continued.

By 1972, Virginia Munce had begun tentative plans to offer travel tours with special rates for Mary Baldwin alumnae and friends. These were successful for many years, and the concept has now merged with the Continuing Education programs of the present college.

In 1975, seeking a fund-raising activity, the alumnae decided to print a cookbook, including favorite faculty, administration, and alumnae recipes. Called From Ham to Jam, the first edition was published in September 1977 and was very popular. It included some of "B.C.'s" recipes and, of course, Miss Fannie's brownies.

Individual chapters undertook special projects and some made very generous gifts to the Pearce Science Center, and later Wenger Hall. Alumnae role in the admissions process has already been referred to, but their continued efforts in this area were invaluable.

They were not without questions. In 1973-74, Dr. Kelly made over 50 visits to various alumnae chapters, and they peppered him with queries about the lack of student social regulations ("pari-

etals" were very hard for many of them to accept), what kind of religious life activities were now held, and when an extended career counseling center might be expected. Dr. Kelly found it as hard to explain to the alumnae as it was to everyone else why the Madrid and Paris programs had ended, but throughout the difficult years, the alumnae remained, for the most part, committed and loyal.⁷⁸

* * * *

Of all of the changes on campus between 1969-76, the most visible, and often the most controversial, were those pertaining to students: their appearance, their social life, their attitudes and beliefs, their academic orientation and life goals. It is not difficult to deeply empathize with these young women and the mixed signals they received. Mostly from middle-class, conventional families, accustomed to fairly specific limitations on their behavior, they arrived on a campus which, in the short space of four years, went from the *in loco parentis* attitudes familiar to their parents, to an environment that had few, if any, specific prohibitions and largely ignored guidelines. They were young (most of them 18-22), idealistic, anxious to bring credit to themselves and their families, but equally anxious to be "inner-directing" adults in a bewildering world. Assaulted by the music, the clothing, the life styles, the values of the counter-culture, prodded by professors and peers to question, experiment, and test for themselves, rebellious--as only young women who first leave home can be--unsure and insecure, they stood between two very different historical eras and were pulled in many directions. In the "shared governance" and more open community of the college, they were aware, of course, of the problems facing the administration and faculty. Many were indifferent, taken up with their own concerns and heartbreaks; others were anxious, and a few--mostly those serving on various boards and committees--took on the additional burden of trying to solve the college's predicament. They were the first generation of students to experience the freedoms of the new academic curriculum, the first young women who could vote at the age of 18, the first to decide for themselves where, when, and how much alcohol to drink, the first to visit, unaccompanied, college men's apartments, the first to invite young men to their own dormitory rooms, the first to know those who openly experimented with drugs and sex, the first to have the right to a legal abortion,

the first to be made to feel guilty because of who and what they were. These young women would not look back on their college days as tranquil pools of friendship and community, a privileged four-year transition between childhood and adulthood. Without fully realizing it, they were pioneers, and pioneers live risky, stressful, anxious but sometimes exhilarating lives.

In 1968, when Dr. Spencer left, the 25 mile rule was still in effect, "approved housing" for overnight, except for seniors, was mandatory, no alcohol was allowed at college sponsored events or anywhere on campus, chapels and/or convocations were held three times a week, and students were required to report their own unexcused absences. Only seniors could have automobiles. Shorts and slacks could not be worn in public, and student dates were to be appropriately dressed. Beds were to be made by mid-morning. There were adult resident counselors in the major dormitories, and meals, except for breakfast, were still served family style.

Eight years later, all these and other regulations had been reversed. Other than the request that "attire be neat and in good taste," no dress requirements for either men or women existed. Beer was available at college social events and was sold in the Rathskeller in Wenger Hall. All students were allowed to bring automobiles to campus. There was active campaigning for SGA offices, complete with posters, slogans, speeches and sponsors. There were detailed statements of the rights of students accused of violating the Honor System, and a Review Board was established with carefully (and legally) drawn procedures for appeal from an Honor Court decision. Refrigerators and TV sets appeared in student rooms. An elaborate "private" sign-out system was devised. Students as well as faculty academic advisors assisted in course selection, and peer advisors appeared in place of adults in the dormitories. The cherished "parietals" were gradually granted. The Federal Family Education Rights and Privacy Acts (the so-called Buckley Amendment) was endorsed, and the Catalogue became a kind of legal contract between a student and the college administration. After the student bank closed, student accounts were often deposited in local banks or in home institutions, and for the first time the problem of checks returned for "insufficient funds" was persistent and visible. The SGA devised a "cold check" committee to try to solve the embarrassing problem. Dormitories and rooms within dormitories were now kept locked. Campus security, both for possessions and persons, was an ongo-

ing concern. The old statement about secret marriages and dismissal because a student was "out of sympathy" with college standards was quietly withdrawn. In its place a Code of Conduct declared:

Code of Conduct

Mary Baldwin College is a community of scholars in which there is an atmosphere of learning as well as a sense of community. The College prides itself upon the principles of academic integrity, self-respect, and individual responsibility.

A student who enrolls in the College assumes an obligation to conduct herself in a manner compatible with these principles, and to see that her guests observe them at all times.

I. The College will not tolerate abusive language or indecent conduct which would be offensive to the campus community.

II. No student shall knowingly injure, threaten, or degrade a member of the College community.

III. No student shall intentionally or maliciously damage or destroy property in the care of or belonging to the College, or to a member of the College community, or to a campus visitor.

IV. No student shall fail to comply with directions by members of the faculty, administration, staff, or elected student officers of the College when said officials are acting in performance of their duties.

V. No student shall fail to comply with any disciplinary conditions imposed upon her by a judiciary body.

VI. All students and their guests must show consideration for the residents of Staunton, especially our close neighbors, and behave in a manner compatible with the standard of the larger community.⁷⁹

Probably no issue was more controversial than the privilege which the students labeled "parietal." In colleges and universities

across the country in the early 70s, the concept that a student's dormitory room was the equivalent of an adult apartment or hotel room was embraced by a rebellious student generation. At 18, they declared, they were old enough to vote, to be drafted, to drive a car, to (within limits) drink alcohol, to smoke, to marry or to live together as they chose. The intense desire to set their own standards (a kind of "privatization" which rejected externally imposed limits on personal conduct, be they religious or secular), led to the demand that college students be able to entertain whom they chose and when they desired in their own housing. The problems this created, particularly for women's colleges, which traditionally had two-or even three-girl rooms and communal bathrooms, were obvious, but one by one the women's colleges yielded. Mary Baldwin was among the last to seek a solution which could accommodate majority student demands, community disapproval, trustees' apprehensions and parents' almost universal opposition.

The whole debate, which lasted for more than three years, culminated in a difficult 1972-73 session. That spring, the student senate was working on a parietal proposal and Dr. Kelly was deeply concerned. He feared the effects on his cherished New Dimensions Campaign, as well as the college's relationship with the synod. On 2 March 1972, he sent a letter to the parents of all the students, warning them that major changes in social regulations were being debated, and asking for their opinions. "Too many of the girls' schools," he wrote, "are giving in much too quickly." He would not, he explained, be guided by majority opinion; the rights of each student to "privacy, quiet and security" would "be protected." And, in a follow-up letter on 9 March 1972, he declared, "Parietals are not being approved." Easter vacation that year was 22 March - 5 April, and without administrative knowledge, the SGA sent its own letter to parents, explaining that Sweet Briar, Hollins, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Mary Washington, and even Agnes Scott now permitted some kind of male visitation in dormitory rooms.

As might be expected, a flood of protests from irate and distressed parents poured into the president's office. Some threatened to withdraw their daughters if the school changed its regulations. Most, caught between their daughter's desires and their own apprehensions, insisted that they trusted their own children, but feared for the security and privacy of roommates and other young women without visitors. The spring passed with continued

debates, and with administration efforts to provide more lounges, parlors, and areas for dates to informally enjoy each others' company. The back gallery of Administration would be open on weekends for ping pong, billiards, and conversation. A "date house" next to Blakely was set up so that young men could have inexpensive lodgings when they attended events at the college. As the new student center was being discussed, administrative pleas for "patience" and assurances that there would be areas for student entertainment, fell on deaf ears. "The College," wrote a young woman in Campus Comments, has "restrictive, unhealthy and unrealistic living conditions... it borders on repression."

When the college opened in September 1972, an "open dorm experiment" was permitted on the weekends of 22 September and 6 October. All went well, and on 1 December 1972, the Review Board approved the SGA Senate legislation permitting male visitation on weekends, with the pointed reminder that students were responsible for the behavior of their guests. The new policy was to go into effect on 1 January 1973 and the camel's nose was indeed in the tent. By 1976, parietals were allowed every day in the week. Each dormitory voted on its own choice of day and hour options. At least one trustee resigned as a result of the decision. Membership on the ABV was harder to recruit, churches and corporations cut their contributions, and the college's reputation in the Staunton community came under severe attack.⁸⁰

The college's relationship with its community neighbors became increasingly tense. Not only did students' automobiles fill on-street parking spaces, but their middle-of-the-week and weekend parties were loud, noisy, characterized by "public drinking, disorderly conduct, abusive language, speeding vehicles, public urination" and destruction of telephone poles, fire alarms, and damage to the inadequate men's rooms. In late 1974, Dr. Kelly suspended parietals for two weeks and barred men from the Chute for a month because of flagrant misconduct. Students were outraged. Posters appeared declaring "no ultimatum without warning" and an editorial proclaimed that this was an "intense exhibition of a most reactionary form of paternalism." "Most institutions," they declared, "have 24 hour parietals... the administration has disregarded and violated the inherent human need for privacy."⁸¹

A question-answer column in Campus Comments in 1973-74 was labeled "Carousel" became "many students feel that it is impossible to obtain a straight answer from the Mary Baldwin

administration." As late as February 1976, Campus Comments was complaining that "stringent rules, security guards and interference from the local police," scared males away.

The spring of 1974 saw a new campus diversion. Campus Comments printed pictures of Mary Baldwin "streakers," usually running at night, with dark glasses and strategically held towels. Most wore some kind of underwear, and one young woman, when interviewed, said she did it to have "something to tell my grandchildren." It was not long before the few remaining cadets at Staunton Military Academy were joining these moonlight activities - and then, inevitably spectators from town arrived. Concerned about security, Craven Williams appealed to the students to stop - and sensibly they did.⁸²

One reads the Campus Comments of these years with the recognition that social revolutions are, like all revolutions, painful. It was painful for the participants, and for those who loved them as well. It would take some years before the campus would zig-zag back to a saner, more balanced social situation, but, as will be seen, it eventually did. And, there is another side to the campus story - even in the 70s.

Mary Baldwin students did feel strongly an obligation to their college community. In 1970, a Voluntary Action Center was organized in Staunton. Funded by a federal Title I grant and located at Hill Top Dormitory, it was the only such center on a college campus in the country. It sought to make the myriad volunteer groups in Staunton more effective. Under its broad umbrella were such organizations as Big Brother/Big Sister, tutorial services for public school children, blood donors, and assistance for VSDB. About 200 students, in the course of a year, signed up to join other community volunteers in providing help for those less fortunate. Federal funding was not renewed in 1973 and the office was forced to close, but volunteer efforts continued, culminating in a six-week campaign to raise money for research into the causes and a possible cure for muscular dystrophy. The SGA president, Bonnie Tuggle, saw this project as a way of bringing the campus together in a difficult year, and it did help.⁸³

In addition, the SGA undertook to organize and administer the student evaluations of the academic program required by the new curriculum; they worked hard to restructure the student government and to make effective and fair the Honor Court. Dean Smeak proposed in 1975-76 a student Resident Advisor Program, which was implemented the following year and is now indispens-

able. These upperclassmen were trained to deal with the physical, psychological and emotional problems of their fellow students and were often more effective than administrative persons would have been.⁸⁴

The "diversity" of which the President's Committee had spoken was a bit more apparent by 1976. Although still a very small percentage of the student body, black women became more visible members of the student body. By 1974, they organized the United Black Association (WANAWAKI) and sponsored informal dances in the Chute, an annual Black Culture Week, brought speakers to the campus, movies, art and music seminars. "All races are welcome," said the president of the group. "We seek to promote unity among students." Because some racial tensions did exist, a Human Relations Committee, with faculty and student representation was formed, and a psychological counselor was employed to meet with students on a regular basis and to assist with racial relatedness.⁸⁵

The athletic program at the college was vigorous and visible. It was not until the curriculum change of 1974 that all requirements about Physical Education were dropped, after which student enrollment plummeted for several years. Until then, all students were still required to take a freshman course in Health Education, to pass a swimming survival test and to participate in both team and individual sports. Intercollegiate competition continued in swimming, horseback riding, golf, fencing, and tennis. As local facilities became available, karate, skiing, and ice skating were added to the activities eligible for P.E. credit. Mary Baldwin had a small but well-coached and enthusiastic basketball team (called after 1974 the "Squirrels"), and the MALTA spring tournament (tennis), increasing in size and reputation, continued on the Mary Baldwin campus. Mary Jane Donnalley had resigned in 1970, but Lois Blackburn coached winning teams, which practiced daily, travelled 1300 miles a year to dual matches, and another 400 miles to tournaments. By 1976, Title IX of the Educational Amendment Act requiring that athletic scholarships must be offered to women as well as men at colleges and universities, posed a major threat to Mary Baldwin's dominance in women's tennis. Mary Baldwin offered no athletic scholarships, and its ability to attract strong tennis players had in the past come from distinguished coaches and exposure in prestige tournaments. It was feared, now that attractive scholarships were available elsewhere, Mary Baldwin would no longer be able to

attract competitive players.⁸⁶

The college publications were, of course, affected by the financial exigencies and the revolution in student expectations. It had never been easy to find students willing and able to devote the time and effort good publications require, and the decade of the 70s saw student interest decline. Still, all three publications continued. The Bluestocking experimented with color and photographic techniques and an increase in the informal snapshot sections. The difficulty of persuading students to appear for organization pictures became apparent by 1976, but it was still a distinguished publication. The Miscellany became an annual offering, was shorter, included many examples of student art work as well as prose and poetry. Some of the male day students contributed to the Miscellany and there were excellent contributions from both the Paris and Madrid programs. Campus Comments continued to win All American ratings until 1974 when it faced a real crisis. Dolores Lescure had resigned, and no one could be found who was willing to be either the editor or the sponsor. There were no issues between 9 December 1974 and 4 March 1975, at which time Robert Youth of the Psychology Department had been persuaded to assist the group of young women who acted as collective editors. Campus Comments resumed publication but only appeared every three weeks, instead of the usual bi-monthly pattern. Unfortunately, in January 1976, Dr. Youth felt he could no longer continue in this extra-curricular role. In the light of this emergency, Dolores Lescure agreed to return to assist, and the college newspaper continued. These events are symptomatic of the malaise that befell student publications in many colleges during these years. It would be a long time before some of them recovered. Some never did.⁸⁷

* * * *

There were further changes in the format and procedure for commencement in the Kelly years. Some of the graduations were downright exciting. In 1971, the exercises were held out of doors (as they have continued to be unless inclement weather forces the ceremonies into alternative locations). It had been a beautiful early summer day and Dr. Kelly was presenting some concluding remarks, when an ominous black cloud appeared behind Hunt Hall. It grew bigger and more threatening with surprising rapidity. Dr. Kelly hurried his remarks, parents and visitors

gathered up their possessions, the faculty stirred uneasily, the students, clutching their diplomas, were clearly ready to leave, but the final words of farewell just had to be pronounced. Unfortunately, the rain did not wait, and, without a benediction or a recessional, the occasion abruptly ended as everyone sought shelter from the violent storm which uprooted trees, downed power lines and flooded storm sewers.

The following year saw another unexpected crisis. Baccalaureate was to be held at the First Presbyterian Church, across the street from the college's Administration Building. The church was crowded with parents and friends, the college marshal, Ruth Mc Neil, had faculty and students properly lined up and ready to process, when word came that a telephoned bomb threat had been received. The church was hastily cleared, the faculty and students' lines reversed themselves, and everyone marched up the hill to King auditorium, where both the baccalaureate and later graduation ceremonies were held. The church, of course, was searched, but no bomb was found. This forced the college to consider evacuation procedures and a possible ticket system for future events, since King auditorium was no longer large enough to hold all who wished to attend.

Two years later, seven faculty members objected to being required to attend baccalaureate as, they said, "it violates our rights and conflicts with our deeply held beliefs." Dr. Kelly suggested that they might be excused, but pointed out that students were expected to attend. This particular dilemma was resolved two years later, when, in 1976, the baccalaureate and commencement ceremonies were combined into one event, held on the college campus beginning at 10:30 a.m. . Thus, what had been, in the 1930s, a four-day graduation program has now become a combined alumnae homecoming, senior dinner/dance and baccalaureate/commencement short weekend.

One more change was approved. The college charter had always given the trustees the right of approving honorary degrees, but they had never done so. In the spring of 1976, in grateful recognition of her devoted services and many years of support and encouragement to the college, the faculty voted and the administration and trustees approved the granting of an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters to Bertie Murphy Deming. Thus, another "new dimension" was added to the college's traditions.⁸⁸

* * * *

On a Monday afternoon, 29 September 1975, President Kelly called a general college convocation for 5:00 p.m. . The "mixer" of the week before had been noisy and disruptive and students were concerned that the president intended to restrict parietals again.⁸⁹ Instead, Dr. Kelly announced that he had tendered his resignation as president of the college and would be taking a leave of absence after 1 January 1976. Dr. Kelly explained that the "time seemed right to offer the college the opportunity for new leadership." He later elaborated. Several trustees had reacted to parts of the Self-Study report unfavorably and Dr. Kelly perceived a "philosophical gap" between his concerns and theirs. The executive committee of the board had been made aware of his plans, and he indicated that when the full board met in November 1975, he would recommend that his executive assistant, Patricia H. Menk, be named acting president until a new leader for the college could be found.

It is certainly true that the Self-Study, particularly its conclusion, had been critical of the lack of "communication" among the college constituencies.

Somewhere during the troubled years of the late 1960s and early '70s, we seemed to stop talking to and listening to each other...; student frustration with faculty and administration and with each other; faculty apprehension and suspicion, resulting in a burgeoning bureaucracy of intricate committees to share "governance" and decision-making; an administration stretched thin - apparently unappreciated and misunderstood; a board of trustees sometimes bewildered by the rapid pace of change and challenges.⁹⁰

But there was more than that. In the spring of 1975, the faculty representative to the trustees had delivered an emotional and damaging report. Morale was low, he declared, because there were too few tangible rewards for quality teaching; the decline in the language and other overseas programs had weakened the excellence of the curriculum; science was understaffed; more mi-

norities needed to be recruited; faculty were inappropriately released. The board, he continued, should be "downright appalled" at the low morale and the feelings of insecurity. "The faculty are convinced that the college demise is imminent." He concluded, "Some faculty have expressed a lack of confidence in our current leadership." He proposed that the trustees meet with the entire faculty in the fall of 1975, and tentative plans to do so were made by the executive committee.⁹¹

During the summer, it became apparent that the 1975-76 budget could not be balanced and within two or more years the college's operating deficits might approach \$1 million. Furthermore, there had been some difficult personnel problems in the recent past which were only settled after a great deal of bitterness, and this further eroded the trustees' confidence. The continual upheaval about the students' social regulations, religious practices, and life-styles was incomprehensible to some of the trustees, the advisory board and many alumnae. In spite of optimistic announcements, the New Dimensions Campaign was not going well. Dr. Kelly and Dr. Patteson had spent many weary days travelling the state, but the Virginia part of the campaign failed to meet its goals, and these results were known during the summer of 1975. In addition, the turnover at the top administrative levels appeared to be continuing. Craven Williams had left on 1 January 1975, Marjorie Chambers' resignation would become effective 30 June 1975, and Ethel Smeak had been Dean of Students for only one year. That summer (1975), J. Michael Herndon had joined the business office as comptroller (at board insistence) and Patricia Menk was appointed the (temporary) executive assistant to the president, again at board direction and largely because of the implications of the Self-Study report.

The executive committee met in August 1975 and postponed its planned meeting with the faculty until the situation at the college could be clarified. By early September, it was apparent that there was considerable board support for a change in leadership, but the major question was one of timing. The 1975-76 college session had begun. In the spring of 1975, President Kelly had asked Patricia Menk to develop a plan of administrative reorganization and to assemble a Handbook reflecting these changes, and the new structure had been put in place in September. There was an acting academic dean, Dorothy Mulberry, and a search committee to seek a permanent dean had been appointed. The visiting team from SACS was due to make its three-day visit

to the campus in October. The senior senator from Virginia, Harry F. Byrd, Jr., had accepted the invitation to be the Founders' Day speaker and the college was to be officially designated as a "Bicentennial College." But, when President Kelly met for an unscheduled discussion with the executive committee on 29 September 1975, he ended the meeting by indicating he would resign. A week later, as has been seen, his decision was announced to the college community and the transfer of authority to the acting president took place on 8 November 1975, after the fall meeting of the board of trustees approved the changes.

Although the process was far more open and public than on the occasion of Mr. McKenzie's resignation, it was still fraught with tension and misunderstanding. The regular fall meeting of the board of trustees was held at the college 7-8 November 1975. It had been planned that the ABV would meet at the same time, and with this seemingly abrupt transfer of authority, endless explanations had to be made and decisions for the future taken. A faculty panel had been planned as part of the ABV program, and they hastily changed their topics to "The Future of Mary Baldwin College" and "What should we look for in a New President?"

Meanwhile, President Kelly met with the trustees. He told them that he truly believed that a college president "can make a difference" and he believed that he had contributed greatly to Mary Baldwin. He listed the positive aspects of his administration, and it was clear that he felt a small but vocal minority among the faculty and some trustees had led the opposition to him. His disappointments came with his inability to alter enrollment figures or to balance the operating budget, but he felt, with more support from the trustees, he could have continued as an effective president. As it was, it would be best for him to leave, and the trustees concurred. The usual resolutions of appreciation were prepared and a presidential search committee, chaired by Kenneth Randall, was appointed with instructions to find a suitable candidate by 1 July 1976.⁹²

It was a curious year. Dr. Kelly continued his regular duties until 8 November 1975. He presided at Founders' Day and greeted parents and college guests. He met with alumnae groups in New York in October, and honored other appointments he had made in connection with the New Dimensions Campaign. He was present at the dedication of Wenger Hall in early May. The Day Students established a scholarship in his name, and a Campus Comments editorial noted his "great accomplishments, unprec-

edented difficulties...our appreciation, profound admiration and personal affection... are extended to both president and Mrs. Kelly for their services for the college." The sophomores dedicated their annual show to Bill and Jane Kelly and the seniors requested that Dr. Kelly sign and hand them their diplomas at graduation, and he did so.⁹³

But, after 8 November, he was seldom on campus and the day-to-day tasks necessary to keep the college running devolved on the acting president and her staff. There were some rough spots; probably the most serious, to that time, racial conflict occurred in one of the dormitories in late October, and the after-math had to be dealt with. In February, Dean Smeak indicated that she wished to return to full-time teaching, and committees to find her replacement and also to secure a full-time chaplain had to be activated. In an effort to provide the students with better facilities for large group social activities, Dean Smeak arranged to rent facilities about 17 miles from the campus where dances could be held. In many ways this was unsatisfactory, but it was better than continuing to offend the college neighbors. An increased effort to provide on-campus weekend activities was mildly successful. The board of trustees accepted the fact that there would be further deficit budgets and agreed in spite of the financial problems to give the faculty and staff a 7% raise in 1976-77. Faculty morale improved; applications for admission increased; the new comptroller helped smooth some of the difficulties in the business office. The student government leaders that year were committed to the college's survival and worked very hard to improve communications and to cooperate with the administration. The trustees, having risked a president's sabbatical after the school year had begun, were active, concerned, and very helpful. And on the surface, at least, the college calendar proceeded as planned.⁹⁴

The New Dimensions program slowed but did not cease. Regional programs were planned and the public announcement of the Deming gift (\$1 million) was a significant morale booster. The faculty approved an Economics/Business major and the courses necessary to support it. It was also agreed that, beginning in September 1976, luncheon in Hunt Dining Hall would be served buffet style, and classes would be scheduled throughout the day. Each student would have to plan her schedule in such a fashion that she had time to eat, but the additional hours would ease some scheduling problems and give more flexibility to the program. By the April 1976 trustees meeting, several other actions had been

taken which helped to heal the dissensions of the previous years. The board formally approved the statement on academic freedom and on the principles of tenure which had been appended to the faculty handbook; the entire handbook itself was now to be considered part of each faculty person's contract and spelled out the mutual obligations of the faculty and administration in order that misunderstandings might, in the future, be avoided. An administrative handbook was also approved. Several new trustees, including, at faculty request, women who were not alumnae and an "educator," were elected. Additional personnel support for the dean of students' office was approved, and a special trustee committee was appointed to consider the immediate and future physical needs of the college. Major efforts were made, with some success, to provide opportunities for board-faculty interaction, and the administration and trustees were gratified to hear from the faculty representative that "We have come a long way during the past year ...we have...made a beginning in recovering the sense of confidence which the faculty had ten years ago." A physical plant employees' recognition day had been instituted, and earlier efforts at improving community and synod relationships were reinforced.⁹⁵

Still, everyone was aware that this was an interim period, and, as the months went by, the efforts of the presidential selection committee were looked upon with anticipation - and perhaps unrealistic expectations. It was a large committee, numbering 14 in all, and it developed a thorough procedure for screening evaluations and interviewing the more than 100 applicants who were eventually identified. Four finalists were openly invited to the campus in April 1976, where they met staff, faculty and students at teas and receptions. Simultaneously, two other search committees were also hosting prospective candidates. That spring the unwary adult visitor (perhaps a parent or textbook salesman) might be accosted by a curious student asking, "Which are you - a president, a dean, or a chaplain?" Although reluctant to make such important appointments without the input of the new president, the calendar dictated to the acting president otherwise and decisions about both the dean of students and the chaplain had been made before 4 June 1976. On that date, the board of trustees, at a called meeting in Washington D.C., elected Virginia L. Lester as the seventh president of Mary Baldwin College.⁹⁶

Notes

¹ MBB, May 1969. Much of the information came from the American Alumni Council's Editorial Projects for Education report. So important did these problems seem that the entire Bulletin, except for one short feature and the usual class notes, was devoted to various aspects of college governance.

² The faculty who presented programs for the Alumnae Seminar in the spring of 1968 were Barbara Ely, Frank Southerington, John Mehner and Carl Edwards.

³ Admission was charged to this ice cream eating contest and the proceeds went to benefit the Retarded Children's Training Center in Staunton. CC 25 April 1969.

⁴ See pp. 241-242.

⁵ Compulsory attendance at Sunday church and weekday chapel service had been instituted by Rufus Bailey and reinforced by Mary Julia Baldwin.

When the trustees agreed to end this historic policy, they also considered the broader implications of a "church-related college." Shortly, there would be more practical reasons to consider a charter change, but even before the Virginia Tuition Assistance Grant program came into being, the trustees were facing the fact that religious requirements for faculty and administrative appointments and tenure were increasingly impractical. However, when they agreed to change the church-chapel regulation, they added that the college expected students to continue to attend Sunday services and to support the once-a-week chapel program. But they indicated that failure to do so was no longer an "honor" offense. Thereafter student attendance at religious services declined steadily. Students viewed the "victory" as a sign that their increased freedom in the matter of academic and religious matters should be matched by increased freedoms in social rules.

⁶ CC 20 May 1969: So unusual was the honoring of a dean by students in the turbulent 1968-72 era that the story of "Martha Grafton Day" was reported in the national press and was widely disseminated. Between 1969 and 1990, Martha Grafton took great pleasure in presenting the Grafton Award in person at each graduation. After the brief space of four/five years, there were no students who remembered her, and of course, as time passed, increasing numbers of the faculty and staff did not know her, either; but everyone always looked forward to her "remarks," which were funny and wise and without pretense. They were the

highlight of many graduation ceremonies.

⁷ Both the Kellys were attractive, cultured people, who entertained with taste and care and were comfortable with public appearances. Jane Kelly's maiden surname was also Kelly, and as was the case with Bill, she had friends and relatives near Staunton which helped ease the transition from East Lansing.

⁸ Kelly Mss: College archives.

⁹ Bill Kelly had received a Danforth Fellowship for graduate study (at Duke) 1953-57, had served as a member of the national reading committee for Danforth Fellowships and had been a participant in the Fellowship Advisory Council for the Danforth Foundation. Dr. Cuninggim was a close personal friend. In his remarks, Dr. Cuninggim declared, "Students are obstreperous, faculty non-supportive, trustees ill-informed, townspeople, alumni and others suspicious ." He was speaking in general terms. But there was a good deal of prophecy in his words. Dr. Kelly on the other hand, was almost boyishly enthusiastic; his pleasure in being made president was evident. He entitled his brief remarks "Let Us Be On with Our Work" and declared, "Our students are more reasonable, more patient, have more respect for authority and more understanding of history... than do many of their peers." Dr. Kelly was not as perceptive as his mentor had been.

In 1970, Founders' Day had was preempted by the dedication of Pearce Science Building, and some seniors noted that for two years "their" day had been taken over. "Where are our attendants?" they asked. Our parents were "ignored" because other, more "important" guests were honored, they declared. Other colleges (Hollins and Sweet Briar) had more "entertainment" for their students' parents.

On both 1969 and 1970 Founders' Days (and thereafter) the "Mary Baldwin Hymn" had been quietly substituted for "Thou Wast Born of Dreams," the traditional Alma Mater. Some older alumnae noted the substitution and were not pleased.

This was, of course, the era when nothing that a college administration did was considered right. The chances are excellent that the students themselves would have shortly done away with white gowned attendants and the older college song - but since it was not at their suggestion that these actions were taken, some felt a grievance. In point of fact, the senior attendants had been discontinued in the Spencer era, long before Dr. Kelly had arrived on the campus. MBB December 1969: Kelly Mss: College archives.

¹⁰ The President's Committee on the Challenge of the 70s was composed of the following:

- Richard P. Gifford, Chairman (trustee since 1968)
- Herbert B. Barks, Jr. (trustee since 1968)
- Lila Caldwell, (student) Class of '71
- Lloyd Cather, (student) Class of '71
- Bertie Murphy Deming, (trustee and alumna) Class of '46
- Carl W. Edwards, (faculty since 1968)
- Mary Lewis Hix, (alumna) Class of '65
- Ralph Wade Kittle, (trustee since 1968)
- James D. Lott, (faculty since 1964)
- Dorothy Mulberry, (faculty since 1958)
- Gordon Page, (faculty since 1949)
- Martha Godwin Saunders, (alumna, Class of '48)
- Charles J. Stanley, (faculty since '65)
- Ellen Vopicka, (faculty since 1968)
- Craven E. Williams, (admin. since 1968)

Considering the implication and far-reaching consequences of some of this committee's recommendations, it is interesting to note that three of the four trustees had been on the board for a year or less. Three of the faculty had come to MBC in 1968 and two others in the mid-60s; and Craven Williams, the vice president for development had been with the college for only one year. Of the fifteen members of the committee, only four had had more than six years' experience with the college community.

¹¹ MBB 4 June 1971; CC 6 May 1971; 20 May 1971

The careful references to a "Christian Campus" reveal the reevaluation of a church college/synod relationship which occupied most of the decade of the 70s. It also reflects the contemporary concept that there should be no requirements, particularly in reference to religious beliefs or moral principles.

¹² CC 16 Sept. 1971. The fact that most Mary Baldwin faculty members probably agreed with the statement about "religious opinions" illustrates how quickly the administration's perceptions about faculty church membership had changed since the mid-1960s. Dr. Spencer had noted then that it was increasingly difficult to find faculty and staff with a "Christian orientation," and by the early '70s the college, in fact, had moved far away from the 1957 charter provisions concerning church membership.

However, one of the many reasons some later criticized Dr. Kelly was the fact that he and his family were Episcopalian. When this was made known to the presidential search committee, they

agreed that, since the college charter still specified that the president of the college had to be an active Presbyterian, they could not consider William Kelly further. At some point, a conversation was held about this with Dr. Kelly, who agreed that if he were chosen as the college's president, he would become a Presbyterian. The committee thereupon reconsidered and recommended his appointment to the trustees, whose minutes record Dr. Kelly's agreement. Minutes BT: 14 Jan., 1969. At some meeting, however, the Chairman of the Presidential Search Committee, trustee Willard L. Lemmon, indicated that perhaps that particular charter provision should be "looked at." It is hard not to draw the conclusion that Dr. Kelly was unofficially informed that, within a short time, it would be all right for him to remain Episcopalian. In any case, he and his family attended Episcopal services from the time they moved to Staunton and on 21 April 1972, Dr. Kelly informed the trustees that, after "due consideration," he and his family had renewed "their long standing ties" with the Episcopal church and had joined Trinity.

Minutes BT: 21 April 1972. It should be noted that Dr. Kelly made a conscientious effort to learn about the Presbyterian Church organization; he attended synod meetings and fundraisers, and pledged that the college's "historic ties" to the Staunton First Presbyterian Church "would be retained."

In 1968, when Dr. Spencer retired, the Dean of the College, the Dean of Students, the Dean of Admissions, and the Business Manager/Treasurer had all been Presbyterian. However, by June 1976, when Dr. Kelly left, only two senior administrators were active Presbyterians, a fact that had not gone unnoticed in church and alumnae circles.

¹³ As was true on most college campuses, these panels were organized by the students themselves. At Mary Baldwin, some sympathetic faculty, including the new chaplain, Richard Beauchamp, who had been hired to stimulate "extra-curricular educational experiences," lent support to student efforts. The Christian Association, Rufus' Trunk (a student debating group), and other organized groups provided encouragement and perhaps some funds from their own budgets. President Kelly wisely permitted the use of campus facilities without quibbling over schedules and fees, and most of the college community was grateful that actual direct confrontation had been avoided. There were some unpleasant episodes. Some of the "visitors" did not meet the college requirement about proper "dress" in Hunt Dining Hall. When

asked to put on shoes and shirts there was some resentment expressed then and later in Campus Comments. Again, wisely, no big point was made. When the march to the courthouse was being organized, students were advised to dress conservatively (to avoid further antagonizing the Staunton community) and most of them did. The first "march," Oct. 1969, was met with curiosity, some community support, ignorant amazement and contemptuous amusement. On several subsequent occasions when other "marches" were organized, the public perceptions were less friendly, and observers were often vocally hostile. The press coverage was characterized by neither understanding nor generosity. Some in the Staunton community resented the "marches" and the political orientation they expressed so much that they organized a "Happy Birthday USA" parade and festival to be held on July 4. This became an annual event co-sponsored by the city and the Statler Brothers country music singers.

¹⁴ Minutes: 18 May 1970. In Sept. 1969, there had been 158 prospective graduates, but one student had taken only a partial load, due to her marriage, and had postponed her graduation until June, 1971. Thus the statement in the text is accurate. The initial proposals came from the students themselves and had been sent to President Kelly with the request he submit them to the faculty. He reminded them that, although all constituencies of the college would always listen to student requests, the faculty alone had the authority to set academic standards.

Since the P/F option applied only to courses that did not count toward the major, this second option limited the number of students to whom it could apply.

The faculty debate on the proposals lasted four hours and was essentially a compromise between some very different viewpoints. The students failed to secure all they asked for; i.e., the option to "negotiate" with individual professors. But they accepted the faculty offer. Very few underclassmen exercised either option and the numbers were never publicized. In addition to Dr. Kelly, both deans (Grafton and Parker) played major but quiet roles in working out the compromise.

¹⁵ In contrast to the violence and upheavals elsewhere, Mary Baldwin escaped this crisis relatively unscathed. There is almost no mention in the board minutes, the Mary Baldwin Bulletin, or the fall Campus Comments about these events.

¹⁶ CC 26 Sept. 1969

¹⁷ CC 11 Dec. 1969 In a certain sense, Dr. Spencer "preselected"

the Jones appointment. It was he who had moved Freeman Jones into the business office as Mr. Spillman's assistant. The economic "advantage" in employing from within the college resulted from the fact the "outside" appointees could generally command salaries as good as if not better than the officials they replaced. "Inside" appointees might be started at a lower level, based on their lack of "experience." Actually, Dr. Kelly pointed out the advantages of the Booth/Jones appointments because each would have half a year to "consult" with their predecessors.

¹⁸ CC: 19 Feb, 1970 MBB June 1970

¹⁹ This analysis is supported by the conclusions of the Self Study done for SACS in 1975.

Mr. Booth had the efficient service of Bettie Beard, who had worked with Miss Hillhouse since 1967 and who remained in the registrar's office until June 1991. Mr. Jones had the assistance of M. Scott Nininger, whom Dr. Spencer had chosen to help Mr. Spillman in 1966. Also, Marian H. Smith and Rebecca Dick both proved to be invaluable. Elke Frank's secretary was Carolyn Meeks; Kitty Burnley had experience in the dean of students' office; Jane Wilhelm continued as administrative assistant to the president; Betty Barr remained in the alumnae office; Ellen Holtz and Ann Shenk gave continuity to admissions, whose Director, John A. Blackburn, had been with the college for only one year before Dr. Kelly came.

²⁰ CC 7 Oct 1971

The Academic Deans were:

Martha Grafton, resigned 1970

Elke Frank, Aug. 1970-1971

Elizabeth Parker, Oct. 1971-Jan 1972 (Acting)

Marjorie B. Chambers, Jan. 1972 - June 1975

Dorothy Mulberry - Acting Dean, September 1975

Dean - Jan 1976 - June 1980

Dorothy Mulberry was one of the two directors of the Madrid program. It was she who had suggested the idea to Dr. Spencer, had hired most of the faculty, planned the curriculum and had been in Madrid from 1962 to 1965. She had then "rotated" back to Mary Baldwin, had returned to Madrid from 1967-69 after which family considerations had intervened, and she had spent most of the 1970s in Staunton. She had had, however, the unhappy task of concluding the final year of the Madrid program in 1974-75, and was thus able to assume the responsibilities of the academic dean in the summer of 1975.

²¹ CC 5 Nov. 1971; 28 Jan 1972. Writing in the Mary Baldwin Bulletin, Dr. Spencer said of Elizabeth Parker:

I associate Elizabeth Parker not so much with rules as with standards. There is a difference: rules are enforced, usually by external pressure; standards are upheld, most effectively, by personal example... Miss Parker has consistently exemplified, in the life of this college, standards of character and integrity and decency... She has a sort of built-in sense of propriety, an intuitive feeling for good taste, and a considerate thoughtfulness which add civility and grace to a somewhat graceless era.

MBB, May 1971

²² The Deans of Students were:

Elizabeth Parker, 1945-1972

Brooke Woods, 1972-1974

Ethel Smeak, 1974-1976

²³ These few pages give only a hint of the frequent administrative personnel changes. In addition, in 1974 Philip Wei was appointed Director of the Library. Mrs. Davis was retitled Director of Technical Services. Mr. Wei left in 1976. Scott Nininger left the business office in 1975, and Michael Herndon was appointed Comptroller (by order of the board of trustees) in 1975. Dolores Lescure, who had been at the college since 1957 and who had done so much to ensure excellence in college publications, resigned in 1974 and was followed in the information service office by Sioux Miles (for less than a year) and then by Janet Ferguson. Marion Moore resigned from the bookstore in 1976.

²⁴ Roger D. Palmer was appointed Physical Plant Administrator in July 1971. Mr. Jones, who had held that position since 1965, had had generally good rapport with those who were responsible in the plant engineering, buildings, grounds, safety and security of the expanded campus. Many of the men holding these positions had been with the college for years; some, like Richard Crone, were second generation employees and had worked with Mr. Spillman before 1965. Former faculty, staff, and alumnae will remember Tommy Campbell, Bruce Frenger and Edward C. Dietz, as well as Clementine MacDiarmid. The latter had been

at the college since 1960, first as receptionist and secretary in several offices, and then, increasingly, in assisting in the furnishing, interiors and upkeep of the new buildings of the Spencer years. She had worked with the president and the dean of students' office, and increasingly, of course, with physical plant. She had exquisite taste and expertise in interior decorating and antiques and she and President Spencer had worked well together. She found his successor hard to deal with, and the changing student life-styles were equally difficult for her to accept.

Mr. Palmer (a former Air Force Sergeant) and the succession of security and safety officers under him had military or police background. In the campus milieu of the 1970's, such a background, as well as their evident disapproval of some students' social activities, made them unpopular and viewed with suspicion.

"B.C." Carr, whose tenure in the food service area had begun in 1943, found these years difficult as well. The assistant director of food services, Kathryn Robertson, had joined her staff in 1965 and both women developed to the fullest the capacities of Hunt Dining Hall. In the 1970's the family style lunch and dinner were under student attack; the administration wanted innumerable "banquets"; the social committee wanted to use the facilities for formal dances; and the faculty often demanded special treatment for the innumerable guests who were present for conferences and seminars. Inflation eroded "B.C.'s" budget and long-time loyal kitchen staff needed higher wages and summer work, neither of which she could provide. For "B.C.," it too, was a frustrating era.

²⁵ Minutes EC: 28 Jan 1970; CC 20 Oct 1970; MBB. March 1976

The initial purchase, in 1970, of the IBM 1130 cost \$35,000 and was paid for by a five-year loan. By 1973, \$83,000 more was necessary, \$50,000 of which came from the NSF grant secured on Albie Booth's initiative. Additional funds were expended in 1976. Of course there were yearly maintenance and upkeep, disc storage and paper - lots of paper. The early computers were massive machines and required whole rooms to set them up. Today the whole operation of the 1970's could be contained in a "lap-top" machine. The computer personnel did not consider themselves "well paid," but with their special skills they could command wages which to Ph.D. faculty seemed excessive. The problem was compounded by some difficult personalities who were not above threatening to resign and to leave the system "down" because "no one but me knows what I have put in and how to retrieve it." Much

of this could have been avoided by more careful oversight. There was simply no one in charge. It should be noted that this problem was not peculiar to Mary Baldwin College and the Kelly administration. It is probably safe to say that most college and university faculties still view computer centers with suspicion. Nor has the problem at Mary Baldwin been totally solved even after 15 years. Whenever there are "tight" budgets, and in the educational world there always are, how much the computer center gets from limited resources is always contested.

²⁶ The phrase about faculty not being chosen on the basis of "race or creed" applied also to the president, since he/she is always considered a member of the faculty. It was for this reason that the trustees approved Dr. Kelly's remaining Episcopalian.

²⁷ The Mary Baldwin trustees objected strongly to these proposals. Not only did they feel that, after 133 years, Mary Baldwin College should not have to "justify" or confirm its church-related status, but they much resented the concept that the synod would drop unrestricted financial support of its colleges and base future support on a visiting team's recommendations. Although synod contributions were minimal (in 1974, it was \$23,000 or .7% of the total college budget), Dr. Kelly pointed out that the "net effect of the removal of this synod support would be the equivalent of the removal of \$500,000 from the college's endowment." "Why should we have to stand in line and ask for what we already have a demonstrated need to receive?" he asked. The proposal also threatened the "non sectarian" status of the college and was eventually modified.

²⁸ "A Covenant Agreement Between Mary Baldwin College and the Synod of the Virginias," 2 Oct 1984-College Archives

²⁹ The merger ended the long association with the YWCA which had begun in 1894. The YWCA had become the Christian Association in 1958 and although all students had technically been considered members, the active supporters probably had not included more than 50. The Religious Life Committee was in charge of planning all religious activities on the campus-i.e. the weekly chapel programs, Special Christmas and Easter observances, and support to various volunteer community activities. It had both student and faculty membership, was advised by the chaplain, and usually involved about 35 members.

³⁰ Minutes: SM 18 Nov 1969; CC 26 Nov 1974

³¹ Minutes: SM 18 Nov 1969; CC 26 Nov 1974 CC 6 Mar. 1968; 21 Nov 1969; 2 Oct 1970, 8 Oct 1970, 29 April 1971; 20 May

1971 Minutes BT. 18-19 April 1969

³² Dr. Kelly never built the close accord with his trustees that Dr. Spencer had had. He lacked Dr. Spencer's acquaintance with the Presbyterian community, and the businessmen he chose were critical of his seeming lack of financial management skills.

Other members of the board of trustees who helped make some of the very difficult decisions of those days were Justice George M. Cochran, W.W. Sproul, R.R. Smith, H. Hiter Harris, Jr., Andrew J. Brent, Bertie Deming, Patty Joe Montgomery, Paul O. Hirschbiel, Marvin B. Perry, Jr., Ann Lambert, Anna Kate Hipp, Justice Albertis S. Harrison, Jr., Kenneth A. Randall, and Julia B. Grant. The Rev. John W. Cowan continued the tradition that the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church be a trustee. The complete list of trustees for 1969-1976 may be found in the college Catalogues.

Although the trustees enjoyed meeting with the students and were generally impressed with their seriousness and capabilities, the meetings with the faculty were not always so pleasant. Increasingly, the faculty representatives used these opportunities to express their dissatisfaction with their compensation and working conditions. Although courtesy and good manners were observed, some of the comments were blunt and embarrassing and came very close to violating the appropriate "chain of command" from the trustees to the president.

³³ Increasingly, the ABV became the special responsibility of the Vice President for Development. Roy K. Patteson, Jr., who had come to the college in 1972, played a major role in the recruitment and sustaining of the visitors. He deserves much credit for guiding it through these early years.

³⁴ The receptions were usually held at the president's home, sometimes catered but often served by the college food service personnel. The dinners were held in Hunt and were reflective of the gracious traditions of the past.

It should be noted that although the bylaws of the college charter provided the trustees' expenses incurred in attending board meetings would be paid by the college, many of the trustees paid their own expenses – as a contribution to the college. It was not so much the money that these meetings cost (although that became increasingly important) but the time and effort required in offices where there were, at most, two secretaries and often only one.

³⁵ The Kellys regularly entertained student classes; they

invited faculty and administration as well as the various boards, alumnae groups, visiting parents, and individuals from church and community groups to which they belonged. It was a different style of community presence than that of the Spencers, and was perhaps more lavish than the college was used to. Two examples of many that might be given of what was interpreted as dissembling include the following: On 5 March 1973, Dr. Kelly told the faculty and students, "The Madrid program is in no danger of termination." On 4 March 1975, he announced that the program was being discontinued due to "insufficient applications." Minutes: 5 Mar 1973, 4 March 1975. A similar contradiction surfaced over the parietal issue. In March 1972, in a letter to parents Dr. Kelly had said, "Parietals are not being approved." By Dec. 1972, nine months later, he had agreed that weekend visitation "rights" would be instituted. Almost all the statements about enrollments and finances made, particularly after 1974, proved to be inaccurate within a very short space of time.

³⁶ The statistics in this section are largely taken from the SACS Self-Study, September 1975 and from the records of the Finance Committee of the board. One of the problems in projecting the future income expectations was the difficulty in arriving at accurate full time equivalent (FTE) student numbers. It should be noted that one of the items in the New Dimension Campaign was for "Current Use Funds," so, when some of these funds were used to cover deficit budgets, it was with the approval of the New Dimensions campaign committee and the board.

³⁷ Self-Study, 1976; Internal Case Statement (for New Dimensions Campaign), April 1973.

³⁸ A number of others became coeducational, particularly in the Northeast. In 1989, the Women's College Coalition reported that there had been 300 women's colleges in the United States in 1960; by 1989, there were only 95.

³⁹ John A. Blackburn was a graduate of Western Maryland College and Indiana University (MS. 1968). He had served as an officer in the U.S. Army in Germany for 2 1/2 years, was married and had an attractive family. He and his wife Betty fit easily into the college and the community and were much respected. In the late 1980's Mr. Blackburn's daughter Heidi became for a while an admissions counselor for the college.

⁴⁰ Self-Study September 1975

⁴¹ Staff salaries in admissions increased from a total of \$38,991 in 1969 to \$57,710 in 1973; the number of people employed

doubled (from five to ten). There were comparable increases in the funds expended for print and non-print material and for on-campus entertainment for "prospectives." In 1975, the Self Study evaluation suggested that enrolling ten new students would justify up to \$40,000 in additional expenditures in the recruiting area (a somewhat suspect assumption), but it was still hard to spend additional funds at a time of budget deficits.

Actually, the full-time equivalent student numbers for the Kelly years are as follows:

1969 - 700*
 1970 - 656
 1971 - 698
 1972 - 673
 1973 - 635
 1974 - 621
 1975 - 547
 1976 - 568

* The 1969-70 number is probably not an accurate FTE #.

It would not be until 1979 that the enrollment would equal that of Dr. Spencer's last year.

⁴² There has been no attempt to estimate the additional expenditures many of these programs required. Two generous grants from the Mellon Foundation were awarded during these years. One, in 1972 for \$150,000 was for the purpose of increasing faculty salaries; the second, \$75,000 secured by Dean Chambers in 1974 was to implement and support the new curriculum.

⁴³ One item among many that might be selected from the expenditures of these years, as an unanticipated increase, is that of campus security. At least partly due to changing student lifestyles, as well as more volatile community behavior, the numbers of campus security men and the expenses for them more than doubled between 1969-70 and 1975-76.

⁴⁴ It was only with great difficulty that the management of the campus bookstore agreed to cash student personal checks (for less than \$20). In 1974-75 the bookstore received \$1160 in bad checks. CC 5 September 1975.

⁴⁵ Enrollment classification included boarding, day, part-time, those off-campus in Madrid, Paris, and other foreign study programs. There were also students attending consortium colleges and thus away from their home campus; others who were completing graduation requirements in December of their senior year; those who left for various reasons before the academic year was

completed, and the adult students who carried only partial loads. Transfer students were, of course, welcomed and strangely their number increased during the Kelly years, but they did not represent income for four years as a regular student did. When there were years of high attrition (1973-74, 1974-75), this, too, affected financial projections. Community adults who attended evening "continuing education" classes increased the head count but hardly contributed to FTE figures - in fact they often cost the college money since their modest fees only paid for the stipends of their teachers.

⁴⁶ Mr. Palmer's recommendation included: keeping Administration and Academic buildings' temperatures at 68 degrees with a cutback at night; dormitories were to be kept at 65 degrees during the day but raised to 70 at night; all "outside activities" were to be held in the library (which would be kept at 68 degrees); piano practice in the music building be curtailed at night. Storm windows for the older buildings were to be installed and various other conservation methods - none of them popular - were suggested. The following year a computer-monitored energy use system was installed to regulate the erratic and uncertain heat on campus. Kelly Mss: MBC Archives

⁴⁷ The whole situation was really a Hobson's choice. Cut student aid and enrollment numbers would drop; keep financial aid proportionate to tuition and fee expenses and the college went deeper into debt. "Internal Case Statement," April 1973. Kelly Mss: MBC Archives

⁴⁸ Minutes: Staff, 12 January 1976

Tuition and fees were \$3100 for boarding students in 1969; they were \$4750 in 1976. Day student fees had been adjusted as well. The automobile registration fee was raised from \$5 to \$25 annually and the money was used to pay for paving the Bickle parking lot. Students were not allowed to park on unmetered city streets adjacent to the campus, but of course they did, to the upset of the college neighbors. The "overload fee" provoked this comment from Campus Comments: "The reason the business office gets away with things like this is because we let them." CC 23 April 1976

⁴⁹ CC 12 December 1972

Minutes, Faculty 6 March 1972; 6 Nov. 1972; 7 October 1974, 10 April 1975.

Actually, within the usually accepted college administration "chain of command," only the president, the academic dean and

the business manager/treasurer should directly communicate with the full board. The faculty mood in the 1970s, however, did not trust traditional channels and the board, perhaps unwisely, temporarily permitted this lapse in procedure.

⁵⁰ Because of special circumstances, the overseas directors of both programs had not rotated back to the campus as often as had been intended. They had lost touch with what was actually happening at the college. They did not know Dr. Kelly well, and they did not trust him. Both were upset when the new curriculum was adopted, feeling that its "open" provisions slighted foreign languages and had cut the off campus enrollments. The tensions for both faculty and students that the ending of these programs caused compounded the administration's problems after 1973.

⁵¹ Jesse Cleveland Pearce had been a distinguished and beloved physician in Graniteville, S.C, who had served in both World Wars. His wife, Margert Eldridge Henderson, a native of Staunton, attended Mary Baldwin Seminary 1903-1908 and taught mathematics at Graniteville High School for 30 years. Her gift was in the form of a life trust. The lecture/recital auditorium was named in honor of James D. Francis, President and Chairman of the Board of Island Creek Coal Company and the husband of Permele Crawford Elliott, class of 1910. He had been a trustee of the college from 1935 to 1950, and served as chairman of the board 1940-44. The fourth floor of the building was designated the John Baker Daffin Department of Chemistry, in tribute to his more than 37 years of service to Mary Baldwin and his persistence in helping to fund an appropriate science center for the college.

The Christian College Challenge Fund was the last major campaign undertaken by the Synod of Virginia in support of its colleges. Work on the proposal had begun in 1967. There were the usual difficulties in deciding how the funds would be divided between Mary Baldwin and Hampden-Sydney. In addition, many donations took the form of "life trusts," or bequests, the proceeds from which could not be immediately realized. The goal had been \$2 million, half to go to each college. By 1974 when the campaign was declared at an end, total receipts were \$1,164,160, from which campaign expenses, carrying costs, unmet pledges, had to be deducted. By 1974, Mary Baldwin had received \$492,681, of which only about half was immediately spendable. Since expectations had been for much more, this imposed considerable strain on both the operations and the capital funds budgets and compounded Dr. Kelly's financial difficulties.

"Summary of Distribution, Christian College Challenge Fund, 22 April 1991" College Archives; Auditors reports, 1969-1974. Lybrand, Ross Bros & Montgomery. College Archives; Program, Dedication of the Pearce Science Center 3 October 1970 College Archives.

⁵² When the business office moved, so did the registrar, down to the first floor of Administration, near the computers. The deans had been moved to the third floor and admissions was now on the second floor, sharing space with the presidents' office. It is interesting to note that when the alumnae office returned to the corner of New and Frederick, it went back to the site of the beloved alumnae "club" of the 1930s. There is also a note in the staff meeting minutes that henceforth (1970) the college would be using "standard factory paint colors"; that paint would no longer be "custom mixed" - which might explain why some of the buildings, notably Wenger, did not exactly match. (Minutes staff; 7 Dec. 1970). In 1968, Campus Comments provided an explanation as to why MBC's buildings are painted yellow: "That's the color passion's ardor is when it glows!" (This, of course, refers to a line in the old Alma Mater, "Thou Wast Born of Dreams," which to the students of the 1970s appeared sentimental and embarrassing). CC 26 September 1968.

In addition, Fannie Strauss's home on New Street, which had been willed to the college, was sold in 1976 for \$28,000, and the remaining "farm acreage" near King's Daughters' Hospital was sold for the construction of a "regional post office" and a social security building. The latter transaction was viewed with considerable dismay by some of the home owners in the neighborhood, who did not want a post office built near their homes. It was ironic, that coincident with the public announcement of the sale, a letter from the college had gone to many of these same property owners--who had been good friends of the college--asking for gifts and financial support. College Archives.

Other necessary campus maintenance expenses during these years included new wiring and electrical point systems, an intra-campus telephone system, new emergency alarms, and fire lock alarms, door systems, and expensive automated office equipment, in addition to the computer expenses.

⁵³ When the expansion of Wenger was first being considered (1972), Dr. Kelly was struggling to deal with the "parietals" issue and persuaded himself that an expanded student center would provide the necessary facilities for student entertainment of

young men. He was, of course, bitterly disappointed. The students wanted "private," not "public," space.

Major gifts toward Wenger construction came from the Murphy Oil Foundation, the Arthur Vining Davis Foundation, and a variety of corporations. Patty Joe Montgomery donated funds toward the Mary E. Lakenan Terrace (outside the club area) and the SGA area was designated the "Anne Elizabeth Parker Suite."

The modification necessary to reduce the costs included eliminating an elevator and air conditioning and not strengthening the foundation sufficiently so that a fourth floor might, in the future, be added to the original building. Generous as the many gifts were, they were not sufficient to pay for the building, and the costs were folded into the New Dimensions Campaign. MBB 7 Dec 1972; 1 May 1976

⁵⁴ Endless faculty, library, and physical plant committees, tried in vain to solve the space allocation on the first floor of the library. Here, too, personalities were involved, as the relatively new Director of the Library grappled with volatile and verbal Art faculty and the determined Education professors. The problems were not finally solved for many years and then only after Art, Education, and Languages had moved out, leaving expanded Audio-Visual and Communications departments the temporary victors. Eventually (and before too much longer), the library itself will need that space.

⁵⁵ Roy K. Patteson, Jr., joined the college in October 1972 as Director of Development. He held degrees from the University of Richmond, University Theological Seminary (M. Div), Duke (Th.M and Ph.D.) and had had four years of Presbyterian pastorate ministry. He had taught at Peace College in N.C., served as academic dean of Davidson Community College in Lexington, N.C., and as president of Southern Seminary Junior College in Buena Vista, Va. His younger son, David, became a day student at Mary Baldwin. In Nov. 1974, he was named Vice President of Development. He was largely responsible for organizing the Parents' Council, the ABV, and for working with the New Dimensions Campaign. He resigned on 25 August 1977 to become the president of King College in Bristol, Va. CC 2 Nov 1972; 15 Nov. 1974

⁵⁶ The New Dimensions Campaign hoped to obtain endowment funds for the following objectives:

Academic Chairs and Faculty Development-	\$3,125,000
Development and Enrichment of Academic Programs-	\$625,000
Support for the Library-	\$750,000
Scholarships and Student Aid-	\$1,000,000
General Purpose-	\$1,000,000
Renovating and Expanding Wenger Hall-	\$600,000
Current Use-	\$500,000

The \$1 million gift was from the Deming, Murphy, Keller, Tattersall and Nolan families of Louisiana and Arkansas.

Dr. Kelly's resignation as president of MBC had been officially announced in Nov. 1975; he was on leave until June 1976. It came just as the New Dimensions campaign was preparing for major fund-raising activities in 38 major cities and obviously had immediate impact on current plans. There were two consequences to this unfortunate timing of events. Essentially, the New Dimensions Campaign used 1975-76 to regroup and to strengthen the major gifts division. As soon as a new president was named, active solicitation would recommence. The second result was, as will be seen, an alarming increase in the operating budget deficit. Not only were the receipts of the New Dimensions Campaign expected to carry the expenses of the campaign staff, but they now, of necessity, had to be used on other, more immediate purposes (with the consent of the donor). The end result was the long term impact of the New Dimensions Campaign in increasing the endowment was much less than it might otherwise have been.

Eventually the "New Dimensions" campaign closed in 1980, with the announcement that a total of \$10,004,448 had been raised. How this was done and how the money was used is part of the story of the Lester administration. George MCune, "History of Fund Raising Campaigns" MBC Archives Mss Internal Case Statement - MBC Archives MBB Dec 1975

⁵⁷ Catalogue; 1968-69; 1971-72, 1991-92

The eight college consortium was composed of Davidson, Hampden-Sydney, Hollins, Mary Baldwin, Randolph-Macon, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Sweet Briar, and Washington & Lee University. Today, it is a seven college consortium, Davidson having withdrawn from the program. Students from other colleges have come to Mary Baldwin for work in Special Education, in English, in Business and Communications. Mary Baldwin

students had opportunities for work in Physics, Sociology and other areas. Differences in school calendars, curriculum organizations and grading systems have limited the opportunities this program provides, but they are not insurmountable and the fact that it has endured for more than 20 years attests to its value.

⁵⁸ CC 15 May 1969

Minutes Faculty 8 Feb 1971; 4 Feb 1974

Student resistance to these and similar courses stem from the conventional "wisdom" that they will not "transfer" (if one should elect to go to another college later on) or that they won't look "good" on the transcript if one applies for graduate school.

⁵⁹ Minutes BT 13 April 1973. The off-campus courses continued and many are still taught.

⁶⁰ Dr. Charles J. Stanley of the History faculty undertook all of the work involved in applying for a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. He likewise made all the arrangements for the visiting committee and for the installation ceremony.

On 17 May 1970, at alumnae homecoming and in the midst of the Kent State crisis, the Mary Baldwin Honor Society held its final meeting. A total of 278 Mary Baldwin students had become members of this society since its inception in 1932. They represented no more than 10% of each graduating class, except when, in 1942, Dr. Jarman had requested that all graduates of the University Course of the Seminary be elected. Mss: College Archives

⁶¹ The Tate school had to move because the construction of the Pearce Science Building had necessitated the removal of the house it was using next to Bailey. The school continued, without Miss Weill, who resigned in 1969 in part because she felt that the new facilities did not meet her high professional standards. The demonstration school finally closed in 1983 after the public school program mandated kindergarten and some preschool programs, allowing Mary Baldwin College students to meet their Education requirements elsewhere.

⁶² A continuing problem, as it is in most colleges and universities, is the proper relationship of the professional librarians to the faculty. Do they have faculty rank? Who has it? May they vote at faculty meetings? The latter was a sensitive issue, as the close vote on the new curriculum was considered, by opponents, to have been "swung" by non-faculty votes. Self-Study Sept. 1975

⁶³ Dr. Kelly persuaded Sallie Barre, alumna '68 to return to the campus to plan and publish the conference. She had previously

edited Campus Comments and had worked in the Information Service. The corporations who funded the program were American Can, AT&T, GE and International Paper, Inc. Among the speakers were Congresswoman Margaret M. Heckler, Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, Director of the Woman's Bureau of the Department of Labor, and Dr. Luther Holcomb, Vice Chairman of the EEOC. The conference was reported in the state and some of the national press and led to the college seriously considering changes in the curriculum which would provide understanding and skills leading to business careers.

One conclusion about this and subsequent conferences is that its length and complexity reflects Dr. Kelly's experiences at a large state campus. Conferences previously held at the college had been organized by faculty or faculty-student groups, had rarely been subsidized and had been much less elaborate. It was difficult for Dr. Kelly to appreciate how much time and effort such conferences involved when there were no support systems to do the work. Miss Carr found the entertainment that accompanied them burdensome.

⁶⁴ The relationship between the two counseling centers and between them and the consulting psychiatrist was never satisfactorily worked out. Dr. Ashton Trice acted as a liaison between the college and the Counseling Center, and, of course, the Psychology Department had worked closely with Dr. Pennell since the early 1950s. In 1975, since Riddle was no longer needed as a dormitory, Dr. Pennell's group moved back there. They would now be physically closer to the college Career Center, which was in the Alumnae House building - but there were still some complicated relationships to work out. Kelly MSS; College Archives

⁶⁵ Minutes BT 22 Feb. 1971; CC 19 Sept. 1972;

Dr. Frank Pancake became the Director of Continuing Education during these early years.

⁶⁶ Kelly Mss: College Archives

⁶⁷ Ben Smith was professor of English. His responsibilities for the Governor's School involved living arrangements, hiring faculty and counselors, planning extra-curricular activities and weekend recreation. He was, in effect, the dean of the summer school. The Governor's School for the Gifted remained on the Mary Baldwin campus until 1983. As the years went on, there was increasing criticism of using a private college's facilities when there were many state institutions anxious to have the program. Since the Governor's School was funded by tax dollars, there was

some validity in the complaint. Thereafter, all the Governor's Schools have been held at public facilities. The program, at this date, is still in existence. It should be noted that Dr. Smith and other Mary Baldwin faculty associated with the program were scrupulously careful not to use the Governor's school as a recruiting device for the college, feeling that it was not morally right to do so. The few students who later matriculated at the college did so as a result of their own observations and decisions.

⁶⁸ On 7 December 1973, Elizabeth Tidball, Professor of Physiology at George Washington University Medical Center, returned to direct the all-day workshop on "Teaching: Two Sides to the Coin." She was a persuasive and convincing speaker and some faculty felt more comfortable with what they were proposing to do after working with her. "Women's colleges," Dr. Tidball insisted, "produce women achievers." CC 25 Jan. 1973; MBB Dec. 1973.

The January short term was changed to a May short term in 1978.

The grading system envisioned the traditional A, B, C (but no D), NC (no credit) and ET (extended time). The NC was to avoid labeling an unsatisfactory effort a "failure." The ET was designed to allow a student who had not reached "competency" to negotiate a contract with her professor to continue to work after the course was concluded so that she might reach a competency level. No feature of the new program was more bitterly resented by the students than this. They perceived it as being inherently unfair. They also resented the omission of the "D" grade which allowed credit hours but not quality points. Within two years the ET was abandoned and the "D" restored.

The final vote was 32 for the new proposal, 28 against. Six faculty members were absent and they were not allowed to cast absentee ballots. It is easy to see why some felt the vote should be contested. There was some student protest as well, not only about content, but over the fact that they were not consulted before the vote was taken. "We should share in this important decision," CC declared (15 Nov. 1973). When the MBB Dec. 1973 printed an enthusiastic presentation of the new proposal, CC said that the alumnae were not being told the whole truth. "Students did not back this wholeheartedly." The "obvious factions" were not reported. They were told, the students said, that one "shouldn't hang out dirty wash for the neighbors to see," but CC responded that it was not a matter of PR but of "misrepresentation of factual information." CC 28 Feb 1974. As late as 2 Dec. 1975 a faculty

member found it necessary to tell his colleagues that some of their number were "downgrading" the new curriculum to students and advising them to transfer. He asked that a statement on the ethics of advising be included in the Faculty Handbook. Minutes Fac. 2 Dec. 1975.

It is very hard to reinvent the wheel, and curriculum committees who valiantly try to change totally the way undergraduate colleges organize their academic life have great problems. All of the faculty and most of the students know no other pattern than the familiar semester hours, quality points and traditional disciplines. They are uncomfortable in different situations and no matter how the labels change, they tend to persist in the same old frames of reference. If only one or two colleges change, the other institutions throw roadblocks up about transferability and credits. Parents question and are concerned; foundations mutter about "watering down academic standards"; graduate and professional schools are skeptical. With two radical curriculum changes in six years' time and with her known financial fragility, Mary Baldwin College put itself at serious risk of losing academic respectability. As Dean Mulberry remarked, after returning from a University Center meeting, "They all think we have thrown all requirements out the window." Elaborate explanations in catalogues did little to ease these perceptions. It is a measure of the uncertainty and the tension on the campus that, when the Self Study was announced, rumors among the students reported that Mary Baldwin was in danger of losing its accreditation. No student present in 1974 knew about SACS regulations, and only immediate explanations from the administration prevented a student panic. It was a very difficult time for all concerned. CC 19 Feb. 1974

⁶⁹ Self Study, 1975

⁷⁰ MBB, May 1969

⁷¹ The eight faculty members who stayed until retirement or until 1992 and beyond were Lois Blackburn Bryan, Frank Pancake, Elizabeth Mauger Hairfield, Virginia Royster Francisco, David Cary, Dudley Buck Luck, William W. Little and George McCune. Those who retired between 1968-1976 included Marshall Brice, Mildred Taylor, Mary Humphreys, Julia Weill, Lee Bridges, Thomas Grafton, Ruth McNeil, Lillian Rudeseal, Carl Broman and Vega Lytton. By 1975-76, only six members of the faculty had been appointed by anyone other than Dr. Spencer or Dr. Kelly. They were Fletcher Collins, Gertrude Davis, James McAllister,

Patricia Menk, Gordon Page and O. Ashton Trice, Jr. Although the point is made in the text that faculty mobility was low, 16 Kelly appointees left before he did. In some cases their contracts, for various reasons, were not renewed; but more frequently, it was a matter of seeking employment elsewhere, often completely outside the teaching profession. Faculty instability during the Kelly era rivaled administrative instability and reflected the malaise of these unhappy years. It should be recorded, however, that many of the Kelly appointees were superb teachers, skilled researchers and humane individuals. Some alumnae will remember with affection and respect Jane O. Sawyer, Karl Seitz, Kurt Kehr, John Campbell, Charlotte Hogsett, Dawn Fisher, Linda Geoghegan, Frank Wilber, John Wagner, Norma Corbin, Sigrid Novack, Elizabeth Hammer, James Hainer, Lynne Baker, Elizabeth Conant, Ruth Solie, Kenneth Dillon, Michael Campbell, J. R. Rea, Bonnie Gordon, Judy Kennedy, Jean Mather, and John Knudson. In addition, several other appointees of the "interim year," 1968-1969, played major roles during the Kelly years. They included Mary Echols, Carl Edwards, Joanne Ferriot, Frank Southerington, Ellen Vopicka and Robert Weiss. Some stayed until retirement, others were here for only a few years. Under other circumstances, they might have stayed longer and added immeasurably to the academic excellence of the college faculty. This list is, of course, not complete. See Catalogues 1968-1976 for the names of all of those who served on the faculty and administration in the Kelly years.

⁷² CC 9 Oct. 1969. The seven were John Mehner, Ben Smith, Jim McAllister, Robert Weiss, Carl Edwards, Duane Myers and John Stanley. Beards have continued to come and go. There are several on the campus at this writing.

⁷³ The work load breakdown included: lecture preparation time, academic advising, tutorial work, student conferences, laboratory preparation time, committee work, instruction contact hours (9-12), preparing and grading tests, papers and examinations, organizing academically related events and staff work with colleagues. Self Study 1975

⁷⁴ After the reorganization in 1974, the faculty committees included: admissions, curriculum, educational policy, extra-curricular education, library advisory board, faculty status, promotion and tenure, priorities, budget, honor scholars and physical plant. (Those underlined were very active committees). In addition, faculty sat on trustee committees, and served/advised the

student senate, the board of appeals, the honor council, the cold check committee, bookstore, infirmary, food, religious life, fine arts and freshman orientation committees.

This problem has continued to plague college administrations at Mary Baldwin and elsewhere. CC 11 Feb. 1974; 8 October 1974

⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that once the faculty committees working on the Self Study analyzed the needs of the administrative offices, they reluctantly agreed more staffing was necessary. They still criticized the appearance that the administration considered itself more important than the faculty or the academic program. Self Study 1975.

⁷⁶ Minutes, Fac 5 March 1973.

⁷⁷ Self Study, 1975.

⁷⁸ Subsequent honorary members of the Alumnae Association include Marjorie B. Chambers and Patricia Menk. MBB 7 Dec. 1971.

CC 15 May 1970; 29 October 1970; 14 Jan. 1971, 15 October 1971, 24 April 1972, 9 Nov. 1972; 30 Nov. 1973.

Minutes Staff, 21 Feb. 1972.

MBB 7 Dec. 1971; July 1973; Sept. 1977.

⁷⁹ Student Handbook, 1968-76; particularly 1976 pg 12. Students objected to "signing out" because they considered where and when they went and with whom their own affair. A system was devised whereby a student would leave such information in a sealed envelope, to be opened by the house president in case an emergency required locating the young woman.

⁸⁰ "Parietal" - "of or relating to life within college walls..." Webster's Dictionary. The "date house" was a building where young men could spend the night for \$2.00. There were 8-10 cots and sometimes sleeping bags were used. No woman was allowed to enter.

It will be remembered that Elizabeth Parker retired in June, 1972. Brooke Woods, who succeeded her as Director of Student Life, was much more in sympathy with student demands than Elizabeth Parker had been. Bill Kelly's reversal of his 9 March 1972 letter in the fall of 1973 led opponents of parietals to feel betrayed, but it is hard to see how some kind of visitation policy could have been delayed longer. So much hinged on student enrollment that anything that threatened retention and admissions had to be seriously considered. The question remains as to the wisdom of this particular piecemeal solution. Kelly Mss;

College Archives; Handbook, 1973-74; 1976-77; CC 17 April, 1972; 12 Dec. 1972.

⁸¹ An intermittent "state of war" existed between the college students and Sycamore Street's private residents for several years. Residents threatened law suits, police patrols were increased, the SGA wrote apologies, Craven Williams appealed for good taste and community responsibility. Nothing seemed to help. The combination of loud music, beer, illicit "coolers," too many bodies in too small a space, simply was untenable. In desperation, the college sought off-campus facilities for major social events (which it could ill afford) and restricted the numbers allowed in the Chute at any one time (a restriction which was deeply resented). It was not until the 1976 purchase of Staunton Military Academy that the social activities of the students could be held without a major assault on the neighbors' sensibilities. Parietals were reinstated the following September with stringent judiciary penalties and more security guards. CC 30 April, 1974.

⁸² CC 11 Oct. 1973; 10 April, 1974; 30 April, 1974; 18 Feb. 1976. There were also "panty raids" from the gentlemen of VMI and W. & L. The women's efforts to retaliate led to severe complications in the next administration.

⁸³ MBB 3 May 1972; May, 1975. The fund-raising effort involved a "wet tee shirt" contest and a 24-hour dance marathon, and it did revive the student feelings of unity and community spirit which had characterized the previous student campaigns to help the library and science center's building programs. A total of \$7,704 was raised by the student projects for muscular dystrophy research. CC: 10 March 1976.

⁸⁴ Minutes: BT 7 Nov. 1975.

⁸⁵ CC: 8 Oct. 1974; 29 Sept, 1975; 2 Feb 1976 Minutes: Staff, 2 Feb. 1976; 5 March 1976.

⁸⁶ Linda Geoghegan, Assistant Dean of Students, coached the basketball team; Lois Blackburn, tennis. Among the outstanding tennis players of these years were Crissy Gonzalez and Heidi Goeltz. MBB, March, 1976; CC 23 April 1970; 30 April 1970; 27 Sept. 1973; 10 April 1974; 28 April 1976

⁸⁷ All of these publications experimented with fluorescent colors, two-volume editions and dramatic changes in format. The tone of Campus Comments has already been commented on, but it became one of the last remaining methods of communication with the entire college community at any one time. Student attendance at SGA convocations was always sparse. When Dr.

Youth resigned as an advisor of Campus Comments his bitterness was apparent. "It is time," he wrote, "for someone with a more viable future at this college than myself to undertake this long term responsibility." CC 22 Jan. 1976. Mrs. Lescure remained as the advisor until May 1978.

The 1970 Bluestocking was printed totally in black and white in two paper covered volumes held together in a slip cover. That experiment was not repeated, but subsequent issues were occasionally not completed until the summer following graduation. They then had to be mailed, at considerable expense. In 1975, the Bluestocking was not ready until October of the following year.

As the student publications struggled, the college Catalogue became brighter, fuller, replete with pictures and extended course descriptions required by the new curriculum. Since it was now a contract ("we will make it possible for you to receive a B.A, degree under the following conditions"), the work involved in putting it together was protracted and expensive. At the same time, the long lists of student names and addresses vanished, due to the newly defined rights of privacy. The Catalogue, too, experimented with a two volume format (1974-75), but that also was not repeated. See the issues of these publications, 1969-1976.

⁸⁸ Honorary degrees have been awarded to the following:

- 1976 - Bertie Deming
- 1982 - Rosemarie Sena
- 1989 - Martha S. Grafton
- Margaret Hunt Hill
- Caroline Hunt
- 1990 - Andrew J. Brent
- Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell
- Margaret McNeese
- 1991 - Francis J. Collins
- Caroline Murphy Keller
- 1992 - Elizabeth K. Doenges
- Anna Kate Hipp
- Samuel Reid Spencer, Jr.

Minutes: Staff, 29 March 1976; Kelly Mss ; College Archives; Minutes; Fac. above dates.

⁸⁹ Because of the disruption and bad manners of a few students and their guests, the fall session of 1975-76 started off unpleasantly. Fifteen young men were arrested for destroying property, driving recklessly, being drunk or urinating in public, and the

residents of Sycamore Street were justifiably outraged. The Campus Comments editorial suggested some remedies for the situation including the warning that the police intended to "get tough" in 1975-76, but almost everyone was surprised and shocked when President Kelly's convocation was called about a different matter entirely. CC 29 Sept. 1975

⁹⁰ Self-Study 1975

⁹¹ Minutes BT; 18 April 1975

⁹² Dr. Kelly enumerated his contributions to the college as the following:

1. Completion of the Pearce Science Center and Wenger Hall.
2. Installation, Lambda Chapter, Phi Beta Kappa and the establishment of the Laurel Chapter of ODK.
3. Establishment of the Advisory Board of Visitors.
4. Major curriculum revision.
5. Career awareness for women-reaffirmation as a woman's college.
6. Evening classes for adults.
7. Organization of the Library Associates.
8. The Governor's School for the Gifted at Mary Baldwin
9. Major conferences on Women in Industry, 1970 and Ellen Glasgow Centennial, 1973.
10. New Dimensions Campaign begun. \$3.2 million pledged toward \$7.6 million goal.
11. Over \$1 million in major foundation awards, including the Mellon Foundation Awards and \$300,000 from the William R. Kenan, Jr., Charitable Trust.
12. Successful completion of the SACS Self Study.
13. The establishment of the eight College Consortium, the MBC-Davidson College joint program in Oxford.
14. Reorganization of the SGA.
15. Membership in the Southern University Conference.
16. Reorganization of the administrative staff - concept of "shared responsibility."
17. Cultivated alumnae and parents - over 70 meetings.
18. Revision of MBC charter and bylaws.
19. Promoted the TAG program.
20. Member of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

In addition, Dr. Kelly noted that he and Mrs. Kelly had been

active community members: they were members of Trinity Church, he was a director of WVPT and of a bank; the incoming president of the Chamber of Commerce, and a trustee of the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation. Mrs. Kelly was a member of the King's Daughters' Board of Corporators.

Dr. Kelly announced in January, 1976, that he would become the president of Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky, in the summer of that year.

Minutes; EX: 1 Oct. 1975; Minutes, BT 7-8 Nov. 1975; MBB, Dec. 1975 Article reprinted from Staunton News Leader by Chester Goolrich, "Years of Vision-Times of Change" CC 22 Jan. 1976

⁹³ Reported in Minutes: Staff, 7 Nov. 1975; CC 29 Sept 1975: MBB Dec. 1975

⁹⁴ Minutes Ex. 1 Oct. 1975; 15 Dec. 1975; 19 Feb. 1976. Local trustees were especially helpful and were frequently at the college during this transition year. In particular, W. W. Sproul and Justice George Cochran were of immeasurable assistance to the acting president. It should also be noted that the senior administrative staff were as cooperative and supportive as possible. They, of course, had major personal concerns about their own, as well as the college's future, but they worked loyally and very hard to keep the college viable. They included Dorothy Mulberry, Ethel Smeak, Roy Patteson, Jack Blackburn, Albie Booth, and Freeman Jones. Virginia Munce (Alumnae), "B.C." Carr (Food Service), Michael Herndon (Comptroller), Janet Ferguson (Information Services), Carl Edwards (Chaplain), Frank Pancake (Career Planning/Placement) — all were supportive. Jane Wilhelm (Administrative Assistant to the President), Carolyn Meeks (Executive Secretary to the Dean), Sara Talbott (Faculty Secretary) provided the support services without which the daily operations of the college and the various "search" committees could not have functioned.

⁹⁵ Minutes: BT 23-24 April, 1976

⁹⁶ Minutes: Fac. 29 March, 1976; MBB Sept., 1976 The idea of inviting presidential nominees to the campus and identifying them as such was a decided break with former practices. It was still another example of the democratic and open procedures for decision-making which this decade demanded. It was both costly and time-consuming. The expenses of these search committees including as they did long distance telephone bills, air fares and entertainment, in addition to the paperwork involved, meant that search committee budgets might be in the thousands of

dollars. Faculty, students and support staffs assumed these duties on top of their regular commitments, and their willingness to undertake such problematical responsibilities is a measure of their support for their college.



Virginia Laudano Lester



SEVEN

The Turnaround College

Virginia L. Lester

1976-1985

In many ways Virginia Lester was an unorthodox choice as a chief executive for Mary Baldwin College. Although she was the first woman to be elected president, the fact that she was a woman was not in itself seen as particularly unusual. The seminary had been directed by a strong woman, Mary Julia Baldwin, for most of its nineteenth-century history and had continued to be effectively led by subsequent female "principals" until the 1930s. After that, as has been seen, Martha Grafton had served as dean and on several occasions as acting president, until her retirement in 1970. Thus the college community was accustomed to female leadership and was quite prepared to welcome a "lady president." But, in other ways, Virginia Lester was very different from any of the college's previous leaders.

She was a pleasant-looking woman, slight and trim, with an abundance of energy and a restless ambition. She was 45 years old, a native of Philadelphia, a Quaker, the divorced mother of two teenaged daughters. She was a graduate of Pennsylvania State and Temple and had taught elementary school in Philadelphia until marriage and children persuaded her to remain at home. By the mid-1960s, tiring of volunteer projects, she decided that she wanted to be "paid for my time," and for five years she worked in the administration of Skidmore College as the Director of Educational Research and as Assistant to the President. At the same time, she was completing her Ph.D. requirements by means of an

innovative and unusual program at Union Graduate School, the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, in Yellow Springs, Ohio. In 1973, she joined the administration of Empire State College, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., as an associate dean. In addition, she had been a visiting faculty fellow at Harvard Graduate School of Education. In May 1976, she had been named acting dean of the State-Wide Division of Empire State College. The next month, June 1976, she accepted the invitation to become Mary Baldwin College's president. She thus had had ten years' experience in college administration, personnel and program development, finances and budget control, and to the concerned Mary Baldwin trustees her strengths appeared to provide what they sought.

Her inauguration, 23 April 1977, coincided with a fine arts festival and an alumnae homecoming and was, as she described it, "a very personal family affair." Although there was the usual academic procession attended by six presidents and other delegates from Virginia and Presbyterian-related colleges and the usual "charge" delivered by Andrew J. Brent, the chairman of the Mary Baldwin College Board of Trustees, there was no principal speaker. Rather, Dr. Lester invited four of her "mentors" to attend the ceremonies, each to speak briefly about his experiences with her. To those who listened closely, there were clear signals of the kind of college president Virginia Lester would be: "She will meet the challenges and opportunities...because she has been purposeful in the search to fulfill her own role..."; "...to enable Mary Baldwin to play...a role in the future...through the creative redefining of institutional mandate and mission will require tireless and innovative leadership..."; "...an individual with ...the intelligence, the curiosity, the motivation..." to carry out the college's mission. One speaker quoted a poem which said in part, "There deep in the marble is the lion..."

There deep in the flesh and bones is the spirit..." and another warned, "...President Lester will make it her personal mission to encourage the lion lurking within Mary Baldwin to emerge."¹ In her own address, Dr. Lester made plain her goal orientation and her desire to expand the opportunities for women to make significant choices for their own lives. "College must be understood as a special time and place, equipped and staffed to encourage and help (women) to better engage in life. The college experience is a time to question, seek and discover; a time to test, to risk, to experience...Today, I, as a woman, dedicate this period

of my life to helping women at Mary Baldwin College explore their own potential and risk all they are capable of being. The promise is that the pain will be as acute as the joy..."²

The "pain" had already been experienced by the April 1977 inauguration, and the Lester "honeymoon" with the college faculty and administration had been brief. Part of the problem was that expectations had been so high. It was so simple to suggest that "once we have a new, competent president everything will be all right" that many permitted themselves to believe it was so. But thoughtful board and faculty members knew there were serious problems that could not be quickly solved.

After early November 1975, when Dr. Kelly had essentially removed himself from the campus, the acting president had concentrated on providing as normal as possible a school year. Although the operating budget was seriously deficit, she persuaded the trustees, in the interest of morale, to authorize a 7% increase in salaries and wages for 1976-77. That spring, enrollment applications increased slightly and the completion of Wenger Hall seemed to signal that the college was not closing. In her last report to the trustees, the acting president listed some priorities for the future as she saw it, although she acknowledged that how they might be achieved was not at all clear. The operating budget should be balanced, she wrote, and the debt accumulated since 1970 should be retired. The use of the campus during the summer should be expanded and should be revenue-producing. The Covenant Agreement with the synod should be concluded. New sophisticated energy management systems and office accounting equipment was needed and the entire operations of the business office needed to be further reviewed and strengthened. Perhaps the most unorthodox recommendation, in view of the college financial crisis, was that the college should purchase the holdings of Staunton Military Academy, which was rumored to be heading for bankruptcy court.

The property which was adjacent to Mary Baldwin College consisted of almost 35.5 acres, 14 buildings in various stages of neglect and disrepair, playing fields and other sports facilities. With the wave of anti-military feelings of the 1970s, military academies all over the country had faced declining enrollments and public hostility. Many had closed their doors forever. Originally located in Charles Town, West Virginia, William H. Kable had moved his academy to Staunton in 1884 and two years later added a military component to his curriculum and changed the

school's name to Staunton Military Academy. The school had flourished and had been one of the most respected private military academies in the country. Over the years, the relationship between the academy and the seminary had remained close. They sometimes shared faculty, particularly during World War I, when Col. Kable instructed seminary students in wartime drills and emergency procedures. As social regulations modified, the cadets were entertained at teas and soirées at the seminary, and in the 1930s academy football games were attended by Mary Baldwin students. Thomas H. Russell, for many years the headmaster and then the superintendent (1920-39), had been a Mary Baldwin trustee, and after his death his widow, Margaret Kable Russell, became the first woman - an alumna - to be elected to the college's board of trustees. In 1973, SMA had been sold to Layne E. Leofler who struggled to keep it open. By 1975, it was obvious that he had failed. However, the SMA alumni were extremely active and loyal. All kinds of plans were proposed to "save" the school, but none materialized and early in the spring of 1976, it was general knowledge that a forced sale would soon take place.

If Mary Baldwin College could acquire the property, it would solve many immediate physical needs, such as a place for student social events which would not impose on the college's neighbors; hockey and soccer fields; more tennis courts; space for administrative offices; and an additional dormitory. The needs of the Fine Arts, now located in various areas around the campus, could be met. The unduly elegant president's home on Edgewood Road could be sold and the college chief executive could return to live in the former superintendent's house on the expanded college campus. Most of all, the purchase would put an end to the rumors that the college was closing; it would demonstrate the determination of the college leadership to grow and prosper.³

Dr. Lester, once she had been officially designated as the seventh president of the college, was of course apprised of the SMA developments as well as the details of the college's financial predicaments, and she concurred on 4 June 1976 that the opportunity for purchase should be explored further. This was not a decision that could be debated endlessly, since the bankruptcy court planned final hearings by December 1976. It was known that there were two or three other prospective purchasers, and during the early summer the trustees asked Roy Patteson and trustee W.W. Sproul to explore funding possibilities among alumnae and friends of the college. Trustees and architects evaluated

the condition and usefulness of the buildings; that fall, the faculty were consulted and gave reluctant assent; and on 4 November 1976, Mary Baldwin purchased the SMA property for \$1,120,000. Immediately thereafter, the college sold 8.38 acres of its purchase to the Staunton YMCA, which was seeking a building site for its expanded operations.⁴

Among the college constituencies, the agreement had been that the SMA purchase would be funded separately from the ongoing New Dimensions campaign and that none of the necessary funds would be borrowed. An additional \$500,000 would be needed to ensure maintenance, remodeling and security for at least three years, after which the costs of the "North Campus" would be "folded into" the regular college budget. The whole purchase was paid for by gifts from alumnae, friends, trustees and parents. The students undertook to raise \$5000 to help pay for the renovation of the Mess Hall into an area suitable for dances and other social activities, and consultants were brought in to recommend which buildings should be demolished and which should be remodeled for college use. A "single campus" concept was embraced. President Lester's inaugural ball was held in April 1977 in the new student social center (the Mess Hall) and she moved into the former superintendent's home in the early summer of 1977.⁵

Everyone acknowledged that the integration of the campuses would be a long process and should follow carefully thought out plans. The faithful firm of Clark, Nexsen & Owen had already been consulted before the SMA purchase was made and they continued to suggest possible scenarios for future development. Additional suggestions were made for "adaptive reuse" by a Ford Foundation consultant and others.⁶ Many ideas were presented to various trustee committees, at which there were sometimes student representatives. One such student then discussed some of these proposals with a Campus Comments reporter, who promptly wrote a story about them. This immediately earned a rebuke from the college president who declared the story "premature." Some of these proposals, such as removing most of the SMA buildings and even Rose Terrace and Hill Top and essentially building a "new campus" were publicized in this fashion. The reaction was swift and vociferous. The SMA alumni, who clung to the hope that somehow they might reacquire the property, were outraged at the proposal to remove their revered barracks; the Historic Staunton Foundation objected to the destruction of his-

torically significant structures; the college alumnae rose to the defense of Miss Baldwin's Hill Top and the venerable Rose Terrace.

Inevitably, the integration of the upper campus proceeded slowly. The physical plant offices and shops moved there first, followed, in the fall of 1977, by the business office. In the spring and summer of 1978, Tullidge Hall was refurbished, used briefly as a conference center and then, in the fall of 1978, as a dormitory. In 1979, Kable Hall was remodeled into suites for upperclass women. That year, South Barracks was razed, parking lots were built, and in 1983 the old SMA Memorial Gymnasium became the Deming Fine Arts Center. Other buildings in the complex were rented to faculty and staff.⁷

With considerable courage, Dr. Lester had called the opportunity to purchase SMA a "dream come true," fully recognizing that its purchase and integration into the college's life would add immeasurably to her immediate problems. At her first meeting with the faculty (5 Oct. 1976), she warned them that the following two years were "crucial" to the future of the college. She declared that hers would be an "open administration" as Dr. Kelly had said his would be, but that there were clear lines of responsibilities, communication and response which must be respected. She asked that everyone accept her goals and work toward them. She proposed that 40 new students (above the present enrollment) be added each year and that admissions procedures and publications be reorganized following the recommendations of the consultants she proposed to bring to the campus. She made her first tentative suggestion about an "adult degree program" which would fit the educational, financial needs and the lifestyles of self-motivated adults. She asked faculty to prepare grant proposals and submit them to agencies and foundations. She declared that the New Dimensions campaign was being reactivated and would be vigorously pursued, and an efficient management and cost control system would immediately be put in place. Stringent economy measures must be enforced. Pursuant to the latter proposal, which initially sounded most positive to faculty who had been frustrated by the lack of decision-making of the recent past, was the announcement that all faculty and staff would now have to pay for lunch in Hunt Hall, as would all students' guests, even parents. Students who wished to carry more course units than the four which constituted a normal schedule would have to pay an overload fee.

Dr. Lester did not propose to ask for sacrifices that she herself was not willing to share. She too would buy her own lunch, would not hire an executive assistant, although both the trustees and the former acting president thought she would need one, and would agree to the sale of the Edgewood Road house (into which she had just moved). She set a personal goal of balancing the college operating budget by 1980.

Although impressed with Dr. Lester's "enthusiasm, her leadership, her unrelenting energy and her commitment to Mary Baldwin College," the faculty were not hesitant in voicing the concerns many still felt. They wanted wider contact with the trustees, an end to proliferating committees, and a remedy to the perceived inequalities of faculty pay. They were apprehensive about the college's "image," the social life of the students, the purchase of SMA, the college's financial status and the endowment. They voiced their criticism of the infirmary staff, of the business office, of the supervisor of buildings and grounds, and the food service. And when, in April 1977, the president reported that the consultants suggested that majors in Business Management, Communications, Health Services, Special Education and Social and Psychological Services should be added to the curriculum, but that no additions to the total faculty numbers could be, at least for a time, permitted, the first of what would be many acrimonious debates ensued.⁸

That spring (1977), the president reminded the faculty that she had been presented with a \$400,000 deficit operating budget for the year, due in part to the 7% salary raise which had been authorized by the trustees in 1976, although there had not been current funds to cover it. In addition there had been unplanned-for student attrition, a severe winter and escalating fuel costs, unexpected boiler repairs, an unwelcome rise in health insurance premiums, and an unmentioned \$23,500 fee for student advising through the contracted services of the Guidance and Career Planning Center that had added to her fiscal problems. In spite of that, she had been able to cut \$47,000 from the 1976-77 budget. However, she announced that, to further control expenditures, faculty and staff salary contracts would show no pay increases for the 1977-78 year. In the fall, when enrollment figures were final, a modest increase might be possible and would be given at that time. The inflation rate for 1977 was almost 7% and was increasing each month. The sacrifices that everyone would have to make to achieve financial control were very real.

There was no item in the college budget that Dr. Lester did not scrutinize. If community groups wished to use college facilities, they must now pay the energy and service costs. College memberships in professional organizations were cut ruthlessly. When a computer center employee threatened to resign, Lester promptly accepted his resignation and did not replace him. Contracts for food and goods which had routinely been awarded to local firms were now put out for bids, much to the distress of Staunton and Augusta County businesses who had enjoyed generations of college patronage. No outside catering would now be permitted, long distance telephoning was cut to a minimum, energy use carefully controlled, zero-based budgeting was instituted. "I nick-eled and dimed people to death," she later confessed, but Lester brought the former anarchistic budget practices under control. By 1979, a year ahead of her personal goal, she was able to report to the trustees that the operating budget for the year 1978-79 had been balanced and that she anticipated a modest surplus for 1979-80.⁹

* * * *

Virginia Lester's great strengths lay in her fund-raising abilities, her skills in financial management and budget control, and in her determination to meet the challenge of budget deficits, inadequate endowment, and declining enrollments. At first it seemed to be mostly a matter of her own personal commitment - "Ginny, you can do it," as she once described her own mental processes in an interview for the Mary Baldwin Magazine. But, as so often happens at this college, she was seduced by the beauty of the campus and the seasons; she responded to a way of life and a set of values and attitudes that were different from any to which she had been accustomed, and in time her determination reflected her love for the college as well as her own personal agenda. She had great difficulty expressing such feelings. "I can't talk about how I feel about the institution...I never could break through the image of the college president to let people see my vulnerable self." She said she couldn't "exercise my sense of humor...so much was always riding on the next round."¹⁰

The financial record of her nine-year administration is truly remarkable. Between 1976-1985, the college's operating budget went from \$3,225,605 to \$9,537,020. Her annual budgets were balanced except for the first two years of her administration, when

she had had to deal with a \$449,000 deficit from the previous administration. Her final operating budget (1984-85) showed a \$239,128 surplus. The endowment had grown from \$2.9 million to \$10 million, a 245% increase in market value. All monies borrowed from the endowment had been returned and the college had paid no temporary debt service interest since 1976. Annual giving had doubled from \$303,626 in 1977 to \$659,547 and the real estate holdings had increased from 16.5 acres to 45 acres. Almost \$3 million additional had been raised and spent on improvements to the physical plant (including the President's Home, Kable Dormitory, Deming Fine Arts Center, Sena Center, Tullidge and a new Alumnae House). New parking lots had been constructed, extensive remodeling on the first floor of Grafton had taken place, and major fire protection and electrical updating of all existing buildings had been accomplished.

The New Dimensions campaign, begun in 1975 with a projected goal of raising \$7.6 million by 1977, was reactivated, reorganized, extended to 1980, and a new goal set at \$10 million which would include SMA expenses. On 7 February 1980, the largest gift in the history of the college was announced. Two million dollars was contributed by an anonymous donor. The first million was to be presented in cash on 31 March 1980; the second million would be forthcoming only if matched by an equal amount to be raised by the board of trustees by June 30 1980 - a four-month deadline. The challenge was met successfully, and the New Dimensions campaign ended in triumph on 31 October 1980 with a total amount of gifts and pledges equaling \$10,004,448.¹¹

Once the New Dimensions campaign was concluded, a very limited capital campaign, primarily to support the remodeling of the Deming Fine Arts Center, was undertaken. Between October, 1981 and December 1982, \$1,273,000 was raised, with the board of trustees undertaking a personal commitment of \$300,000 toward the total amount. Once again the Kresge Foundation provided funds for a "challenge grant" which, as had been the case with Wenger Hall, was successfully met.

Great efforts were expended during these years to increase the number of alumnae who contributed regularly to the annual fund and to increase the total amount contributed. In April 1978, a \$50,000 "challenge fund" was established by two alumnae to encourage additional annual giving, and renewed efforts were made to strengthen the number of deferred gifts and bequests which the college might expect to receive over the years.

Also of note was Dr. Lester's success in attracting major gifts and grants from foundations and corporations. Her relationship with the VFIC was cordial and she regularly devoted two weeks or more to its fund-raising activities. The college's share of the proceeds increased as enrollments improved.¹² Among others, International Paper and Shell Corporations, the Jessie Ball duPont, the Pew, the Cabell and the Morgan Foundations, and the National Endowment for the Arts, for the Humanities, and the National Science Foundation all made significant contributions toward the college's curricular and physical needs. Federal grants supported an Upward Bound program, the purchase of classroom computers and the ADP program. The Foundation for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE) awarded funding for a two-year program to improve teaching and learning skills for "diverse adults." Dr. Lester even got the college auditors to provide a generous consultant's fee to help her study the financial management problems of the college.

During her nine-year tenure, a total of \$15,539,629 in gifts and grants was generated by Dr. Lester and the development office.¹³ How did she manage this?

Dr. Lester had a very supportive board of trustees and advisory board of visitors. She was comfortable with financial and corporate leaders and they with her, and she was able to secure some of them as board members. The trustees had risked a great deal when they hired Virginia Lester and they were determined she would succeed. Under her leadership, they played a far more active role in college governance, fund raising and student recruitment than they ever had. They backed her all the way, even when serious campus controversies arose; they paid her generously and gave her extended two-and three-year contracts. In 1982, they offered her a five-year commitment.¹⁴

The alumnae responded to her leadership with enthusiasm and genuine affection. She was optimistic but realistic, a good businesswoman, which many alumnae were also, and she had "saved" their college. She gave them meaningful work to do - i.e., admissions aides and volunteer projects. Fifteen new chapters were established during her presidency and she visited them all. They were grateful and responded with time, energy and financial support.

Dr. Lester had a wide acquaintance among foundation and government agency bureaucrats. She personally worked long and hard on grant proposals and insisted that her staff and faculty do

the same. She did her homework and the necessary follow-ups and obtained funds for many programs which could not have been supported otherwise. Since the college's finances were in order and demonstrably well-managed, she had less difficulty in persuading foundations to invest in Mary Baldwin's future.

During these years and again as a result of Dr. Lester's energy and initiative, the college achieved national recognition. Although she had cut college memberships in her economy drive, she joined carefully selected associations and boards designed to secure the college visibility. She was elected to the Conference Board, served on the board of the National Urban League, the Association of Governing Boards Of Universities and Colleges, the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges (CASC), the Women's College Coalition and the Governor's Committee to Study the Future of Virginia. She was even elected to the President's Commission of the National Collegiate Athletic Association. There were articles in some prestigious newspapers and magazines, such as the Washington Post and U.S. News and World Report, which listed the college as among the top women's colleges in the South.

The college continued, however, to have to rely heavily on tuition; between 60-65% of its annual income came from its students. Tuition and fees increased each year, never quite keeping pace with inflation but difficult for many to accept. The traditional student in 1976 paid a comprehensive fee of \$4770; day students, \$3170. Nine years later, fees of \$10,500 and \$6000 were imposed.¹⁵ Dr. Lester's goal of adding at least 40 "new" students each year was never quite reached in spite of consultants who reorganized the admissions process, instituted phonathons, new formats for publications ("I wanted [our publications] to convey energy and action, not the little southern lady thing"), and increased financial commitment for recruiting.¹⁶ Demographics were against her: there were fewer 18-22 year olds in the total population and particularly in the southern states, from which the majority of the students came; of those, smaller numbers were attending four-year colleges and among them, fewer still (less than 2%) were interested in a woman's church-related college. Her consultants told Dr. Lester that those young women who were attracted to colleges like Mary Baldwin wanted to major in career-oriented subjects and she pressured the faculty, as has been seen, to add some of them to the curriculum. Increasing attention was paid to attrition, and there was much updating of the advising

system and of the peer counselors system in the dormitories, as well as expanded career, placement and "life planning" services.

But it was soon obvious that more was needed, so Dr. Lester proposed to alter the basic mission of the college. Not only would traditional college-age women be offered a program focused on thoughtful life choices and the skills to succeed in them, but adult women of any age might be served by a program which would not require residency and attendance at campus classes in order to earn a college degree. Called the Adult Degree Program, it was instituted in the fall of 1977 and provided an "individualized" degree program using the contract method of instruction. The president's enthusiasm for this concept was based on her own experiences with graduate work and her later duties at Empire State College. She was fully committed to the concept of self-directed learning for highly motivated individuals and she persuaded the reluctant traditional faculty to agree. Dudley Luck, who had been at the college since 1972 in the Education faculty and who was widely respected, agreed to become the director of the new program. She had the energy and imagination to embrace the unorthodox proposal and to study the few models that currently existed. Once assured that the program would be self-supporting and that they could but were not required to participate, the faculty, with considerable skepticism, agreed. The effort began in the fall of 1977 with eight women enrolled. Its success was phenomenal. By the time Dr. Lester resigned in 1985, there were 225 women (and a few men) currently enrolled, and 303 individuals had already obtained their B.A. degree from Mary Baldwin College. Satellite offices had opened in Richmond and Roanoke, and SACS had not only approved the offering but had declared it to be a model for others who were interested in similar ventures.¹⁷

Late in her administration, Dr. Lester proposed yet another program, PEG (Program for Exceptionally Gifted). This would address the needs of younger girls whose intellectual abilities made it hard for them to adjust to secondary educational institutions. The concept included a curriculum that would provide special studies in a setting appropriate for their chronological age, carefully graduated steps in integrating them into the college community, and a B.A. degree in a five-year period. The concept was Dr. Lester's, but the first class did not matriculate until after she had resigned. It was the responsibility of the Tyson administration to bring the concept to life.¹⁸

Thus, Dr. Lester proposed to broaden the "pool" of prospective college applicants to include young teenaged girls, "traditional" 18-22-year-old women, and adults over 25-years old as a way of expanding the college's mission and securing its economic survival.

* * * *

President Lester's annual reports to the trustees were upbeat and enthusiastic but honest about problems and difficulties. She could be devastatingly frank and her remarks were often blunt. Later in her administration, when she was reported to be hard and cold, she answered:

What I'm not is tough and aggressive, but I'm different. What I am is hard driving-intense, energetic. And I am willing to make hard decisions....You can feel the tension when I want something to happen. If I am really impatient, I jump in and I don't let anybody ride interference for me. I just have to take over and do it. That's probably my greatest weakness. I also think it is my greatest strength.¹⁹

Dr. Lester and many trustees felt that a good deal of Dr. Kelly's difficulties had stemmed from major weaknesses in his administrative staff, and Virginia Lester indicated that an early priority for her was to put together an effective, competent and loyal senior staff. She embraced the then popular "management by objective" method. Each official was ordered to set yearly goals and to make monthly reports to the president on the progress toward them. She correctly observed that the administrative handbook prepared for Dr. Kelly in 1974-75 had been descriptive only and had done little to bring rationality and consistency to administrative offices. She reported to the trustees that that had been remedied; hiring and firing practices were now "regularized" (her word); and that she had eliminated "exceptionalism" and preferential treatment. The old relaxed autonomous ways for the college administrative offices passed into oblivion. By 1984, an administrative handbook clearly defining responsibilities and lines of communication had been produced.

But Dr. Lester found it hard to reverse the pattern of administrative instability that she had inherited from the Kelly years. During her nine-year presidency, there were four academic deans, five vice-presidents for development, five physical plant directors, three chaplains, four directors of alumnae activities and five publications directors.²⁰ No major Kelly administrative appointee remained by 1985 when Dr. Lester resigned. The first to leave was Freeman Jones, business manager and treasurer, who told Campus Comments that he had been at the college for 12 years during which time he had never had a vacation. "Now that we have a full-time president, it is time for me to make a change." He resigned at the end of the 1976-77 session, as did Roy Patteson in development, who left to become president of King College. Jack Blackburn, in admissions, accepted the consultants Dr. Lester insisted on with good grace and sought to incorporate their suggestions in his program, but by the late 70s the enrollment numbers were again discouraging and in 1980 he, too, tendered his resignation. Virginia Munce, who had been the director of alumnae activities since 1963, found it difficult to embrace the changed format of the Mary Baldwin Magazine and the total reorganization of alumnae affairs which the president demanded. She shifted briefly to public relations in 1979 and shortly thereafter left. Some leave-takings were public and bitter. After almost 40 years at the college, "B.C." Carr, director of food services, resigned on 28 March 1980 because, she said, the president "showed a total lack of respect for me as a person and the kind of job I have done for 39-3/4 years." As has been seen, the food service had come in for its full share of student and administrative criticism over the years, but "B.C." had become almost a college tradition and Campus Comments gave full publicity to that unhappy event. The editorial says that Miss Carr "embodies the spirit of intimate fellowship."²¹

Dr. Lester had delayed appointing an executive assistant for her office, partly because of finances and perhaps mostly because she found it hard to delegate her authority. However, she accepted an "administrative intern" for the 1978-79 session. The young woman, Ronnie Pleet, had worked with Virginia Lester previously and the year seemed to go smoothly. After Pleet left, there was an appointee who remained only a month and it was not until 1981 that another graduate school intern, Kenneth Armstrong, joined Lester's office. This relationship worked well (from the president's point of view) and Armstrong remained throughout the rest of her

administration. In 1984, he was named director of development and public relations.

In spite of the above difficulties, there were some excellent administrative appointments made during the Lester years, many of whom are still at the college. Dr. Lester respected and worked well with two of her deans of students, Mary Louise Kiley (1976-79) and Mona Olds (1980-83). Their resignations were the result of their own personal needs and ambitions, not the president's wishes. On 15 May 1977, Dr. Dane J. Cox was named business manager and treasurer of Mary Baldwin College. He brought a thorough understanding of college finances, the capacity to admire the driving personality of the president and the ability to work with her and with her successor. That same year, following Gertrude Davis' resignation because of health considerations, William C. Pollard was appointed the college librarian. He brought many years of experience, organizational skills, unflinching courtesy, patience and sensitivity to that position. He retired in June 1992. After Jack Blackburn left, Dr. Lester promoted a college alumna, who had been made the assistant admissions director shortly before, to the position of director of admissions. Clair Carter Bell '76 handled that difficult assignment well until after Dr. Lester had left. Donald W. Wells assumed responsibility for Continuing Education/Summer Programs in 1981. Under his leadership the summer campus was crowded to capacity, the numbers often exceeding the winter enrollment, as the Governor's School, Virginia Music Camp, sports clinics, Elderhostels, Young Women in Science, writers in residence, a Japanese Total Cultural Immersion program, Doshisha Women's College students, among many others, used the college facilities during June, July and August.

There were other appointees whose strengths and talents have continued to be assets. John S. Kelly became the supervisor of security in 1978. "He is a welcome addition," wrote Campus Comments. "He has become recognizable to the student body, a fact which separates him from numerous other administrators." James J. Harrington was appointed the director of the adult degree program in 1983; Lewis D. Askegaard, registrar and director of institutional research, that same year; and Jane Caplen, director of health services in 1977.²²

Although Dr. Lester required regular reports from her staff members, kept tight budget controls, and established general policy, she tended to leave it up to her senior staff as to how they

accomplished their objectives. She was off the campus a great deal, as were her vice presidents, and she expected that assigned duties would be carried out without her supervision. She did expect complete reports, ready on her desk when she returned, and wrote abrupt, even sarcastic notes when her expectations were not met. She also took care to write appreciative memos, giving praise for work performed well. She was, as she freely admitted, a perfectionist and expected those about her to be, also. Perhaps one reason for the frequent staff turnovers was this expectation of over-achievement. Those who did not meet her standards were asked to leave. By 1982, both students and faculty were noting this bewildering lack of continuity and debating the merits of the president's decisions.²³

* * * *

Closely tied to the problems of college finance and administration was Mary Baldwin's relationship to the Synod of the Virginias. Efforts at redefining the Covenant Agreement occupied considerable time in the early years of Lester's presidency. And problems arose almost immediately.

The question of the proper relationship of the Presbyterian Career and Personal Guidance Center and its director, Lillian Pennell, to the college did not long escape Dr. Lester's scrutiny. It will be recalled that the Center was located at Mary Baldwin (at the college's invitation) in 1955. At first housed in Riddle, the Center had been moved early in the Spencer years (1959) to a house on Coalter Street rented by the college for that purpose. The location was not as central to college activities as the old New Street location had been and was physically more difficult for Lillian Pennell, confined as she was to a wheel chair, but she had acquiesced in the move. During the 16 years of her residency on Coalter Street, she had learned to drive a specially equipped van, had acquired a Ph.D., and had sought to assist in every way she could the college's increasing concern for career and placement services for its students. O. Ashton Trice, the senior Psychology faculty member, had long acted as liaison between the Center and the college, and Psychology majors frequently arranged externships and independent studies there. Since the Center was supported by the Presbyterian church, other persons outside the college constituencies also used its resources, and although never overwhelmingly integral to the college's operations, the relationship

had been pleasant and non-threatening. As the push for more career-oriented courses and placement services expanded during the Kelly years, some questions about the respective duties of the Frank Pancake/Fran Schmid placement operations and Lillian Pennell's services emerged. By late 1974, facing declining enrollments and financial strains, Dr. Kelly proposed to Dr. Pennell that she move back to Riddle (no longer needed for student housing) and that the college would continue to contract with her for her services. The move was made in the spring of 1975. The dean of students, Ethel Smeak, seeking to counteract attrition and to meet the advisory board of visitors' demands for student career goal-setting, proposed in 1975 that the Center test and counsel all entering freshmen, and the administration agreed to a \$2-3000 fee for these services. Dr. Lester felt these fees were excessive, especially since freshman response was disappointing, as was the attendance at "Career Fairs" that Lillian Pennell organized. Dr. Lester needed space for the new ADP personnel, as well as more room for other administrative offices. The entire first floor of the Administration Building had been given over to the expanded admissions operation and both deans and the president were crowded together on the second floor. For a time, the president's secretary occupied a desk in the hall. Lillian Pennell required the top two floors of Riddle, since she and her companion lived as well as worked there, and Dr. Lester felt there were higher college priorities for that space. In addition, Dr. Lester's cherished "Women's Center" was in the final planning stages and a director, Dottie Geare, had been named. How did she relate to Dr. Pennell's operation?

To further complicate matters, the Synod of the Virginias was still trying to negotiate a final, acceptable Covenant Agreement with the college and now sent a yearly "task force" to survey campus conditions, decide on their yearly contribution, and to discuss yet another synod campaign to raise money for the Presbyterian colleges within its boundaries.

Lillian Pennell had many friends and supporters throughout the church and was a symbol of the capabilities of severely handicapped persons. A less determined college administrator might well have decided to back off from a situation so sensitive and complex, but Dr. Lester did not. In the summer of 1978, she told Dr. Pennell that she would have to move from Riddle. The Center could stay if it wished, exchanging "services for space," but no more funds could be committed to the program. It now became

apparent how little consideration had been given to Dr. Pennell's future, either by the synod or by the college. She had no annuity, since she had not been considered part of the college faculty; no funds to buy a house, since her wants had been simple and her salary, paid by the synod, had always been modest; and nowhere to go. It was painful and embarrassing, and Dr. Lester was widely criticized for her part in the dilemma. Eventually the synod found enough funds to build a house near Fishersville that provided suitable quarters for Dr. Pennell and her companion, and she left the college campus, which had been her home for more than 20 years, on 5 November 1979. She departed, as was characteristic of her, quietly and with no bitterness. The Counseling and Guidance Center moved to facilities in Westminster Presbyterian Church in Waynesboro in June 1980 and all connection to the college was severed.²⁴

At the same time these events were occurring, the Synod of the Virginias was planning another major fund-raising campaign, designed to raise \$3 million for Mary Baldwin and Davis & Elkins colleges. Two years of planning and discussion had gone into the project. It was to begin in September 1981 and end nine months later. The burden of the work was to be borne by the development offices of the two colleges. Hampden-Sydney had already refused to participate, and Dr. Lester and the trustees decided in 1980 that Mary Baldwin should withdraw, as well. They were already planning their own Capital Campaign and felt the two simultaneous efforts would be counter-productive. Instead, they suggested the synod should increase its yearly contributions to support scholarships for Presbyterian women.²⁵

On the other hand, Dr. Lester did make a concentrated effort to strengthen the college's ties with its Presbyterian heritage. Although she herself was a Quaker who occasionally, quietly and privately, attended "First Day" services with other Quakers in Waynesboro or Charlottesville, she quickly became knowledgeable about the Presbyterian church structure, attended General Assembly meetings, served on committees, and was a member of the Association of Presbyterian Colleges and Universities. On their annual visits, the various synod task forces found much to admire on the Mary Baldwin campus. The college now had full-time women chaplains, and Dr. Lester was fortunate in these appointments. The three women, Deborah Dodson, Catherine Synder and Cynthia Higgins, who served during President Lester's administration were all young, very bright, newly out of the

seminary and earnest and dedicated. Their tenures were short (each stayed only three years), but they related well to the students and planned many special projects which were supported on the campus. They sponsored retreats, CROP walks, weekly dormitory prayer sessions, peace conferences, the annual Staley Lectures, seminars, Circle K, Special Olympics, Oxfam and blood donor programs. Cathy Snyder began a series of "Lifestyle Colloquia," using campus and local church resources, which was enthusiastically received and has been repeated for many years.

In 1980, the Mary Baldwin Bulletin featured three alumnae who were Presbyterian ministers, Caroline Price, Ann Bowman Day and Susan Poole Condrey, all of whom wrote movingly about their experiences as women in the male religious bureaucracy of the church. All had been told, more than once, "Our church isn't ready for a woman minister yet," but each had eventually found a place where she was welcomed.

In 1982, only 17% of the students said they were Presbyterians, and the college appealed to the synod to provide scholarships for deserving Presbyterian students and to help in recruitment efforts. In 1983, the trustees agreed to waive tuition for the daughters of active Presbyterian ministers, thus reviving a previous commitment of long standing, and within a year nine such women were enrolled at the college.

The Covenant Agreement was finally revised to the satisfaction of the Virginia Attorney General, the college and the synod, and was approved in 1984. The Lester presidency ended with the church-relatedness of the college modified but intact.²⁶

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It was natural that the main focus of the Lester presidency as regards the physical plant would be on incorporation of the additional space and buildings of the SMA purchase into the "lower campus." The principal changes of these years have already been referred to, but some other events should be noted. Inevitably, there were stresses and problems here, as well. The SMA alumni hoped that some kind of memorial to the school might be erected; that space might be provided for their records and archives; perhaps, they hoped, sometime in the future they might use some of the buildings again. Lester's single-mindedness about the needs of the college and her obligation to its financial stability meant that these proposals were refused. Consequently, college-

community relationships were strained.²⁷

Equally difficult was the relationship with a new organization - energetic and committed - the Historic Staunton Foundation. Dedicated to preserving and enhancing the architectural uniqueness of the community, the foundation proposed that "historic districts" be created, in which outward physical changes to buildings and settings would have to be in conformity to historic preservation standards. The Mary Baldwin College campus, especially the SMA purchase, would come within the proposed "Gospel Hill" district. The college was not unsympathetic with these ideas, but Dr. Lester was concerned that long-range plans for development and integration would be handicapped by that designation. There were several campus buildings, notably Administration (1843), Rose Terrace (1875), Hill Top (1819), and the Music Building (1899), already listed on the Virginia or the National Register of Historic Landmarks, and Kable House (1873), a part of the SMA purchase, was similarly listed. The debate became acrimonious and bruising. Dr. Lester's wishes ultimately prevailed, and the college was not included in an historic district; but again community relationships suffered.²⁸

In November 1980, the Mary Julia Baldwin memorial stained glass window, the gift of the alumnae in 1904 and placed in storage in the basement of Bailey Hall when Waddell Chapel had been demolished in 1962, was restored and mounted for display in Grafton Library.

With a remarkable display of support, 100% of the members of the board of trustees, the advisory board of visitors and the alumnae board contributed toward the transformation of Memorial gymnasium, on the SMA grounds, into the Deming Fine Arts Center. Dedicated on Founders' Day, 8 October 1983, its various components were named in honor of Fletcher Collins (theater); Carl Broman, Ruth McNeil, Gordon Page (music rooms); and Nena Weiss Priddie (Art Center).²⁹

During the winter of 1982, the Timberlake house, located on the corner of Coalter and Kable streets just behind the president's home, was acquired. It became the Alumnae House. Chapters of the Alumnae Association furnished and decorated the four bedrooms, which are used to house college guests and perhaps, at long last, the Alumnae Association has a permanent home.

Other physical changes occurred. A Wells Fargo Gamefield Jogging course was constructed in 1983. Little House was closed for student use in 1980, after an unfortunate break-in and assault

on the students living there. Over \$300,000 was spent updating the fire prevention system with smoke detectors, sprinklers, fire-rated doors and resistant drapes. The college has never had a fatal fire, but three small episodes, a trash can fire in Spencer, another in Tullidge and a mattress fire in Bailey, were enough to focus attention on prevention. Additional large sums were spent on painting campus buildings and on expensive boiler repairs. All imposed strains on the Lester budget. In the early years of her administration, the energy "crunch" remained and inflation was still at double-digit levels. Considering all these factors, the changes and upgrading of the college physical plant during the Lester administration were remarkable.³⁰

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Central to the college's purpose and, of course, the focus of President Lester's concerns, was the educational program. The curriculum was the key to the attraction and retention of the students, for whose sake all the other supporting activities were carried out. The trustees approved all degrees and educational policies of the college, but delegated to the president the responsibility of formulating an appropriate educational plan which would meet the college charter requirements and the needs of the young women who matriculated there. She, in turn, delegated to the dean of the college the matters of curriculum and the recruitment and support of the faculty necessary to carry out the educational program. The faculty, in turn, determined what programs ("processes") were necessary in order to carry out the policies of the administration and the trustees. Much of the specific relationships among these various constituencies had, in the past, never been delineated in detail - nor, in the earlier era of collegiality and mutual respect, had it been necessary to do so. But the stresses of the last years of the Kelly presidency had destroyed that relationship, and Dr. Lester found herself presiding over a contentious and argumentative group who had pressured the previous administration and the trustees in a manner which seemed to Dr. Lester to be highly inappropriate.

The situation was not unique to Mary Baldwin College. Educational institutions of every ilk could no longer retreat behind their ivy covered brick walls and remain aloof from the world of which they were a part. The Lester administration coincided with the doubts and malaise of the Carter presidency; with the Camp

David accords, with the Khomeini Revolution in Iran; and the hostage crisis of 1979-80. That year, Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States, a choice very unpopular with academe. In 1981, he was seriously wounded in an assassination attempt, recalling the grim days of 1963. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan and the United States, in response, boycotted the Olympic games. The Sandinistas came to power in Nicaragua, and in 1982 the Equal Rights Amendment failed to secure the necessary votes for ratification. U. S. troops were sent to Lebanon and some of them were subsequently murdered. The Star Wars program was announced; a Korean airliner was downed over Soviet territory; the U.S. invaded Grenada; the Gramm-Rudman Deficit Reduction Act was passed; and Reagan was reelected to the presidency in 1984. In 1985, Gorbachov came to power in the Soviet Union.

In 1979, the inflation rate had soared to 13.5 % and federal funds for education had become increasingly limited. Although inflation was less than 4% by 1982, the number of young people graduating from high school declined each year after 1981, after a short-lived increase in the late 1970s; and all educational institutions again felt the impact of declining enrollments and shrinking revenues. Everyone had been affected by the upheavals of the 1970s and state legislators, trustees, university presidents, deans and faculty struggled to find a new balance in a changing world.

Dorothy Mulberry had been appointed acting dean of the college in 1975; that spring, faced with the resignation of the dean of students, the chaplain, and the president, the acting president, and the trustees agreed that she should be asked to be dean in fact; and she consented. She began to work with Dr. Lester almost immediately and adjusted with seeming little difficulty to Lester's administrative style and to her personality. In general, Dean Mulberry approved of the Lester academic agenda, and did her best to implement it. She loyally served as dean of the college until 1980, but the bitterness of the continuing controversy over tenure and the distribution of pay increases led her to offer her resignation that summer. Dr. Lester told her on one occasion that she had "too much of a faculty perspective" and, indeed, she had been a respected faculty member for many years. She returned to the faculty who had passed a resolution of appreciation and praise for her work.³¹

A search committee produced a new dean, Dr. Michael Pincus,

whose academic specialty was (as Dorothy Mulberry's had been) Spanish language and literature. His degrees were from University of North Carolina, but he and his family were essentially urban oriented and he left in 1982.³² His successor was Dr. Irene Hecht, a graduate of Radcliffe College and the University of Washington. She remained until the spring of 1985, when, at the president's request, she left before the session ended. By this time, Virginia Lester, herself, had resigned, and Dorothy Mulberry agreed to become again the acting dean in order to give the new president, Cynthia H. Tyson, time to choose her own administrative staff.

The admission consultants' reports in the spring of 1977 produced some immediate curriculum changes, as has been seen. The new career-oriented courses were added almost immediately and were supplemented by two "certificate" programs, as well, in Language Proficiency and Tennis Teaching. Other courses were added, such as Accounting, Business Law, Biology of Women, Mass Communications and Small Group Dynamics. A particularly popular offering, held for several years during May term, examined Masculine-Feminine Roles and Relationships. A limited number of men from W. & L. joined an equal number of Mary Baldwin women. They lived in Tullidge Hall and examined human relationships from the perspectives of Biology, Law, Literature, Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology and Theology. These offerings, and others like them, reflected the increasing interest in "pre-professional" programs, in women's studies and in international concerns. During these years, a special relationship with Doshisha Women's College in Japan was arranged. Young Japanese women studied American culture on the Mary Baldwin campus in the summer and some enrolled for regular sessions, as well. Mary Baldwin students could spend a semester, a year or a summer studying in Japan. The May term, which after 1977 replaced the January term, permitted month-long intensive courses to be held in Madrid, Paris, London, Vienna and Florence and allowed other students to arrange externships with industries, communication organizations, government agencies and hospitals.

The faculty made every effort to ensure that a strong, liberal arts component was reflected even in the "career-oriented" courses. Dr. Lester answered the numerous questions from worried alumnae and parents by stating, "Mary Baldwin has no intention of becoming a vocational school."³³ It does not have to be, she added,

"either/or, but can be and/also." Still, as German, Physics, Music and Religion majors were dropped and faculty in the traditional courses were replaced by those versed in the new areas, faculty were troubled. They were equally troubled by the fact that the open-ended requirements for graduation had resulted in many students, in spite of their advisors' suggestions, putting together courses of study which were hardly reflective of a broad liberal arts education. The faculty changed the Catalogue wording to provide for more specific course distributions, revised the schedule, renumbered and evaluated all courses, changed to a four-point rather than a three-point grading system, required all course syllabi to be on file in the dean's office, devised requirements to demonstrate "competencies" in writing skills, mathematic computation, and in analysis, and gradually came to the point where they would agree to a total curriculum revision.

Faculty concerns were reflected in student apprehensions, as well. Underclassmen, particularly, worry about whether or not a specific course will "transfer." They are concerned about the academic reputation of the school from which they are receiving their degree. They were verbally indignant over the fact that, if they signed for an academic "overload" (more than four course units), they were charged an extra fee. Four courses, they insisted, was not enough. Some saw Mary Baldwin as becoming an "easy" college.³⁴

In 1981, Dr. Lester appointed a President's Committee on the Humanities and charged it with recommending action to "preserve and strengthen the liberal arts curriculum." By 1983, a full-blown curriculum study was under way. Again, there were "prolonged and bitter debates"; the Self-Study of 1987 called it an "often painful process"; but by 1984, "a rigorous, structured" curriculum was in place. Back were five courses instead of four, semester hours, a core or "general education" requirement, Physical Education and mandatory course distributions. There were also emphases on international and women's studies and experiential learning. There were still considerable flexibility and many choices of electives, but it was a much more traditional curriculum than it had been since 1974 and faculty and students were generally comfortable with it.³⁵

There were other, less controversial curriculum changes and additions. The trustees established the Bailey Scholar program in 1977 and an Honor Scholars Society was created in 1983. The terms and conditions for the Margarett Kable Russell annual

award were revised so that applicants, who were juniors, presented a research project for committee consideration before the award was made. An honorary society for art, named in memory of Elizabeth Nottingham Day, appeared in 1978 and the "Executive in the Classroom" program was highly valued. The Tate Demonstration School moved to a Stuart Hall location in 1981, where it was combined with their pre-school program. By 1983, it had been discontinued.

A number of special conferences were held during the Lester years. In the fall of 1976, a series of seminars and lectures on "Values Revalued: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness in Century III" brought a return visit from Shirley Chisholm and other prominent speakers. In 1978, a "Women in Government" Conference, keynoted by Betty S. Murphy and funded in part by International Paper Inc., sought to duplicate the successes of the earlier "Women in Industry" program-without quite succeeding. The Life Style Colloquia were well attended, but programs on the Arab-Israeli conflicts, on Iran and on Japan were only moderately popular. The Mock Republican Political Convention in 1980 generated some interest, including a downtown parade, but only after the joint student chairwomen were awarded academic credit for experiential learning could anyone be found to organize and publicize the event. Perhaps the visit that excited the greatest interest (and had the least to do with intellectual affairs) was that of Elizabeth Taylor in March 1977 with her husband, John Warner, who was running for the United States Senate.³⁶

It was, however, more and more apparent that the entire college community never gathered together in any one location at any one time any longer. Indeed, since the King Building was off limits for large groups, there was no structure on campus which could hold the entire student body. Even if there had been, it would not have been needed. Francis Auditorium and/or Hunt Lounge usually were amply sufficient for any but the most popular events. Only freshmen and seniors, and not all of them, attended Founders' Day ceremonies which were now held at the Student Activities Center on the upper campus. Fewer and fewer students participated in Apple Day or attended the Christmas concert. Only seniors stayed for commencement, and alumnae homecomings were now scheduled for graduation weekend since dormitories were empty and could be used to provide housing for them. The community of common, shared experiences was gone and the college leaders had to find other ways of bonding students

to each other and to the college itself.

* * * *

In the spring of 1985, after it was generally known that President Lester had resigned, news articles about her presidency appeared in the regional and national press. One such essay said that she left behind her a "glowing list of accomplishments - and some nightmarish controversies." No controversy was more bitter and prolonged than the nine year struggle with the faculty. Dr. Lester had written, "If the faculty could have run me off campus tarred and feathered, they would have. It was an armed camp."³⁷ There had been such high hopes and great expectations in 1976 and they were so quickly dissipated. What happened?

It was a matter of both issues and perceptions. The issues were concrete although complicated. The perceptions were nebulous but very real. The struggle began when Dr. Lester proposed, in the spring of 1977 that more "career-oriented" courses be added to the curriculum, but insisted that no new faculty could be added to the 54 FTE faculty presently employed. In truth, faculty numbers were high for the then-size of the student body (ca. 579), but serious diminution in numbers threatened the viability of many academic programs the faculty had worked long and hard to institute. The open-ended curriculum required much faculty academic advising; the freshman honors program and the dream of expanded honors colloquia required more, not fewer instructors. "Competency testing" and "writing across the curriculum" were faculty intensive reforms. Faculty, from a purely professional view, felt the answer was more students (which were not forthcoming), not fewer instructors.

To complicate matters further, in 1977, 71% of the Mary Baldwin faculty were "tenured." The economic stresses of the 1970s had, as has been seen, limited faculty mobility and many institutions, particularly smaller ones, were in danger of a completely tenured faculty. Studies at Mary Baldwin projected that if all those who were presently tenured stayed until they reached 70 years of age and if younger colleagues who, under former standards would have been granted tenure were awarded it in the immediate years to come, the percentage of tenured faculty might shortly reach as high as 90%. Everyone agreed that such a heavily tenured faculty was undesirable. It prevented flexibility, diversity and innovation; some older tenured faculty might become dull

and rigid. It would become an "older" group and the freshness of younger scholars would be denied access to the college community. However, the concept of tenure was at the heart of the guarantee of academic freedom, and, having once accepted the AAUP guidelines, which Mary Baldwin trustees had done during the Kelly administration, it was a brave or foolhardy administrator who sought to alter them.³⁸

The college records are unclear about who initiated the change in the tenure program in the fall of 1977. Whether it was a member of the academic affairs committee of the board of trustees or the executive committee or whether it was President Lester herself, is a moot point. The fact remains that the trustees, between 1977-1980, unilaterally approved several changes in the tenure policy of the college. These changes were made without prior faculty consultation or knowledge and when some of them were first announced in the fall of 1977, the faculty reaction was immediate and bitter. The president, they insisted, should have warned them that this issue was being discussed by the trustees and should have allowed them to participate. She had "betrayed" them. Dr. Lester responded by noting that the board had required her to keep the entire matter confidential until the completed policy was ready for public announcement. The faculty never forgave the president for what they perceived as a violation of the proper faculty-administration relationships, and the remaining years of the Lester administration were marred by the ongoing controversy.

Briefly, the trustees declared that a goal of 60% tenured FTE faculty was now the college policy. The policy was to be retroactive; that is, it affected the current faculty members and their status. No discipline should be totally "tenured in" and tenure could be granted only to those who had had six continuous years of service at Mary Baldwin College. Furthermore, only tenured faculty might participate in the sabbatical leave program. By 1980, when improving finances made possible faculty and administrative raises, the trustees insisted that the money was to be awarded with three considerations: a modest, across-the-board increase to accommodate the impact of inflation; money to provide for "market-place" necessities; and merit pay. The trustees were adamant that some kind of merit system based on faculty excellence must be created and they directed that the faculty devise a method of evaluating themselves, so that a few of them could be annually designated as "meritorious". The total number of faculty

would not be increased until the faculty/student ratio was in balance.³⁹

The faculty organized to resist; a faculty senate was created for the purpose of meeting and discussing these issues without administrative persons being present. The trustees refused to recognize the legitimacy of the faculty senate, but it continued to meet. Since the senate was composed of the same faculty who held seats on important faculty and board committees, the senate's views could still be presented, indirectly, to the president and to the trustees. After months of recrimination, the trustees agreed to consider a special category of "tenurable" faculty, applying only to those who had been already employed in 1977 and whose final three year contracts had thus been unilaterally altered. If eligible, such faculty would not be given tenured appointments, but would be offered successive two-year contracts until tenured positions became available (or until they got tired waiting). They were not eligible for sabbatical leaves nor other tenured positions, privileges or responsibilities, but they were not required to depart.⁴⁰

That compromise was as far as the trustees were willing to go. They continued to deny voting rights to faculty and students who sat on board committees, although this request was presented to them year after year. When the faculty committee on committees refused to nominate a person to meet with the board because he or she could not vote, the trustees responded that the dean would then appoint someone to fulfill that duty. When the faculty status and tenure committee, after two years' deliberation, came up with a ponderous and unworkable merit pay plan, the board warned that the academic dean would determine who was eligible for merit pay if the faculty would not; and eventually Dean Hecht found herself in the unenviable position of having to do just that. Not surprisingly, there was universal disapproval of the process, the nominees and the amounts. There were arguments over what constituted a "terminal degree."⁴¹ When the board proposed to award another Honorary Degree in 1979, the faculty demanded the right to approve it. In an area far beyond their legitimate concerns, the trustees entered into a debate over whether or not students on academic probation could play varsity sports. It is clear that, in an effort to recover some of the authority that had been eroded in the 1970s, the trustees went beyond their proper limits. It is equally clear that the faculty were unwilling to accept trustee concepts of trustee responsibilities.⁴²

On one occasion, Dr. Lester called college governance "organized anarchy" and said that the president had to act "as an executive officer for a governing board of lay trustees, the presiding officer of the faculty, and the chief administrative officer of the support services." The faculty, she said, don't understand the charter provisions about the duties of the president, but cling to their misunderstanding "tenaciously." "From the faculty point of view, the board and the president only arrive at a proper decision if that decision is what the faculty wants to hear," she declared.⁴³ The president's efforts to "educate" the faculty about the proper relationships between the administration and faculty were never successful and irretrievably embittered their relationships.

In retrospect, and with the advantages of hindsight, it appears much of this controversy might have been avoided. If the president and the trustees had not insisted on applying the new tenure policy retroactively; if they had been willing to agree that "no tenured-in discipline" was a goal, not an absolute demand; if they had worked with the faculty to agree on these modifications, the story of the Lester administration might have been far different. Both sides overreacted and were reflecting their experiences in the early 1970s. Both were partially justified in their positions. Both trustees and faculty had assertive if not arrogant individuals, whose rhetoric and inflexibility compounded the difficulties. And Dr. Lester did not have the personal qualities of mediation and compromise to lead them.

The question of faculty perceptions about the president is less tangible but equally important. The faculty had great difficulty in appreciating Dr. Lester's academic credentials. She had had little experience in the traditional, liberal arts college classroom, and it was hard for her to be accepted as one of a liberal arts faculty. Her doctorate had been awarded from an institution few had heard of, and its course of study was different from the more familiar pattern of the graduate schools from which they themselves had come. Many faculty tended to think of Dr. Lester as a "technician" who had been hired to straighten out the college finances and to raise money. It was difficult for them to see her as a person responsible for curriculum development and faculty well-being. After her initial efforts to propose specific course additions to attract and retain students in 1977, Lester experimented with leaving the academic program to her deans. She hoped, she explained to the trustees, that she could "minimize the adversarial relationship" that had developed between the faculty

and the previous administration, by using "peer evaluation" and lessening committee work so that faculty could get on with their major responsibility - teaching.⁴⁴

It is clear, however, that she was deeply hurt by the prevailing attitude that she was not academically respectable. She sought, in periodic reports to the faculty, particularly in the early years, to discuss her educational philosophy. She considered herself a pioneer, on the forefront of efforts to develop programs for a wide diversity of students, many of whom could not study in a traditional setting.⁴⁵ On at least one occasion, she presented some truly eloquent remarks to the trustees, quoting John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Plato and Cicero. She repeated, in many instances, her concerns about change, adaptability, the "pain" that growing involves. She frequently said that she respected the faculty, that they were "highly credentialed." On one occasion, toward the end of her presidency, she wrote, "It would be impossible for me to love them more." But she was never able to win from most of the faculty the respect she sought.

She was only human. As the debates over tenure and merit seemed endless and increasingly intolerant, she delivered herself of some sharp and pointed comments:

Colleagues, no one is more aware than I that the successful leadership of an academic institution is dependent upon consent. In no other institution is that principle as important as it is in academia. The titular head is powerless if those whom he seeks to lead choose not to follow. All decisions run the almost certain risk of displeasing someone. The harder the decision, the more bitter the disappointment for those who perceive their interests are not served by that decision. I am capable of those hard decisions. My record stands for all to scrutinize and [I] know that in the past those decisions may not always have been popular, but they were made with intention for the common good of this community and, furthermore, resulted in miraculous progress for this community.

However, we are not in the same moment of history that we were in the past. Many of

the decisions we have yet to make are decisions we failed to make earlier. I consider it a waste of valuable energy and human resources if we are going to spend our time looking backward instead of forward. If we are unwilling to pull together toward the common goal, we surely will fail this time. If we spend our time defending individual or particular group interests to the detriment of progress for the total community, we will not do it. All of our energies are finite. ...If we must redo, reexplain, defend, beg for decisions that we all know in our deepest hearts must be made despite the pain of making them, there will be no energy left for progress. There are no quick fixes, there are no miracles, there is just doing the job with what we have available to us....

I am challenging all of you to a tremendous task. I know from past experience with many of you that you are equal to the challenge. I would suggest to others that you search your own souls and decide whether this is a job you want to take on. If the answer is negative, I would further suggest you can make a positive contribution to those of us who have work to do by refraining from being a negative force or, if that is impossible, seeking a place that has all the resources currently in place that will satisfy your desires.⁴⁶

The breach between the president and the faculty was now complete. It would never be healed.

By the end of the Lester administration, an uneasy truce, born of impasse and exhaustion, was in place. Increasingly, the division coordinators, who had absorbed the priorities committee, the educational policy committee and the academic dean, were assuming their rightful duties. In 1984, there were 59 FTE faculty, including the ADP director and seven ADP teachers. Lester had appointed over half of them. As had been the case with Dr. Kelly, many of these faculty members left after a few years at the college, but others have remained to give strength to the present administration.⁴⁷

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Early in the Lester years, it seemed that students were settling down into a more balanced life style. In common with their contemporaries, these young women expressed greater interest in health, nutrition, physical activity and environmental concerns. Although no one was required to register for Physical Education courses until the curriculum revision of 1984, there was increasing student interest in sports, carefully cultivated by the dedicated Physical Education faculty. The tennis team continued to be visible and popular, and the MALTA tournament celebrated its 20th anniversary on the Mary Baldwin College campus in 1980. Campus Comments gave more space, often a whole page, to sports activities. The swimming team was revived after a ten-year lapse; riding was again briefly popular; golf, fencing, volleyball, field hockey, lacrosse, dance - all had their adherents. Basketball was particularly strong during the Lester years. Cheerleaders were elected; the team defiantly called themselves the "Squirrels" and were often cheered on to victory by President Lester herself. By 1982, the college had joined the Old Dominion Athletic Conference and participated in intercollegiate contests. Intramurals were encouraged and dormitory competition was often keen. In 1979, a universal weight machine was purchased and faculty and students participated in body building and strengthening exercises. Two years later (1986) a new private facility in Staunton, the Racquet Club, provided indoor tennis courts and eventually an olympic sized swimming pool, which were available for limited student use. But the college felt strongly the need for more modern and updated sports facilities. There had been hopes of using some of the SMA buildings for a modern gymnasium, but academic and living space priorities had converted what had been the military academy sports facilities into other uses. Adequate financial support for a new physical education building simply never surfaced.

Throughout these years, an ongoing "conversation" with the Staunton YMCA sought to combine the needs of both institutions into some kind of joint facility use. It will be recalled that the "Y" had purchased 8.38 acres from the college in 1976 and had proceeded to erect a new YMCA Center on the perimeter of the campus. But the "Y" could not afford the \$1 million required to build a swimming pool; neither could Mary Baldwin. The Lester

administration and the "Y" made sincere and lengthy efforts to share their resources, but scheduling difficulties, personality conflicts and contradictory needs assessments meant the effort failed.⁴⁸

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Many students admired Dr. Lester but here, as with the faculty, she had difficulty in projecting her concern and her respect for them. She wanted the students to be like her - determined to become all they could be. She had said on one occasion, "I want my cake and to eat it too. I think men get it and I want it. I don't want to give up to get it. I didn't decide to cut anything out of my life. I am still looking for it all."⁴⁹ When students failed to embrace her single-minded determination to succeed, she was disappointed.

Her patience wore thin, however, when, year after year, a series of student "raids" between VMI and Mary Baldwin occurred. Originally viewed as "tension breakers," these midnight forays became destructive, frightening to young women who were unprepared for shaving cream, flour, and buckets of water dispersed throughout their dormitories, physically dangerous and difficult to explain to parents of prospective students, alumnae, trustees and others. Eventually General Irby from VMI and President Lester met publicly to explain and prohibit, but nothing seemed to persuade the students to find other ways of expressing their relationships. The raids continued unabated until the students themselves, in 1981, declared "enough is enough" and quit.⁵⁰

There were other occasions where Dr. Lester's bluntness or anger provoked student criticism. Once, some playful young women put goldfish in the salad bar. Outraged at the expense and waste, Dr. Lester ordered the contaminated dishes to remain on public view, so that the students themselves would be critical of such practices. Campus Comments noted that the order was "inhumane and thoughtless."⁵¹

Dr. Lester had told the trustees that overnight male guests in the dormitories placed her in an embarrassing situation when she was at regional church or alumnae meetings. She declared that she did not "condone" premarital sex and tried to provide students with alternative social situations. But the student pressure for parietals had not yet waned, and when the president and the dean of students attended some house meetings and were critical of

student behavior, their remarks were resented. "The students' private conduct does not harm the academic reputation of the school," they insisted.⁵² Most trustees, visitors, synod officials and many alumnae did not agree with them.

For much of her administration, Dr. Lester was fortunate in her deans of students. Both Mary Lou Kiley and Mona Olds established good working and personal relationships with the student body and instituted many programs which made student life more pleasant. The 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Honor System, Charter Night and the Student Government Association was observed with reunions, speakers and much ceremony in 1979. By 1980, the old infirmary, never popular even in the seminary days, had been replaced by a "wellness" clinic, and much emphasis was placed on "responsible drinking," protective sexual behavior and respect for the privacy of fellow classmates. By 1979, the students themselves agreed that cigarette smoking in classrooms violated the rights of non-smokers, and, much to the relief of at least some of the faculty, the ashtrays disappeared from Academic.⁵³ The sophomore shows continued with some memorable efforts, such as "Oliver," "Music Man," "Mame," "The Boyfriend" and "Bye Bye Birdie." Touch tone telephones appeared on the campus in 1977, as did the first lighting of the "luminaries" for the "Christmas Cheer" concert and community reception which followed the annual service at the First Presbyterian Church. The much-awaited "Rathskeller," located in the newly enlarged Wenger Student Center in 1977, went through a series of management contractors and names. At various times it was called "The Greenhouse," the "Colleatery," "Ye Merry Be Pub" and ultimately just "The Pub." The students found it hard to live with; they objected to the hours, the type of food and drink served and the prices. They found it equally hard to live without it, and eventually (in the Tyson regime) it was moved to the first floor of Spencer, rechristened "The Chute," and was operated by the food service personnel. By 1985, Virginia State law had raised the legal drinking age to 21 (in a series of carefully planned increments) and this, more than any other single factor, altered the lifestyle of the college undergraduates. Mary Baldwin College had always been on a kind of "lifetime probation" as far as the A.B.C. Board was concerned and the various deans and student leaders enforced state regulations conscientiously. By 1983, there were no more mid-week "mixers" and the public consumption of alcohol was much reduced.⁵⁴

From time to time, Campus Comments carried a "What's In" and "What's Out" feature. In 1978, topsiders, ribbon belts, good dress coats, briefcases, scotch woodcock and "rainbow meat" were out; down vests, tennis shoes, Lite beer, shagging, water fights (one memorable one occurred between Spencer and Woodson dormitories in 1983), bookbags, chicken fillets and salad bars were in. The bookstore sold "tee" shirts emblazoned with the slogan, "We're college students. We can do anything we want," and there were heated arguments over the new "soft" bottled drink, "Chelsea," which was non-alcoholic but resembled beer. Students were reading The World According to Garp, Far Pavilions, Eye of the Needle, The Woman's Room. Their choices of movies included "Kramer vs Kramer," "Breaking Away," "Forty Carats," "Wait Until Dark," and "Norma Rae." Campus Comments regularly carried summaries of the popular soap operas, particularly "General Hospital." The newly opened pizza and fast food outlets would deliver to the college dormitories and were very popular. "Senior Day," a concept begun a few years previously, became increasingly raucous and in 1983 got completely out of hand, with students exchanging vasoline "bombs," squirt gun salutes and shaving cream facials. That year, the event happened to coincide with a high school visiting day, and Dr. Lester decreed that henceforth seniors could not wear their academic robes or invade classrooms on "their" day. Everyone wryly agreed that the toned down celebration lacked the class spirit of the earlier exuberant but thoughtless escapades.⁵⁵

Other changes reflected student values and student concerns. "Alternative housing" facilities, instituted by Dean Kiley, proved to be (and continue to be) very popular, but the rise of urban violence, even in as small an "urban" setting as Staunton, brought the welcome presence of the police chief to the campus to present programs on rape prevention and self defense. The Honor System, the concept of which had been under attack on many college campuses since the early 1970s, was reevaluated, refined and reinforced. Drug violations were made the province of the judiciary board and the rights of those accused of major challenges of the college policies were carefully specified and observed. Here again, Dr. Lester, treading a difficult ground between irate parents, the college legal counsel and opportunistic lawyers, ran afoul of student opinion. On two occasions, the students felt that she had not supported their decisions in the appeal process, and they thereupon amended the SGA Constitution so that an inter-

mediary appeals board was interposed between the student courts and the college president.⁵⁶

As might be expected, President Lester and the college publications often clashed during these nine years. The size, frequency and financial stability of Campus Comments, the Miscellany even the Bluestocking were all altered. As early as 1976, when a student who was a non-voting member of the trustees' student life committee had told a reporter of Campus Comments about some tentative plans for the SMA property, the relationship with the administration was strained. The student reporters complained that they found it hard to interview members of the administration, and that the campus publications were slighted in favor of releasing stories to the state and regional press. Stung by the frequent critical stories about her or by what she considered to be information unfavorable to the college, Dr. Lester directly intervened. By 1980, a detailed student publications policy and a "code of ethics" had been formulated at the insistence of the president and the trustees. While reiterating their belief in the "freedom and independence of all student media," the policy declared that "student editors and business managers, because they are not professional journalists, need guidance in their work." The student media were to be "responsive to the concerns of the college." Campus Comments was to maintain "the highest standards of accuracy, truthfulness and fairness; the privacy and rights of all individuals were to be respected." Campus Comments "must not impugn the character or motives of the individual without substantial evidence; nor shall it ever violate a confidence." There were detailed statements about the duties and responsibilities of the student editors of all the colleges' publications and complex grievance procedures were established.⁵⁷

It would be unfair to suggest that the decline in the quality of the student publications (a decline which is only too evident) resulted directly from these events. By the mid-1970s, in most college and university campuses, the student press had either withdrawn completely from the institution of which they had been a part and had become financially independent as well as content independent, or had a much diminished role to play. Print media were no longer where "it was at" (to use the college vernacular), and there seems to have been little student awareness at Mary Baldwin College and other institutions of how much their publications were changing or of protest about it. By the mid-1980s, another of the institutions and traditions that had promoted

campus communication and shared experiences had lost visibility and strength.

Another sensitive area had to do with graduation. The seniors of these years had serious objections to the process by which commencement speakers were chosen. It will be recalled that, during the Spencer era, the practice of having a commencement speaker had been dropped in favor of a few farewell remarks delivered by the president himself. There was always, of course, a baccalaureate address, usually presented by a Presbyterian minister or church official. He (it was always "he" in those days) was often a father, uncle, or some close relative of a graduating senior and the choice had been made by mutual agreement. But, at the end of the Kelly years, the baccalaureate and the commencement ceremonies had been combined, and Dr. Lester, continuing this format, had reintroduced the idea of a secular speaker and had limited the religious aspects of the program. The seniors now insisted that they be allowed to choose who would present the address. Dr. Lester was initially agreeable but grew impatient when the students' choices were inappropriate or unrealistic. The students were often dilatory in extending their invitations, and their choices often delayed responding. The president was then left with the task of securing a speaker at the last moment. Always precipitative, Dr. Lester soon insisted on guidelines and timetables which the students resented.⁵⁸

There was also the matter of occasional unfortunate newspaper or periodical stories about the college. Dr. Lester tried very hard to win national recognition for Mary Baldwin, but there were times when reporters exaggerated or quoted out of context her remarks, and the resulting coverage was upsetting to much of the college constituency.⁵⁹

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Thus, in three major areas of college relationships, the faculty, some students, and much of the local community, the Lester presidency had never won acceptance. It was with external contacts, trustees, professional boards and associations, government and corporate officials, that she had succeeded. It was not enough.

The point has already been made that Dr. Lester found the presidency a challenging but lonely position. She sought, each summer, surcease from the strain of her office - the "academic combat zone," as David Reisman called it - by taking long trips,

usually alone, during her annual month's vacation. She went to Russia, China, the Caribbean, Egypt and Alaska at various times, as well as visits with her daughters and her parents in Philadelphia. But the time-outs did not accomplish at least one of her purposes. Each time, when she returned, the tensions and disagreements were still there and, as the years went on, she was no closer to solving them. The turnover in the administration increased, the faculty remained defiant and, although the trustees continued to raise her salary and to support her in every way, she began to consider future options. There had been tentative approaches from other colleges, but none appeared to have come to fruition. In 1982, the Mary Baldwin trustees had offered her a five-year contract, but she had agreed to only a three-year commitment; and in October 1984, Virginia L. Lester announced her resignation as the president of Mary Baldwin College, effective June 1985. She had, she declared, some "unfinished business" to attend to. She had privately registered for a law school admissions review course, had taken the necessary examinations to complete an application process and had sought admission, at age 54, to some of the most prestigious law schools in the country. She was accepted at several and chose to matriculate at Stanford University, beginning in the fall of 1985. The hapless faculty advisor of those long ago undergraduate days at Penn State who had once told her that she was not "smart enough" to go to law school had finally been proven wrong - and Virginia Lester had gathered up her considerable courage to make a dramatic mid-life career change.⁶⁰

Lester spent her last year at Mary Baldwin working on several projects and projecting future needs. She took a swing though the South in the spring of 1985 - a "sentimental journey" she called it, visiting alumnae chapters and old foundation and corporate friends. She worked hard on the proposed PEG program and was instrumental in securing the initial grant from the Jessie Ball duPont Fund which supported it. She made lists of unfinished business: the King Building needed renovation; the future of North Barracks had to be decided; the relationship with the YMCA was not yet resolved; a new major capital fund campaign should be projected; the ADP program needed incorporation more fully into the life of the college; the mail service needed overhauling; parking problems, apparently unsolvable, needed to be solved; and the advisory board of visitors should be expanded and restructured.

On 12 April 1985, the board of trustees and the college staff gave Virginia Lester an elaborate testimonial dinner in Hunt Hall. Her family, professional friends, former and present administrators, alumnae, some faculty and student leaders joined to wish her well. In response to the speeches, Dr. Lester repeated her oft-stated dictum, "The only constant in life is change." Later, at Class Night, she seemed deeply moved. "Our memories will preserve the best of the past; our courage can embrace the best of the future," she declared.⁶¹ At her final commencement, she murmured, "Lady college presidents are allowed to cry," but in an interview with the Times Dispatch she exulted, "Nobody's going to know who I am." And then, she was gone.⁶²

The trustees had had ample time to seek Virginia Lester's replacement, and this time there was no dearth of applicants. Of the eight finalists, six were presently college presidents elsewhere, which proved, David Riesman wrote, that in 1985, professionals perceived the presidency of Mary Baldwin as an "opportunity" as well as a challenge. That spring, the trustees elected Dr. Cynthia Haldenby Tyson as the eighth president of Mary Baldwin College.

Notes

¹ MBB, Sept. 1976, July, 1977. The four "mentors" (all men) were Lawrence Park, president of Mansfield State College of Pennsylvania and her student teacher supervisor of her undergraduate studies, Joseph C. Palamountain, Jr., president of Skidmore College, Roy Fairfield of Union Graduate School, and William R. Dodge, dean, Empire State College. Virginia Lester intended there to be female role models for the women of Mary Baldwin.

² MBB, July, 1977

³ MBB, Nov. 1976; Minutes Fac. October, 1976; Minutes EC 4 June 1976, 15 Oct. 1976. The Russell Scholar Award was established by the college in 1952 to honor the many contributions and services of Margaret Kable Russell.

⁴ Minutes EC 22 Dec. 1976

⁵ Minutes BT 15-16 Oct. 1976. Martha Anne Page chaired a Staunton alumnae effort to raise funds for the purchase and \$23,000 was raised locally. Several alumnae and trustees made initial gifts totaling \$400,000; the land sold to the YMCA generated another \$193,200; the Edgewood president's home was sold for \$150,000. Gifts to the college of other real estate in Texas and elsewhere helped to provide the required purchase price. In spite of the fact that the SMA account was budgeted separately from either the New Dimensions (at first) or the current operating budget and that "no borrowing" was involved, it was obvious that resources the college might have generated to increase its meager endowment and to repay the money borrowed to run the college during the years of deficit operating budgets had gone to the SMA purchase. Faculty and others were not slow to make this connection. It should be noted, however, that any college fund-raiser will agree it is always easier to raise money for buildings and property than it is for abstractions such as "endowment" or "research funds."

⁶ President Lester knew many consulting firms appropriate for college problems and used them freely, often securing their services for reduced fees or as gifts because of her past connections. The Ford Foundation consultants were George M. Notter, Jr. and Richard Dober and their advice proved invaluable. On other occasions, she employed Coopers & Lybrand to advise on the reorganization of the business office and several others to suggest improvements in the admissions and publications processes. She

invited the Association of Governing Boards to hold a workshop for the trustees in 1983, and stepped on faculty toes when she reported that some of her consultants had recommended that more career-oriented courses be added to the curriculum in order to attract and retain students. Not everyone understood or appreciated such advice and often considered it an unnecessary expense. Campus Comments editorialized that consultants were not needed because "common sense could figure it out," 13 Apr. 1979. However, unlike many administrators, Virginia Lester took the recommendations of her consultants seriously and often acted on their advice.

⁷ John Owen had estimated that it might take until 1997 to fully integrate the upper and lower campuses. Although the passing years have erased any student (and many alumnae) memories of separate campuses, there still remain some projects to be completed, so Owen's estimate is probably valid. It is interesting to note that Virginia Lester thought the college should change the SMA building names as quickly as possible, but in several cases that was not done. Tullidge Hall, now housing the PEG students, Kable, which is an upperclass dormitory, Kable House, which shelters the Sena Center, remain as reminders of the previous occupants. The name of Memorial Gymnasium has been changed to the Deming Fine Arts Center, but the cannon remains on Cannon Hill and has become almost as much of a Mary Baldwin symbol as it was for SMA. The Pannill Student Center is rising (1991) on the site of old South Barracks, and a new winding, tree-lined driveway directs traffic from Coalter Street to the upper campus where visitor parking is available.

⁸ The quotation is from John Mehner's annual report to the trustees, 14 April 1977. He also praised Dean Dorothy Mulberry's "extraordinary work" and Vice President Patteson's reactivation of the New Dimensions campaign. The faculty did not so much object to the new course proposals - although there was some question about the relationship to the liberal arts - as they did the implication that some of them in "unpopular" areas, such as languages, Religion and Philosophy, Physical Education, Music, might be rified in favor of hiring faculty who could teach in the new areas identified as important to matriculating freshmen. They also objected to being told by "outside consultants," whom they had not selected, what courses they should be teaching. Matters of curricula were traditionally the business of the faculty. Minutes Fac. 5 Oct. 1976; 14 Apr. 1977

⁹ Dr. Lester fully recognized the seriousness of frozen faculty salaries, both as a matter of morale and a matter of justice. She was often unfairly criticized for keeping faculty compensation low in comparison to the "sister" colleges in order to balance her budgets or to support pet projects. Contrary to rumors, faculty salaries were raised each year of the Lester presidency and by 1984-85 were on the average 80% higher than they had been in 1976. They still did not meet AAUP guidelines. Dr. Lester explained that she was dealing with a "moving target" - all the college's competitors were increasing salaries as well. During this same time frame, 1976-1985, consumer prices in the United States increased 89%, so in terms of purchasing power, salaries for faculty and staff had actually decreased over the nine-year period. Dr. Lester's successes in balancing the operating budget and producing surpluses were not cause for universal admiration. Faculty tended to feel that less "surplus" and higher faculty salaries should have been the priority. Lester needed her surpluses for capital improvements and to retire the college's "internal" debt, but faculty felt they were having to pay an unfair share for the mistakes of the past administration.

Although the decision to drop college membership in the King Series had been initiated as part of the last-minute Kelly economics, the results did not become apparent until the first year of the Lester presidency. She therefore got the blame when the King Series, which had begun in 1947, limped along for a few years and then collapsed. Dr. Lester had said the organization could use King Auditorium for a fee, but the college would not renew its membership. Those who remembered the community contributions towards the construction of the King Building in 1942 and the college agreement that it could be used for civic, as well as college functions, felt that the college was betraying them. They overlooked the fact that the city fire marshal had warned that new, more stringent safety regulations prohibited the use of King Auditorium by more than 4-500 persons so that, in any case, the physical space was no longer appropriate. Eventually the old King Series became two separate entities: the Broman concerts, sponsored by the college, usually held in Francis Auditorium, and the Community Concert Series, which now meets at the John Lewis Auditorium of Robert E. Lee High School. President's Report to the Trustees, 14 Apr. 1984 in Minutes BT; Article, untitled, in the Washington Post 18 Mar. 1985.

¹⁰ Dr. Lester's reiteration to herself that she could do what she

set out to do stemmed from an event in her undergraduate college life. She wished to study law, but her faculty advisor had told her that she did not have the potential for such rigorous study and suggested that she prepare to teach elementary classes, instead. When she reentered the work force, she often had to tell herself that she could meet the new challenges presented to her as she reinforced her own feelings of self-confidence.

Her personal letters are sprinkled with the phrase "our emerald green hills," and her daughter Valerie, talking to a reporter after Dr. Lester had resigned the presidency, insisted she was not "hard" and unfeeling, but really cared. Richmond Times Dispatch 7 Apr. 1985; Roanoke Times and World News 22 Dec. 1984; News Leader, 31 May 1985

¹¹ President's Remarks to the Faculty: Minutes Fac. 3 Sept. 1980; President's Remarks to the Board of Trustees, Minutes BT especially 14 Apr. 1984. It should be noted that the New Dimensions campaign had budgeted \$500,000 for "current operating funds." All of this amount and more had been funneled into the current budgets of the deficit Kelly and early Lester years. Additional, undesignated New Dimension funds had been "borrowed" as well, which helps to explain the delay in establishing the Deming Chair in Business Administration. All those borrowed funds were eventually returned by the end of the Lester administration. See also: George McCune, "History of Fund Raising Campaigns", Mss in College Archives.

¹² The VFIC celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1977. At a special meeting held at The Homestead, the 34 businessmen and the presidents of the 12 member colleges were told that since its founding in 1952, the group had raised \$22 million which had been distributed on the basis of enrollment to its college members. During the Lester administration, Mary Baldwin College received about \$100,000 a year - an important component in its operating budget. Since 1967, the Mednick Memorial Fund has also been administered by the VFIC and the Mary Baldwin faculty benefited from those grants as well. Lea Booth, who had been the Executive Secretary for all of the organization's existence, retired in Sept. 1977. To enliven the banquet given in his honor, a giant cardboard cake was created, out of which President Lester emerged at an appropriate moment. Although she was fully clothed, some traditionalists and feminists thought (for different reasons) such a display inappropriate. MBB Aug. 1979; Lester Mss; College Archives; CC 28 Sept. 1979.

¹³ Of this amount, 46% (\$6,359,822) was designated for the endowment. George McCune to Patricia Menk, 23 Oct. 1991, College Archives.

¹⁴ The trustees of the Lester era worked very hard and many made sacrificial financial contributions. They found new sources of revenue for the president and provided personnel for an "Executive in the Classroom" program. They chaired the New Development and Capital Campaign committees; they patiently listened to lengthy reports from the faculty and student members of their own board committees. Dr. Lester organized an orientation program for new trustees, required all of them to attend a two-day workshop sponsored by the Association of Governing Boards, and made it very clear to them that they had responsibilities far beyond appearing for meetings twice a year. There were noticeably more women than had previously served, many of whom were not alumnae, and in 1980 Rosemarie Sena, who had joined the trustees in 1978, became the first woman to serve as Chairman of the Board, a position she held until her untimely death in July, 1985. She was a senior vice president of Shearson/Lehman Brothers, Inc., served on several corporate boards and on the Israel Cancer Research Foundation and the Museum of Modern Art boards, as well. Virginia Lester admired and respected her and, in time, they became friends. After her death, the college's Career and Life Planning Center was named in honor of Rosemarie Sena.

Among others who supported the Lester presidency and the college with skill and dedication were : Andrew J. Brent, George Cochran, Anne Dickson, Daniel G. Donovan, Elizabeth Doenges, Bertie Deming, Richard S. Ernst, Anna Kate Hipp, Margaret Hitchman, Caroline Hunt, Margaret Hunt Hill, Ralph Kittle, Charlotte Lunsford, Patty Joe Montgomery, P.W. Moore, Sr., Betty Southard Murphy, Kenneth Randall, Rev. R. Jackson Sadler and W. W. Sproul. For a complete list of all active and associate trustees, 1976-1985, see the college Catalogues.

¹⁵ Cat. 1976-77; 1984-85. In spite of the increases, each student cost the college \$1600 a year more than she paid in fees and tuition. The differences had to be made up from the Annual Fund, grants and special programs. Campus Comments, Interview, Laura O'Hear and Virginia Lester, 1 Feb. 1982.

¹⁶ The quotation is from a Lester interview published in the Washington Post 18 Mar. 1985. The goal of 40 new students a year was not met if one considers "traditional" students (FTE). It was

if ADP students are counted.

¹⁷ Enrollment of "traditional" FTE students improved somewhat in the late 1970s but dropped again in the 80s, to Dr. Lester's dismay. There had been 582 students enrolled in 1976-77, and in 1985-86 there were only 597, although there had been as many as 660 in 1982-83. The ADP enrollments, however, had steadily grown, and in 1985-86 there were 225 enrolled, allowing the college to report a total enrollment of 833. The first ADP student to receive her B.A. degree from Mary Baldwin was Diane Babral on 27 May 1978. There is no question that the ADP played a major role in the college's viability, although many traditional faculty continued to question its academic quality. David Riesman suggests that, to traditional faculty, "...those who teach adults are not quite respectable - not true colleagues." Eventually, as more and more of the faculty and students became acquainted with the ADP's, they were more fully accepted - even admired. Those who attended some on - campus classes provided a lively challenge for the traditional students, who perceived that they worked very hard, were well-organized and labored under pressures of family and jobs unknown to the younger women. A few ADP students have been in their 60s and 70s, but the median age is about 35. In 1980, FIPSE (Foundation for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education) awarded Mary Baldwin College a grant to enable ADP personnel to act as resource persons to southern colleges who were interested in establishing similar programs. Self Study July 1987; Green, Levine and Associates, ed. Opportunity in Adversity: How Colleges Can Succeed in Hard Times; MBB Nov. 1980.

¹⁸ Initiation of the PEG program was funded by a \$250,000 grant from the Jessie Ball duPont Fund.

¹⁹ Richmond Times Dispatch 7 Apr. 1985 The article comments that changes in personnel and policies were not done "gracefully or consultantly."

²⁰ Of the former administrative handbook, Dr. Lester remarked that it "smacked of distrust and one-upmanship ...inadequate salaries seemed to breed inappropriate titles." President's Report to the Board, 11-12 Apr. 1980. The appointees involved included: Academic Dean: Dorothy Mulberry, 1975-80; Michael Pincus, 1980-82; Irene Hecht, 1982-85; Dorothy Mulberry, 1985-86 (Acting). Vice President: Roy Patteson, 1976-77; William Wehner, 1977-80; John Wighton, 1980-83; Robert A. Jones, 1983; Kenneth Armstrong, 1984-86. Physical Plant Director: Roger Palmer, 1969-1978; Clay Bennett, 1978-80; Rosalind Howell,

1980-83; Richard Barron, 1984-85; Allen Martin, 1985-to date. Alumnae Executive Director: Virginia Munce, 1963-79; Latane Ware Long, 1979; Sylvia Baldwin, 1979-82; Lee Foster, 1982-88. Public Relations: Janet Ferguson, Betty Lambert, Virginia Munce, Marcella Gullledge, Anne Brandt, Ron Burris, John A. Wells. By the end of the Lester administration, two lengthy and comprehensive Handbooks had been produced, one for the administration and staff, the other for the faculty. In particular, the faculty Handbook had required years to write, reflecting the deep disagreements that existed between the president and the faculty. Dr. Lester told the trustees that "the dilemma will continue" unless the proper relationship between the president, the dean and the faculty "can be cleared up." The faculty, she continued "misunderstand my authority and this will be a problem no matter who is president." The faculty "misunderstandings are held to tenaciously," she concluded. She said that particularly the long process in revising the faculty Handbook "foreshadows an increasingly litigious society" during the next decade. President's Report to the Board, 14 Apr. 1984; 13 Apr. 1985.

²¹ CC 18 Mar. 1983

²² 16 Nov. 1978. There were some "middle management" administrators whose years of service at the college predated both Lester and Kelly. They brought continuity and needed flexibility in the face of many turnovers. Frank Pancake and George McCune wore many hats, all of which seemed to fit. Carolyn Meeks (who moved to the president's office in 1981), Ellen Holtz, Bettie Beard, Ann Shenk, Richard Crone, Bertie Huggard, Edward C. Dietz, Margaret Wikel, Betty Barr, collectively probably knew more about the college than most people imagined and they were silent and discreet. Although living conditions in the dormitories and elsewhere were much altered, the students still formed close relationships with long-time college employees. Campus Comments reported in 1978 that Hattie Thomas, who had taken care of "her girls" for more than 25 years, was a friend to all. In 1981, as she prepared to retire, the students said, "In her own special way, she reaches all of us." They also praised Melva Smith, who had come to the college in 1967 and was made the head cook in 1982. "Others include: Bertie Huggard, Charlotte White and Marian Veney." CC. 1 Mar. 1978; 9 Apr. 1981, 3 Dec. 1982.

²³ CC 14 Feb. 1980; 20 Nov. 1980; 5 Nov. 1981; Lester Mss College Archives.

²⁴ Lester Mss; College Archives. Although Dr. Pennell had

ample reason to feel that she had been unfairly treated, there is only one occasion in the records that indicates how much she had been hurt. The 20 Mar. 1978 CC included a letter written by her explaining, once again, the nature of the services the Center offered, and how it differed from the Women's Center. "I felt slapped in the face," she wrote, when the story about Dorothy Geare said "Students now have a place to go to assist them in all aspects of life."

Dr. Lester researched the whole affair in the college's records and convinced herself that any permanent contract with the synod had been voided by the move back to Riddle, which, in her view, was intended to be temporary. Her files contain many letters from distressed or critical Presbyterians, and the whole episode did the college's reputation much harm. Dr. Lester always insisted that her first priority had to be the college's welfare, and that she needed the space.

²⁵ Minutes BT 29 Jan. 1980; Lester Mss; College Archives. Virginia Lester to Josiah Bunting III (President of Hampden-Sydney), 8 Dec. 1977.

²⁶ Minutes Synod of the Virginias, 1977-85; MBB, Mar. 1980; CC 17 Nov. 1977; 16 Nov. 1978; 8 Oct. 1982.

²⁷ In 1989 and 1990, Mary Baldwin agreed to let a group representing SMA alumni operate a summer school program on the campus. There were hopes that this could be a beginning of a revitalized academy, but the number of enrollees was small, and, by mutual consent, they did not return in the summer of 1991.

²⁸ Dr. Lester, with encouragement from the trustees, tried to mend the community fences. In 1977-78, she gave receptions for local government and church personnel and the economic and social leaders of Staunton/Augusta County. She soon found such entertainments expensive, unrewarding and not reciprocated. Her insistence that any community users of college facilities must henceforth pay a users fee, her barely concealed feeling that Staunton needed the college more than the college needed Staunton and that councilmen and supervisors should be aware of that fact, and some unfortunate press reports all mitigated against her acceptance by the community. She made few friends, either on the faculty or in town, and she was often solitary. She wrote to a distant friend, "...the winter looks long and uneventful socially," and again, "Some days this job is staggering and the end seems never in sight. Too often the job is lonely and misunderstood." A note reporting that she had enjoyed a trip to the Caribbean

concluded, "It is lonely when you go by yourself ." Lester Mss, 27 Sept. 1978, 7 Aug. 1979 and elsewhere. College Archives; MBB March 1979.

²⁹ In January, 1982, the college sold the Music Building which it had acquired in 1941 to Historic Investments Partnerships, one of whose owners was Ken Armstrong. The proceeds, \$130,000 were used toward renovations of Deming Fine Arts Center. In recent years, the college has rented the building, now called C. W. Miller House, for its offices of development and institutional advancement. CC 28 Jan. 1982.

It should be noted that the purchase of the SMA property, the remodeling of the buildings (Kable and Deming), and all of the other expenses of demolition, painting, plantings, parking lots, etc., would not have been possible without the continuing support and contributions of the Hunt, Deming, Murphy, Keller, Nolan and Montgomery families. Their commitments to the college go back in time to the 1940s and have continued to the present with the recent major renovations of Hill Top and Memorial dormitories on the "old" campus. MBB Nov. 1980, Nov. 1982, Nov. 1983.

³⁰ The four bedrooms were furnished and decorated by alumnae chapters from Staunton, Richmond, New York City and Dallas. The Atlanta chapter provided the dining room, and the Eastern Shore the TV room on the second floor. CC 11 Feb. 1977, 6 Feb. 1978, 28 Feb. 1980, 16 Oct. 1980, 5 Mar. 1981, 8 Oct. 1982.

³¹ Minutes Fac. 23 May, 1980. The Resolution said in part; "...we would like to recall and express here our gratitude for her leadership in a difficult time of transition for the College, her utter self-giving to the well-being of the whole College... her unvarying fairness and complete integrity...her commitment to democratic decision-making through full use of Faculty elected committees... and in all her impeccable good manners and good humor." Some of the overtones of the resolution were not lost on Dr. Lester.

³² Virginia Lester was capable of unorthodox appointments. In the college's history, there had never been a male as academic dean* nor a woman as the physical plant supervisor. Michael Pincus as dean and Rosalind Howell, supervisor of the physical plant, were both capable individuals and their sex seemed a matter of indifference to most of the college community, although one suspects that some of the physical plant employees were a bit non-plussed about a woman supervisor. Mrs. Howell, however, appears to have won their respect. She left because of family considerations. (* In the mid-1940s when Mrs. Grafton was acting

president, Lee Bridges occasionally served as acting dean.)

³³ Specifically, Virginia Lester to Frank L. Dana, Jr., 3 Jan. 1978, Lester Mss, College Archives.

³⁴ The Catalogue had said that the 36 course units required for graduation "should" come from selections from all the divisions, particularly from those divisions concerned with the liberal arts; i.e., I, II and III. In 1981, the language was changed to "must." Cat. 1980, 1981.

The whole point that four courses rather than five allowed a student time to study a particular area in depth and to improve concentration was lost on many young women. They were simply uneasy that the Mary Baldwin curriculum seemed to be so different from that of their friends' at other institutions and uncomfortable with academic innovation. The student body was and is conservative about many, but not all, aspects of college life. Cat. 1978-83; CC 16 Feb. 1976.

³⁵ Minutes Fac. 1981-1984, particularly 12 Feb. 1981, 21 Jan. 1983, and 1 Mar. 1984. CC 24 Feb. 1984, 7 Dec. 1984, 29 Mar. 1985. Two of the most significant curriculum changes of this era were, of course, the Adult Degree Program and the Program for the Exceptionally Gifted.

³⁶ Elizabeth Taylor's visit was not universally applauded. Dr. Lester received at least one letter from a patron objecting to a Presbyterian college receiving a woman who had been so frequently divorced.——— to Virginia Lester, 19 Sept. 1977. Lester Mss, College Archives.

³⁷ Washington Post, 18 March 1985.

³⁸ The American Association of University Professors is a professional organization for college and university faculty. Many institutions have local chapters, as does Mary Baldwin College. The AAUP provides research and figures on salary ranges and benefits, on working conditions such as hours and facilities, on pension programs and annuities and on academic freedom. It has no legal power to enforce these standards, but the threat that a college or institution might be removed from its "approved list" is a powerful weapon. In theory, academically respectable individuals would not accept an appointment at an institution which was not "approved"; student degrees from such a college were suspect; and accrediting agencies such as SACS could withhold their approval if academic freedom was not protected. The changes in academe in the last 20 years have seen some modification of this statement. Some prestigious universities do not conform in every

respect to AAUP guidelines, but in the 1970s their powers of coercion could be formidable.

"Tenure" is a complicated issue for the non-academician to understand. Essentially, after a six-year period of employment at an accredited college or university, during which time both teaching and research skills have been satisfactorily demonstrated, an individual would be offered a permanent appointment, subject to modification only for "moral turpitude" or financial exigencies. This was intended to guarantee a professor the freedom to teach, research and publish within the professional restraints of his own discipline, without pressure or penalty from parents, colleagues, administration, trustees, state legislators and/or the public. No guarantee is more basic than this if higher educational institutions are to carry out their function in a democratic society, and college faculty fight vigorously to defend it.

On the other hand, a "tenured-in" faculty denies the academic dean and the administration the flexibility of adding new programs and eliminating outmoded ones; it promotes rigidity, high costs, lack of innovation, and prohibits infusions of new personalities and ways of doing things. Many institutions in the 1980s rigorously enforced the "up or out" provisions of the tenure system. If one failed to receive a tenured appointment at the end of seven years of active teaching, one had to leave the institution and find employment elsewhere - often outside the teaching profession.

Dr. Lester's board of trustees had almost no professional educators among its members. Business and corporate executives who were on the board tended to believe that the AAUP was very close to a labor union (which in fact some college faculties in this era were organizing), and reacted to its demands with, if not outright hostility, at least a lack of sympathy.

³⁹ Regardless of who initiated the proposal, Dr. Lester told the academic affairs committee of the board that "I am convinced the decision was right." There were several aspects of these proposals that violated AAUP guidelines. Their provisions said that the six-years of satisfactory college teaching could be done at several different teaching institutions; the proposed Mary Baldwin College policy insisted that the six years all be done at Mary Baldwin, thus discounting any previous experience. The goal of 60% tenured faculty (the national average was 52.7% in 1977) could be achieved only by attrition, which meant that no new tenure appointments could be made until 10% of the current tenured

faculty resigned, retired, or died. Conceivably, it could be many years before that happened. There were two faculty members who were eligible for tenure in the spring of 1978, but the board policy said they must leave, even though both were respected members of their disciplines whose contributions to the college were many, and both had accepted work at the college with the expectation they would be tenure-eligible. Lester to Academic Affairs Committee, 4 June 1978, 4 Jan. 1978. Lester Report to the Board of Trustees, 15 April 1978, 14 Mar. 1979, Minutes BT

⁴⁰ Lester Mss 24 Feb. 1978, 31 Mar. 1978, CC 20 Mar. 1978. The tumult over the tenure situation seemed to have leveled off, although it did not die. Dr. Lester wrote to the trustees, "The faculty is meeting with a committee of the Board and their hostilities spill over into everything else we do. There isn't a single decision now that they don't want to be consulted on, and then when they are consulted they always harp back to before—they accuse you of not knowing what you're doing. They want to know what color ink I use when I dot my "i's." And again, she declared to a board member, "Even as I turn a whole institution around the faculty is discussing having a union. I could operate with a union - it makes things really clear cut. But I don't think you could raise a nickel in Virginia for a unionized faculty. I wonder if the faculty have any real conception of how close the college came to closing, how close we are to taking off, how easily they could kill it." 29 Oct. 1978, Lester Mss. College Archives.

In the faculty meeting of 26 May 1978, the faculty criticized the "breach of professional courtesy and violation of accepted procedures...there has been a failure to consult in good faith." Faculty senate statement read in faculty meeting, Minutes Fac. 26 May 1978. By 1983, Rosemarie Sena was telling the trustees that they must get word to the faculty "that we are all on the same team, seeking the same goals." Sena, Report to the Board of Trustees, 22-23 Oct. 1983 Minutes BT

⁴¹ In 1983, ten members of the faculty were each awarded \$500; in 1984, two were paid \$1000 and two \$700. In 1985-6, the sum of \$2000 was set aside to be distributed. Self study 1987. It is unclear as to why Dean Hecht left so abruptly, but perhaps the bitterness over merit pay was involved.

⁴² Minutes BT Apr. 1983

⁴³ Lester Report to BT, 14 Apr. 1984; AGB Reports, Sept.-Oct. 1983.

⁴⁴ Minutes BT 6-7 May, 1977. Although she tried to leave

these matters to her various academic deans, Dr. Lester was unable not to "jump in" and take charge when changes came too slowly or too inappropriately for her agenda.

⁴⁵ Minutes BT 7 Nov. 1977; 2 May 1978; 11-12 Apr. 1980; 14 Apr. 1984. Dr. Lester remained part time on the faculty of Union Graduate School, corresponding with students and making suggestions for their programs. Lester Mss College Archives.

⁴⁶ Minutes FM 8 Nov. 1982.

⁴⁷ During the Lester years, many old friends of the college, most long retired, died. Among them, Dr. Turner, 1976, Julia Weill, 1977, Mildred Taylor, 1978, Marshall Brice and Carl Broman, 1979, Ruth McNeil and Marguerite Hillhouse, 1982, Mary Swan Carroll, 1983. Particularly tragic was the loss of Donald Thompson of the Psychology faculty, who was killed in an automobile accident in Sept. 1981. Other familiar figures retired. Fletcher Collins and Trudi Davis in 1977, John Stanley and Gordon Page in 1978, Patricia Menk in 1981, and Marjorie Chambers and Albie Booth in 1983. Faculty whom many alumnae remember who resigned before retirement age to continue their work elsewhere include Carl Edwards, Joanne Ferriot, Lynne Baker, Michael Campbell, Bernard Logan, Jane Sawyer and James McAllister. Some of the faculty who were appointed during these turbulent years include Margaret Pinkston, Terry Southerington, John Kibler, Lundy Pentz, Roderic Owen, Ken Keller, Robert Allen, Michael Gentry, Judy Klein, Diane Ganiere, Gordon Bowen, Daniel Metraux, Stevens Garlick, James Gilman and Patricia Westhafer. Catalogues, 1976-1985.

⁴⁸ By the mid-1980s, the YMCA had fallen on hard times. The United Fund bureaucracy decided such "middle class" institutions as Scouts and the "Y" did not really need public support and limited or cut entirely their annual payments. There was an increase in private athletic facilities in Staunton and the business-men and women who used to gather at the Y for volleyball, basketball and swimming withdrew to their own clubs. The counterculture claims that the Boy and Girl Scout programs and the "Y," all of which had a Christian component, were elitist, exclusive, even fascist, hurt community support. Early in the Tyson presidency, the Staunton "Y" sold its property to Mary Baldwin College, thus at long last providing suitable indoor sports accommodations for the college. The college still does not have an adequate swimming pool of its own.

The college teams adopted the squirrel as their symbol

because it was a major component of Mary Julia Baldwin's family coat-of-arms.

⁴⁹ Richmond Times Dispatch 15 Aug. 1982. It should be noted that two years later, after she had made her decision to go to law school, Lester said she still believed "you can have it all," but she now knew that one lived in "cycles." One can have it all, but not all at the same time; at different stages in life one made different choices. Roanoke Times and World News 22 Dec. 1984.

⁵⁰ CC 5 Oct. 1977, 3 Ct. 1978, 18 Oct. 1979, 5 Mar. 1980, 16 Oct. 1980, 5 Nov. 1980, 20 Nov. 1980, 30 Sept. 1981

⁵¹ CC 15 Oct. 1981

⁵² Minutes BT 21-22 Oct. 1983; CC 23 Sept. 1983.

⁵³ Smoking had long been banned, except in faculty offices, in Pearce and in the library. It was not appropriate in laboratories, as there were too many volatile substances around for it to be safe. CC 11 Feb. 1981

⁵⁴ CC 19 Oct. 1978, 12 Mar. 1979, 3 Dec. 1981, 8 Oct. 1982. The students always felt that the Staunton ABC Board applied stricter standards to Mary Baldwin College than were enforced against W. & L., U. Va., or even the other women's colleges in Roanoke and Lynchburg. However, the college, located in what amounted to the center of the city, was always more visible than its sister institutions, and hence more subject to criticism. Staunton officials were determined that the social activities of the college women would not follow the pattern of Lexington and Charlottesville.

⁵⁵ CC 8 Dec. 1978, 18 Oct. 1979, 10 Apr. 1980, 5 Feb. 1981, 15 Apr. 1983, 9 Dec. 1983, 30 Mar. 1984, Lester Mss, College Archives, Spring, 1981

⁵⁶ CC 1 Dec. 1977, 6 Feb. 1978, 19 Oct. 1978, 12 Mar. 1979, 15 Oct. 1981, Minutes BT, 19 Oct. 1984, 18 Jan. 1985., MBB Fall 1980, Spring, 1981.

⁵⁷ Minutes BT Apr. 1980

⁵⁸ Choices ranged from First Ladies to television talk show hosts to nationally prominent politicians and outspoken feminists, none of whom would or could accept. CC 24 May 1979, MBB 29 Oct. 1982.

⁵⁹ Most of the college family would prefer to forget the article written by Helen Rogan in 1978, and a front page feature in the Washington Post by Elsa Walsh in 1980, which among other more objectionable comments, quoted President Lester as saying that Junior Dads' Day was "a quaint little anachronism of another time

I love." Clipping, n.d. Lester Mss College Archives.

⁶⁰ MBB 20 Oct. 1984, Daily News Leader 31 May 1985, Green & Levine, eds. Opportunity in Adversity 1985

There is no hint in any college record that the continuing struggle with the faculty had persuaded some trustees, in particular Ms. Sena, that a change in chief executives might be desirable. Certain oral evidence exists that this was so, but it cannot be substantiated from the written record. In any case, nine years was a long tenure for a college president in the 1980s, and while her interpersonal relationships might, at times, have been lacking, there was nothing wrong with Virginia Lester's sense of timing. It was time for a change and she knew it.

⁶¹ Some faculty refused to attend the dinner. The class night statement is found in the Lester Mss, College Archives. See also Roanoke Times and World News 22 Dec. 1984, Richmond Times Dispatch 7 Apr. 1985, MBB, Summer 1985.

⁶² Most college presidents are given to summing up the accomplishments of their tenure. In a long resolution of appreciation, the trustees did it for Virginia Lester. They cited:

- Increased enrollment (737 to 1229)
- Seven years of balanced operating budgets
- Increase in the endowment from \$2.9 million to \$10 million
- Salary increases
- Successful completion of the New Dimensions campaign
- Retirement of old debts - a \$239,128 surplus created
- Purchase and development of the upper campus
- Increased student services
- The ADP program, approved by SACS and emulated
- Introduction of business management, career and communication courses into the curriculum
- Fifteen new alumnae chapters established
- Increases in participants of the Annual Fund
- Deming Fine Arts Center; Alumnae Guest House
- Year round campus activities; international programs
- National recognition for the college
- Alumnae admissions aides and volunteers
- Improved SAT scores for entering freshmen

Dr. Lester said, on one occasion, "We have all participated in a kind of miracle." Minutes BT 18 Jan. 1985; 12-13 Apr. 1985; MBB Summer, 1983, Summer 1985.



Cynthia Haldenby Tyson



EIGHT

EPILOGUE: “To Ensure The Future” Cynthia H. Tyson, 1985-

T

he eighth president came to Mary Baldwin from Queen's College in Charlotte, N.C. where she was serving as Vice President for Academic Affairs. Dr. Cynthia H. Tyson was from Lincolnshire, England and was a scholar of Medieval English Literature. Her college and graduate work had been at the University of Leeds, and she had come to the United States in 1959 as a Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Tennessee. Later, she taught at Seton Hall University in New Jersey, became a naturalized American citizen, studied college and university Management Development at Harvard, and in 1969 had gone to Queen's College where she had been Professor of English, Chairman of the Division of Humanities and Dean of the College before being appointed a Vice President. She was an elder in the Presbyterian Church and the mother of two adult children.

Slight in stature, feminine and attractive in appearance, she was quietly confident, enthusiastic about Mary Baldwin and its future, and seemed, from the beginning of her tenure, to fit the needs of the college and the community. Her years of residence in the United States had blurred but not removed her English accent; her frequent and unexpected lilting laughter (often at her own expense) added an optimistic and informal element to her public presentations. She was a gifted speaker, seldom if ever using prepared statements or lecture notes, and she established an almost immediate rapport with those with whom she worked.

Cynthia Tyson's immediate priorities were to reinvigorate the college constituencies' perceptions of their mission and goals; to restore civility and a sense of cooperation between the faculty and the administration and between the college and the community; to build on the strong alumnae organization and financial foundation left her by her predecessor; and to continue to provide the "high quality in education and in preparation for life which enables [our students] to choose among many options..."

The SACS Self-Study provided an excellent opportunity early in the Tyson administration to examine and reevaluate the college's past and present condition. One result was a "Vision Statement" endorsed by all of the college constituencies which has, ever since 1986, appeared as the first item in all college catalogues. Essentially this concept of the qualities of a "liberally educated person" has established the agenda for Mary Baldwin College as it approaches its Sesquicentennial. In more modern overtones, it restates the purposes and dreams of Rufus Bailey, Mary Julia Baldwin, and their successors and bears repeating here:

Characteristics of a Well-Educated Person of the Third Millennium

- * She has a firm foundation in the arts, humanities and sciences.
- * She understands and appreciates the major elements of her culture, yet she is not culture-bound; she recognizes and values the integrity of cultures not her own.
- * She is aware of and engaged with the world beyond herself and her immediate personal and professional concerns.
- * She is socially concerned.
- * She communicates effectively through the written and spoken word. She is eager to learn.
- * She is prepared for the knowledge explosion, having learned the theories which shape changing practices and having learned to recognize and ameliorate her own deficiencies in knowledge and skill.
- * She is comfortable with technology and uses it to enhance her personal life and to extend her professional abilities.
- * She is skilled at group processes and uses them to

cope with specialization and environmental complexity.

- * She is problem solver, not merely an applier of formulas.
- * She thinks clearly and is able both to analyze and synthesize.
- * She is tenacious in the pursuit of knowledge and seeks the answers which are best, not easiest.
- * She works to stay mentally and physically fit.
- * She makes choices among the new life options for women with courage and enthusiasm.
- * She is aware that "achievement" has many proper measures.
- * She copes with changing patterns of family and community by establishing meaningful personal and professional relationships and appropriate personal values, regardless of setting.
- * She acts within a consistent set of values and ethical principles in making decisions.
- * She takes responsibility for her decisions and actions.

* * * *

It has been a sparkling administration, the Tyson one, with many triumphs and, of course, its share of problems. The physical improvements have been continued; both Memorial and Hill Top residence halls have been completely renovated - literally almost rebuilt from the ground up. The same is true for the venerable old Academic building, rededicated in 1988 as Carpenter Hall. A happy combination of class and seminar rooms, faculty offices and small conference centers, adequate restroom facilities on every floor, carpets and an elevator, has transformed the building which every alumna since 1908 remembers with nostalgic affection.

In 1988, the college was able to purchase from the Staunton YMCA its building and athletic facilities, which were located at the northern end of the college campus. It will be remembered that the "Y" had purchased the 8.38 acres from Mary Baldwin College in 1976, and in the ensuing decade there had been much discussion about the joint use of the facilities the "Y" had built, but without any satisfactory agreement having been reached. Now the "Y" felt its holdings must be liquidated, and with the generous support of alumnae and trustees, the college reacquired the land

it had sold as well as a modern, fully equipped sports facility providing basketball, volleyball and handball courts, aerobic and body-building equipment and dance studio facilities. The Physical Education faculty vacated King Building to move into their vastly expanded space in 1989, although the swimming pool in King is still utilized, and, at long last, the hopes of successive dedicated Physical Education faculty have been for the most part realized. The campus now includes 55 contiguous acres with several alternative "residence interest halls" located nearby.

Early in the Tyson administration, the Computer Center had been moved to Wenger Hall, displacing student government and publications offices, the bookstore, and coexisting uncomfortably with the college mail service. Various makeshift solutions for student needs have been employed - the "Chute" in Spencer, college publications and SGA offices to King, SAC for college dances and ceremonies; but the need for a student center has been pressing. As the college planned for its year-long Sesquicentennial celebration, Dr. Tyson announced in 1990 that a new student center named in honor of its donor, trustee William G. Pannill, would be erected on the site of South Barracks on the upper campus. It will be dedicated and ready for student use by the end of 1992.

The upkeep, maintenance and remodeling of a college campus, of course, never ends. The "new" buildings of the Spencer era are now 30 years old and someday soon will need major renovations. The appropriate uses for the 50-year old King building and McClung are still being defined. The integration of the old and new campuses, almost complete, is ongoing. The problems of automobile control and parking facilities never end. The college still needs its own olympic-sized swimming pool, a visitors' center (perhaps with a college museum), and a chapel. As the curriculum adapts to the demands of a new century, other physical needs will emerge, but in her 150th year, Mary Baldwin College has retained her physical charm and tranquillity - that rare beauty of green hills, trees, cream colored buildings with white columns and vistas which were her legacy from W. W. King, Samuel R. Spencer and Virginia Lester.

The financial record of the Tyson administration is equally gratifying. The Annual Fund has increased steadily. There have been major generous gifts; \$1.3 million from the Charlene Kiracofe estate; \$2.25 million from the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation; a \$2.4 million gift from Caroline Rose Hunt and

Margaret Hunt Hill; and an anonymous gift which established a trust, the proceeds from which will be payable to Mary Baldwin over a 20-year period and which are estimated to bring for the college's endowment between \$13 and \$14 million. After several years of planning and preparation, the college trustees announced a \$35 million Sesquicentennial Capital Campaign to "ensure the future." The active phase began in 1990 and will be concluded by Founders' Day, 1992. The goal has been exceeded.

Dr. Tyson is a scholar as well as a college administrator. Her interest in academic excellence colors all that she and her faculty do. The PEG program, now in its seventh year, has graduated several classes and has established a national reputation for innovative programs for gifted high school girls. ADP continues to expand. There are satellite offices in Richmond, Charlottesville, and Roanoke and the 1991-2 enrollment of degree-seeking adults numbers 565. Three academic chairs, in English, Chemistry, and Business, have been established and two new academic programs in Health Care Administration and Christian Ministry Preparation have been funded and incorporated into the college curriculum. Majors in Philosophy and Philosophy/Religion have been restored. The Rosemarie Sena Center for Career and Life Planning has become an integral part of the campus, as has a Communications Institute which, among many other activities, has produced a 43 minute video titled "Footsteps: 150 Years at Mary Baldwin" in honor of the Sesquicentennial. After months of discussion and research, the college faculty and the board of trustees approved, in the fall of 1991, a Master of Arts in Teaching in Elementary Education program which will begin in 1992. The college has thus expanded both its mission and its clientele.

The Tyson administration has been characterized by stability and civility. Her administrative team has, with few exceptions, remained constant and has evolved into a working group that communicates easily and respects each other. Her relationships with the faculty have generally been amicable. She made a special effort to be responsive to their needs and concerns, and they, too, after long years of controversy, were more than willing to seek a new relationship. President Tyson chose, in 1986, a trusted and admired member of the college community to become the new dean of the college. He is James D. Lott, who had joined the college English faculty in 1964, and his presence and his knowledge of past events, in some of which he had played an active role, helped to lessen faculty - administrative tensions. This is not to say that

all problems have been solved, because, of course, they never are or can be. Probably there does not exist a college faculty anywhere which would always agree with administrative and trustee policies. There is an inbuilt tension between them which is natural and healthy. But Cynthia Tyson has been far more successful than her two immediate predecessors in establishing a working relationship and the campus climate has warmed considerably.

The president, likewise, quickly established rapport with the college's traditional friend, the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton. She was elected to the session and has been a visible presence and support. She has also been elected to membership in the Rotary Club and serves on various local boards and committees, such as the United Way, the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation, the American Frontier Culture Foundation and PULSAR. Community groups are welcomed on campus and various college-community cooperative enterprises have been encouraged. After the Lester years of isolation and withdrawal, the community has revived its interest in college activities, town and gown have resumed more normal relationships, and the college president has become a welcome addition to the social scene.

What of the students of the Tyson years? Student memories encompass only four years and before long, none of them remembered the tensions and strains of the Lester era. Generally, the student-administrative relationships have been cordial. The campus is more fragmented than it was in older times; there are fewer opportunities for the whole college community to participate together in mutual activities. The greater social freedoms first "won" in the early 1970s are still in place, so an older alumna might miss the "innocence" of her own college years, but the traditional students remain remarkably the same. They are young, idealistic, capable of remarkable feats of concentrated work - and equally sustained periods of concentrated play. They are accustomed to more diversity than their mothers were, perhaps they are better able to adjust to uncertainty and change than were the earlier "bluestockings," but they are basically the same. Miss Baldwin would recognize them - so would Mr. King, Miss Higgins, Dean Parker and Dean Grafton. Eager, ambitious, capable of great kindness, and occasional cruelties, sometimes lazy and uncooperative, at other times touching in their willingness to help, they mature during their four years at the college and become capable, self confident, caring adults.

As she approaches her 150th birthday, Mary Baldwin College is justified by her daughters (and sons). She could ask for no better measure.

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