THE
DEVELOPMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
AS A FIELD OF STUDY AT WILLIAM AND MARY,
WITH RELATED OBSERVATIONS

By
Charles L. Quittmeyer
Floyd Dewey Gottwald Professor of Business Administration

1984

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA
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Acknowledgements

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Foreword

I hope that this research study puts in greater perspective Business Administration as a field of study at William and Mary. Perhaps it will also add, perforce, some additional perspective on William and Mary as an institution and university.

While some of the events and their interpretation portrayed are "popular" history, doubtless others are, by the same token, "unpopular" or "nonpopular." Unfortunately, "tradition" (or what sometimes passes for "tradition"), tends to become uncritically accepted, and can, on occasion, be more facade than fact. However, it now is easier to assess the William and Mary years before 1970 than since then. By the start of the 21st century it should be easier to gauge the years between 1970 and today. However, some direct personal sources of information are present today that may not be here in the year 2001. Oral histories, such as the relatively few in the Swem archives, give important viewpoints which otherwise might be lost. In this disquisition some of the findings have drawn upon what reliable persons have said, but not referenced as a matter of policy. Such information is useful and some even goes back over six decades.

I can't say that it has been all fun to do this study since it really has meant grinding hours of toil. Personally, I would have rather spent the time fly-fishing (dries and bucktails) on, say, the Gallatin River. But, sincerely, I am most grateful to this School's Sponsors, Inc. Board of Directors, and in particular to S. Warne Robinson and Hayes T. Watkins, for the support to do this study; and I salute all the Board members and Emeriti for their tremendous support and devotion to the William and Mary Business School.

Charles L. Quittmeyer
The Development of Business Administration
As a Field of Study at William and Mary

Summary

Business Administration as a field of study initially developed from the William and Mary course in Political Economy (or Oeconomy). Political Economy was taught as a course of study at William and Mary perhaps as early as 1784 by William and Mary President James Madison (later an Episcopalian bishop; and cousin of the James Madison, who later became President of the United States). The textbook used by Madison, at least by 1798, but probably earlier, was Adam Smith's prestigious Wealth of Nations.¹

Columbia University in New York City may have prior claim in America on the teaching of political economy but only teaching parts of it without the course name of Political Economy attached. At William and Mary the course was entitled Political Economy (or Political Oeconomy in its early spelling).²

The teaching of political economy at Massachusetts Institute of Technology also led to the development of the Alfred E. Sloan School at that institution.³ The still broader field of economics influenced the emergence of schools of business at Harvard University

¹The Swem Library Archives hold a complete three-volume set of the 1786 London edition of Wealth of Nations and Volume II of the 1789 Philadelphia edition of the same. Both are revisions of the first London edition of 1775-76. One revision regarded the comparison of wages in London and New York City and as Smith put it in a footnote: "This was written in 1773, before the commencement of the late disturbances." (So much for Smith's view of the American War of Independence.)


³The Origin and Rise of Programs in Management at M.I.T.: A Personal Memoir; by James R. Killian, Jr., in Annual Report, 1961-62, Sloan School of Management. (Killian was Chairman of the M.I.T. Corporation, 1955-71, and holds the LL.D from William and Mary, 1957.)
(which developed into a graduate school of business); and earliest (1881) at the University of Pennsylvania (both undergraduate and graduate business). Many other early university business schools likely developed from similar origins and also from seeing what other schools were doing.

Because of the religious thrust of colonial William and Mary (although its President was to be of good business sense 4), any instruction touching on commerce and management during William and Mary's earliest upbringing would have been mostly incidental to its classical and Anglican-oriented curriculum. Nevertheless, Herbert B. Adams, in 1877, attributed to Hugh Jones (who in the early 1700's was appointed by the Bishop of London to the chair of mathematics at William and Mary) what Adams took as the earliest recommendation for "a distinct chair of history and for a school of administration in this country", meaning at William and Mary. 5

After the British lost the War of Independence to its colonists, 6 in the following interval of 1783-1861 Political Economy was continually taught at William and Mary. Notable during this period as teachers of the course were President James Madison, followed primarily by President John Augustine Smith, and then by Professor (and later President) Thomas R. Dew -- who was an alumnus of William and Mary. Others less known followed Dew. Over that period of time Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations was added to, or replaced by, published works of other political economists such as Quesnay, Ricardo, and Dew himself. (Dew was a leading American scholar in Political Economy during his time, and was probably its foremost scholar in the South.) Following the Confederacy's tragic loss in the War Between the States (during which period William and Mary had been shut down), little can be said toward any further development in the teaching of Political Economy during the years 1865-1868, during which the shock of Reconstruction prevailed. Between 1881 and 1888 classes were suspended for lack of sufficient students. Due to the stewardship and fortitude primarily of President Benjamin S. Ewell, William and Mary was able to stay alive.

After some determined political lobbying, much of it by lawyer Lyon G. Tyler', the Virginia General Assembly established an "annuity" of $10,000 a year (later raised) for William and Mary's agreement to operate a normal course (teacher's school) to provide white male teachers for Virginia's public schools. (Farmville Normal College was already in place for preparing white female teachers, for which training, a $10,000 annuity also had been provided. Black teachers were trained in Petersburg.)

At that point, Ewell resigned as President of William and Mary, and the Vice President of the Board of Visitors, John L. Buchanan, was elected by the Board to succeed Ewell. (Buchanan was Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia.) Buchanan then asked time to think this election over and later declined it. Thereupon Lyon G. Tyler was elected President and served during 1888-1919. (He had previously taught for one year, session 1877-78, at William and Mary but left primarily due to low salary.)

During Tyler's tenure as President, he was the teacher, also, of the course in Political Economy, although he dropped it later in the 1900's and still later turned to teaching Economics, which he introduced to the William and Mary curriculum. During his last active year, 1916-19, William and Mary became coeducational on a Board of Visitors' vote of 7 to 5. Thus Tyler had experienced William and Mary's three most critical events, other than its founding, i.e.,

(1) State annuity in 1868.
(2) State ownership in 1906.
(3) Coeducation in 1916.

State support and ownership made William and Mary a wholly state-supported institution with the quid pro quo of unequivocal responsibility of public service to go with its state support. William and Mary thereby took its place at the time alongside the other leading state institutions of University of Virginia, V.M.I., and what became V.P.I.S.U. years later.

4 A 1758 copy of the original College statutes states that the president must be "a man of Prudence, and skillful in Business and Industrious and diligent in the management of all Affairs."


6 In another sense this War was a bitter civil war between Americans who wanted to break away from the British Empire and Americans (Loyalists or Tories) who did not. John Adams wrote that as much as a third of the colonists was opposed to independence when it was declared in 1776. See "Canadians Then and Now", The Royal Bank Letter, Royal Bank of Canada, March/April, 1984.

7 Son of former President of the United States John Tyler. Two sons of Lyon G. Tyler, Lyon G. Tyler, Jr. (W & M, 1947) and Harrison R. Tyler (W & M, 1949) live respectively in Charleston, South Carolina, and Charles City County, Virginia.
Tyler's successor was Julian A. C. Chandler, an alumnus of William and Mary, and at the time Superintendent of Public Schools in Richmond. He launched a vigorous program to enlarge William and Mary and expanded the sphere of its services. Under this first President Chandler (his son, A. D. Chandler headed William and Mary as President, 1952-60, and Chancellor, 1960-62); Business Administration made its mark with the first business school at William and Mary in 1919: The School of Finance and Business Administration. Even today the new listing of the professional business society, Alpha Kappa Psi, carries William and Mary's new defunct chapter, Omega, as of The School of Business Administration, College of William and Mary, 1921. (Finally in 1922 it was named the School of Economics and Business Administration until 1934. In 1934 this School was liquidated by President J. S. Bryan.)

Listed as Director and then Dean in the 1920's were serially, Professors F. Juchoff (Director), O. L. Shewmake (Dean), and W. A. Hamilton (Dean). When Hamilton passed away in 1926, Professor Albion G. Taylor took over as Head (rather than Dean) of this School, an admission that the School, under its several names was, at best, no more than a Department. 8

John Stewart Bryan, who was at the time Vice Rector of the Board of Visitors, succeeded J.A.C. Chandler as President when Chandler passed away in 1934. Bryan promptly dissolved the School of Economics and Business Administration but placed most of its courses in a new Department of Economics, except that its accounting education was put under a free-standing non-department labeled Accounting as a Special Course of Study. Taylor was simply transferred from Head of the previous School of Economics and Business Administration to Head of the Department of Economics.

Bryan's interest was to make William and Mary as much as possible like a private liberal arts undergraduate college despite its public support and its ties to teacher education. In perspective Bryan's administration was an aberrant administration which led to a temporary dissolution of the law program as well as to the downgrading of business and of education in William and Mary's programs. (Oddly, it did not touch typing and shorthand.) Bryan's model institution was apparently Dartmouth College, although again it seemed odd to apply an all-male college model to William and Mary in light of William and Mary's significant female student population.

However, as the enrollment in the 1930's shifted to a preponderance of women, Bryan started a "big-time" football program with its ancillary recruiting in 1939; and a new Department of Business Administration in 1942 under the Directorship of Charles P. Marsh; in each case to attract more male students. Then America entered World War II, which drained college-age men into the Armed Forces.

Bryan resigned as President in 1942, shortly thereafter being elected Honorary Chancellor by the Board of Visitors. He was replaced by John E. Pomfret from Vanderbilt, but with personal family ties in Richmond.

President Pomfret had to "make do" for enough students with an increased number of women students and few regular men students. Also he obtained some additional new students by setting up educational services for the military, most notably a Navy Chaplains' School. The Department of Business Administration remained intact through this war period although its faculty varied in number with leaves of absence connected with the war effort.

From the fall of 1945 on, the Department of Business Administration grew in number of students due to the influx of male veterans, as enhanced by the G. I. Bill of educational support. Enrollment at William and Mary consequently moved from a high proportion of women students in 1944-45 to an increasingly high proportion of men students by the end of the 1940's.

Very large classes then prevailed in Business Administration, and also in Economics, to supply the veterans' demand in those fields. By 1950 about half of the men students majored in Business Administration or Economics, with the much higher proportion in Business Administration. Few women in those days took either of these fields in contradiction to today's enrollments.

Also, William and Mary's football fortunes remained considerable in the late 1940's. 9

9The results began to show in 1942 when William and Mary lost only to North Carolina Pre-Flight (which had many previous U.S. college football standouts on its team), 14-0. Otherwise, William and Mary won all the rest of its games other than a 7-7 tie with Harvard. Among its defeated opponents were Navy (3-0), Dartmouth (35-14) and U. Oklahoma (14-7).

10E.g. -- 1948: W&M-7, North Carolina-7; W&M-14, Boston College-14; W&M-26, North Carolina State-6; W&M-9, Arkansas-0.
new degrees in 1965, the new M.B.A. degree program would have started in 1965.)

In February, 1968, the Department of Business Administration became a School with its new Dean, the former Department Head since 1962, Charles L. Quittmeyer.

In 1971, the Bachelor of Business Administration degree was approved by the Board of Visitors after an internal struggle with the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Success came, however, with the testimonial help of business leaders L. C. Ackerman and Thomas Roy Jones and also of Frank S. Kaulback, Jr., Dean of the McIntire School of Commerce of the University of Virginia. Also smoothing the way were favorable discussions between Daniel C. Lewis, Vice President of the Chesapeake Corporation of Virginia and a former faculty member of Washington and Lee's School of Commerce and Vice President W. Melville Jones of William and Mary.

Further lending credence to the importance of the William and Mary Business School and its need for accreditation of its degrees was the Advisory Council to the School. Powerfully effective among its members besides Messrs. Ackerman and Jones, was W. Brooks George, a former Rector of William and Mary's Board of Visitors. This Council later became the Chartered under the title of College of William and Mary, School of Business Administration Sponsored, Inc., although its better known sobriquet is "Board of Sponsors.

Paschal retired in 1971 after carefully guiding the necessary escalation of William and Mary to modern university status by 1967. This program was accompanied by the greatest growth of degree programs at William and Mary before or afterwards. Also in obtaining state funds remains visible in the greatest development of campus building seen at William and Mary."

To succeed Paschal, the Board of Visitors in 1971 chose Thomas A. Graves, Jr., educated in the prestigious private schools of Exeter, Yale, and Harvard, and at the time an Associate Dean of all those who have given such great support to the William and Mary School of Business Administration, the greatest has been Thomas Roy Jones.

Although the buildings and other developments he gained for William and Mary go further than the New Campus, this new campus with minor exception is Paschal's memorial. If one treat the middle of the New Campus, it can be said of Paschal, "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice."
of the Harvard Business School. During his tenure, the William and Mary Business School has continued its steady growth, finally moving into its "own" building, Chancellors Hall, renovated for $2.1 million by the state. (It had cost $300,000 in 1927 when it was funded equally by the Commonwealth and privately, and named at that time, William Barton Rogers Memorial Science Hall.)

Under its new Dean, John C. Jamison, an outstanding graduate of Purdue University and of the Harvard Business School, and a former partner of Goldman, Sachs; William and Mary's School of Business Administration moves to a bright future.

The School now has some 53 full-time and part-time faculty members as compared to 6 in 1962. It also has an effective and seasoned administrative organization with two first-class Associate Deans in Henry E. Mallue, Jr., who guides the MBA degree program, and Franklin E. Robeson, who handles the MBA degree program, while Mrs. Betsy Crowell counsels the MBA students.

Additionally, it has developed further, under the direction of the late Leland B. Traywick, the respected Bureau of Business Research with its widely-read monthly *Virginia Business Report*.

Also, Julia B. Leverenz directs an excellent Women in Business Program and Executive Development Center. A research center is in prospect as well.

Of singular importance is the School's secretarial group headed by Mrs. Margaret G. Harris, and backed up by Mrs. Judy A. Hodge.

For overall advice and support the School has its "Board of Sponsors," as superlative a group as anything like it in business academia.

The School in the fall of the 1983-84 session reached its highest registration yet, with 815 full-time equivalent students, including graduates and undergraduates. This compares to a full-time equivalent (undergraduate only) registration of approx-

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13 William Barton Rogers taught chemistry at William and Mary in the early 19th century, then taught at the University of Virginia, and later wound up founding Massachusetts Institute of Technology and becoming its first President. At the installation of General Francis Amasa Walker as President of M.I.T. in 1861, former President Rogers, in making some introductory remarks, dropped dead on the platform.

CHAPTER ONE

Early Higher Education in British America and Some Current Comparisons of William and Mary with Colonial "Ivy" Institutions and Virginia Institutions

1. Early Higher Education in British America.

Much of European education -- from which American education was derived -- came from the medieval renaissance of the 12th century in the development of the trivium and the quadrivium which comprised the liberal arts. The trivium consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the quadrivium of geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy.

The student, upon completing these liberal arts studies, moved up to the higher studies of philosophy with its four branches: theoretical, practical, logical, and mechanical. The theoretical, with theology, physics and mathematics; the practical, with personal morals or ethics, economics, and politics; the logical, with more on the three foregoing arts of the trivium; and the mechanical, with medicine, navigation, agriculture, etc.

The modern concept of business administration as a field of study therefore finds its beginnings primarily in the practical and mechanical sides of the higher studies of philosophy; although it is not restricted to them.

The two earliest institutions of higher learning in British America were Harvard College (1636) and the College of William and Mary in Virginia (1693). Later Harvard became Harvard University. William and Mary, although it has achieved modern university status, has been referred to during its history as the College of William and Mary in Virginia (its current legislated name), the Colleges of William and Mary (1660-62), William and Mary College, the University of William and Mary, and according to former President Lyon G. Tyler, the College or University of William and Mary (1779 to 1861).

2Herbert B. Adams, Colleges of William and Mary Circular No. 1-1887, Bureau of Education, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887, p. 22. As Adams added, both Harvard and William and Mary were founded by the National Government by royal endorsement.

3Appendix A to this chapter compares William and Mary as of Fall, 1980 to its colonial Ivy League peers. Cornell (1865) is thus omitted.

4See Herbert E. Smith, Abstract of Ph.D. thesis at New York University in School of Education: "The Historical Development of Technical Education in the First Nine Colleges Founded in the United States, 1636-1862." Smith noted also that as early as 1756 the predecessor to the University of Pennsylvania offered in its program an introduction to trade and commerce. Also from 1759-66 at Yale, lectures by Rector Clapp included commerce as a subject.

Until 1779 William and Mary was a British crown institution, or, as Herbert Adams put it: "like Harvard at the time, a state institution." From 1779 to 1888 it was essentially private. Then from 1888 to 1906 it was partially supported by a state "annuity" for its teacher's school. Finally, it has been state-owned since 1906.

Harvard College prescribed in its colonial days a four-year course of grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, ethics, ancient history, Greek, and Hebrew. Success led to a Bachelor of Arts degree. This curriculum, like William and Mary's, was designed particularly to prepare youth for the ministry. In 1718, mathematics and natural philosophy (in this case, chemistry) were added.

William and Mary with clerical (Anglican) aim and monastic rules (professors were forbidden to marry), offered preparatory courses in ancient languages, followed by the conventional college curriculum of rhetoric, logic, ethics, mathematics, physics and metaphysics, besides sacred and moral science.

To prepare sons for everyday living, however, the "academy" emerged, notably the Philadelphia Academy (later the University of Pennsylvania) under the influence of Benjamin Franklin. It promoted "useful learning" -- modern languages, history, navigation, mathematics, and natural and applied science. In 1763, the Philadelphia Academy was first in the colonies to have systematic instruction in medicine.

William and Mary in 1779 turned from clerical to secular education under the leadership of newly-elected Governor Thomas
Jefferson, who had also been elected, as was customary for new Governors, to William and Mary's Board of Visitors. Chairs of medicine, mathematics, physics, moral philosophy, politics, economics, and law were established.

Of importance to the genesis of the study of business administration at William and Mary was the development of political economy, the major forebear of the professional field of business administration, formally introduced into the William and Mary curriculum when J.A.C. Chandler became President of William and Mary in 1919.

Unless the chair of divinity could be called professional during the colonial period of William and Mary, Thomas Jefferson's introduction of the chairs of law and medicine made up the first bona fide professional study at William and Mary. (The chair of divinity was dropped as being "incompatible with freedom in a republic."

On the other hand, county surveyors had to be licensed by William and Mary; thus professional judgment of competence was in that field underwritten by William and Mary.

2. More on William and Mary During the Colonial Period.

As noted, the Anglican Church permeated the founding of William and Mary. The royal charter put it thus as the purpose of the institution: "to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good and religious manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God; to make, found and establish a certain place of universal study, or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other Good Arts and Sciences."

Of course there was nothing "perpetual" about this as Jefferson proved when he turned William and Mary into a secular institution. However, for a point-by-point analysis of the promulgated purposes as they would compare today, it may be noted that:

1. The Church of Virginia does not exist.

Jefferson narrowly won the gubernatorial election from his friend John Page. However, Jefferson's predecessor as Governor, Patrick Henry, had not been elected to William and Mary's Board of Visitors. See J. E. Morpurgo, Their Majesties Royall College, W&M Endowment Association, 1976, p. 189.

2. There is no seminary at William and Mary.
3. Although "good letters" remain, yet with the demise of "in loco parentis," standards of dress and consideration have not yet recovered, despite substantial progress, from the permissiveness of the late 1960's and early 1970's.
4. The "Western Indians" are no problem.
5. Universal study is far more "universal" now than then. In fact, William and Mary is a modern university and it goes far beyond the study of Philosophy, Languages and other Good Arts and Sciences, even though without the College of Divinity.

The Rev. Hugh Jones (1669-1760), a learned and observant professor of mathematics (appointed to this post at William and Mary by the Bishop of London in the early 1700's), suggested that within the classical curriculum of William and Mary, it should encourage bright youth to undertake industry and trade with any useful "Projects and Inventions."

Hugh Jones was indeed a man who was well ahead of his time. He also recommended that William and Mary establish "a school of administration," although what he had in mind was having William and Mary prepare young men for important positions in civil service. Of course much of the principles and activities of management could carry over into the running of plantations and other agricultural and business undertakings.

Jones also made the controversial remark about Sir Christopher Wren's piously educated in good letters and manners.

6Until the War of Independence, the curriculum was substantially the Oxford curriculum as adapted to William and Mary. Promotion from "Grammar School" of Latin and Greek of "scholars" (boys of 12 to 15 years of age) led to study in the two Philosophy Schools ( Moral and Natural). At that point the "scholars" turned into "students," usually aged 16 and above. Finally, although few tried, a student could go on to the A.B. (Bachelor of Arts) degree. Only then would the student be prepared to enter the theological schools of which there were two. After 1779, the elective system of study was adopted, i.e. -- to take mathematics, one did not first have to take Latin and Greek.


8Adams, op. cit., p. 21.
Wren "modelling" William and Mary's Main Building which will be referred to later.

Today, William and Mary has Hugh Jones Hall on its New Campus in honor of this great man.

In 1729 the faculty of William and Mary consisted of President James Blair; two professors in the school of theology (Yates and Fontaine); and two in the school of philosophy (Irwin and William Dawson), who provided the classical foundation. The grammar, or Latin, school was, however, fundamental to the College, the College consisting of the philosophical department.

Indeed, at the outset, if a school of law and a school of medicine had been then added -- at one professor each -- the result for those days would have been a complete university, which, historically speaking, would be comprised of four faculties.

William and Mary, within its sphere of learning, did very well for a tiny college, but one must realize that Virginia's population also was small (although large among the colonies). It was also the only institution of learning in colonial Virginia, unless the Augusta Academy (1749) -- the beginning of Washington & Lee University; and Prince Edward Academy (1774) -- later Hampden-Sydney College, are counted. Further, Harvard College and the few other important American colleges were "distant" from Virginia.

Of course some sons of Virginia's gentry were sent to Britain for their education. Morpurgo states that more than 100 Virginians were on the rolls of the Inns of Court throughout the colonial period; and that in 1761 more than 15 Virginians were enrolled in British schools and universities; and, further, that there were enough students from Virginia at the University of Edinburgh to have a "Virginia Club." That there were not more Virginians educated in Britain might have been in part due to a fear of catching smallpox there.9

In 1736 60 boys were enrolled at William and Mary. Never in the 1700's was a higher number of students enrolled.10 Although the Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees were established, few, if any, were attained. The earned A.M. (Master of Arts) was never awarded during the colonial period, although Benjamin Franklin received an honorary A.M. degree in 1755.11

Nevertheless, William and Mary was well-endowed during its colonial days and may well have been the richest college in America at the start of the War of Independence. It had a number of sources of funds, including funds from land owned, tobacco taxes, and surveyor license fees, among others.

Also, during the colonial period an impressive number of men who had attended William and Mary had become famous and influential before, during and after the War of Independence. Perhaps the most notable was Thomas Jefferson, a student from 1760-62. George Washington has also been claimed due to his surveyor's license from William and Mary and for his Chancellorship of William and Mary.12

To sum up the colonial period of William and Mary, there was no subject in the curriculum akin directly to Business Administration but many of the prominent men connected with William and Mary were experienced in the ways of business and management of those days.

However, there was in place at the end of this period a well-known institution that would take Political Economy into its curriculum as the prototype of Business Administration. Political Economy thus became a subject of early importance in William and Mary's curriculum under the new sectarian mode. Also law, in particular, paved the way in 1779 for professional study at William and Mary.

10. Ibid., p. 97.
11. Ibid., p. 83.
12. Washington was Chancellor from 1794 until he passed away in 1799. Prior to Washington, the Chancellors during the colonial period had been two Archbishops of Canterbury, six Bishops of London, and two Earls. Not one had visited William and Mary or even set foot in America.
Appendix A to Chapter 1
Colonial Ivy League Peers and William and Mary As Compared in Fall, 1980.13

1. Harvard University. Private university.
Harvard College 1636; Harvard University, later. Instruction 1638. First degree awarded 1642. Besides Harvard College, has: School of Medicine 1792; Divinity 1816; Law 1817; Dental Medicine 1867; Graduate School of Arts and Sciences 1872; Business Administration 1908; Education 1920; Public Health 1922; Graduate School of Design 1935; Public Administration 1938. Enrollment, Fall 1980: 12,730 men, 9,641 women; total 22,371 (full time: 15,500). Undergraduates: 2,389 men, 4,233 women; total 6,622. Average SAT: 1381.

2. The College of William and Mary in Virginia. Public university.

3. Yale University. Private university.
The Collegiate School 1701; Yale College, 1718; Yale University, 1887. First degree awarded 1703. Besides Yale College, has: Divinity School, Law School, School of Medicine, School of Architecture, School of Art, School of Drama, School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, School of Music, Nursing School, School of Organization and Management, and Graduate School (of Arts and Sciences). Enrollment, Fall 1980: 5,996 men, 4,205 women; total 10,201. Undergraduate, 2,974 men, 2,132 women, total 5,106. Average SAT: 1360.


King's College (royal charter) 1754. Chartered by New York State as Columbia College 1784; rechartered 1810; Columbia University in the City of New York 1912. First bachelor's degree 1758. Besides Columbia College: School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (bachelor's and master's), School of Dental and Oral Surgery, School of Law, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, School of the Arts, Graduate School of Business,14 School of International and Public Affairs, Graduate School of Journalism, School of Library Science, School of Public Health, School of Social Work, and School of General Studies. Enrollment, Winter 1978-79: 11,542 men, 7,084 women; total 18,626. Undergraduate 4,276 men, 897 women (before amalgamation with Barnard College), 5173 total. Average SAT 1260.

6. University of Pennsylvania. Mixed: Private and public university (i.e. -- also state-aided).
Charity School 1740; chartered as Academy and Charity School in the Province of Pennsylvania 1747; College, Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania 1755; University of the State of Pennsylvania 1779; University of Pennsylvania 1791. First bachelor's degree awarded 1757. Faculty of Arts and Sciences, School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, School of Nursing, The Wharton School (Business School), School of Dental Medicine, School of Veterinary Medicine, Annenberg School of Communications, Graduate School of Education, Graduate School of Fine Arts, School of Public and Urban Policy, School of Social Work. Enrollment, Fall 1980: 12,843 men, 9,768 women; total 22,611. Undergraduate: 5,489 men, 3,538 women, total 9,027. Average SAT: 1300. Special information below is given on The Wharton School, since in having both its bachelor's and its master's degrees accredited by the Accreditation Council of the

14Also Undergraduate until 1950's.
American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business, it is the most comparable to William and Mary's School of Business Administration of this list of institutions.

In 1979-80 the University of Pennsylvania awarded at the bachelor's and master's degree level 2,179 and 1,650 degrees respectively. Of these 682 and 543 respectively were the Wharton School's. In other words 31% of all the University of Pennsylvania's bachelor's and 33% of all its master's degrees were in the field of business. Of all bachelor's and master's degrees together awarded at the University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School accounted for 32%. Comparably in 1979-80 the William and Mary Business School accounted for 18% of the total bachelor's degrees and 39% of all master's degrees at the College of William and Mary and 20% of the total of all bachelor's and master's degrees.

Dartmouth College 1769. First bachelor's degree 1771. Has additionally: Dartmouth Medical School, Thayer School of Engineering, and Amos Tuck School of Business Administration (M.B.A. degree).
Enrollment: Fall 1980: 2,911 men, 1,407 women, total 4,318.
Undergraduate: 2,325 men, 1,167 women, total 3,492. Average SAT: 1270.

Rhode Island College 1764; Brown University 1804. First bachelor's degree. Has no Schools, although offers first-professional awards in medicine.

Appendix B to Chapter One
Comparison of William and Mary with Certain Other Institutions of Higher Learning in Virginia
(Enrollments and Average SAT, Fall, 1980.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Undergraduate</th>
<th>Average SAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George Mason University</td>
<td>12,293</td>
<td>5,701</td>
<td>998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampden-Sydney College</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>731</td>
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15 Information primarily from American Universities and Colleges, op. cit.
CHAPTER TWO

William and Mary Between Wars: The Jeffersonian Curriculum and A Course in Political Economy Develop

As mentioned in Chapter One, Thomas Jefferson changed William and Mary's clerical curriculum to a new secular curriculum. As part of this transition, "political economy" was introduced as a subject under "the law of nature and nations." Also "police" made its debut under "law and police" but "police" meant the science of administration rather than constabulary associations. Consequently there were elements in the Jeffersonian curriculum that eventually would tie into Business Administration as a professional field of study under the total academic umbrella of William and Mary.

But Jefferson had major plans for William and Mary early on (from 1776-1779) which faltered years later, ending in near-disaster for the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg and domineering success for the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

The problem for William and Mary concerned Jefferson's plan for a public education system for Virginia which culminated in the establishment of the University of Virginia in 1819, but without the satellite system of colleges and lower schools that Jefferson wanted.

Yet in his earlier thoughts, Jefferson had William and Mary in mind as the capstone university of Virginia. As he wrote, "The root and crown of the entire educational system of Virginia was to be the old College of William and Mary, transferred into a higher seminary of learning...." Jefferson stated that a 1779 General Assembly bill (which was proposed to amend the constitution of William and Mary College but failed) was to enlarge its sphere of science, and to make it in fact a university.

Then in his autobiography Jefferson explained why this attempted elevation of William and Mary failed: "The College of William and Mary was an establishment purely of the Church of England; the visitors were all required to be of that Church; the professors to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles; its students to learn the catechism; and one of its fundamental objects was declared to be to raise up ministers for that Church. Also unhealthy autumnal climate." For these and other reasons (for example, Jefferson's home was Monticello, within telescopic sight of the eventual site of the University), the College of William and Mary failed to become the State University of Virginia. Both institutions were very small when started. William and Mary had only six teachers to start with and the University of Virginia only eight.

Yet it would seem that Jefferson's reorganization of William and Mary would have become more positive to the aspect of William and Mary becoming later the State University; for as Jefferson put it, as Governor and a Visitor of William and Mary College in June, 1779: "I effected (through the Board of Visitors) during my residence in Williamsburg that year (1779) a change in the organization of that institution by abolishing the grammar school and the two professorships of divinity and oriental languages, and substituting a professorship of law and police, one of anatomy, medicine, and chemistry, and one of modern languages, and the charter confining us to six professorships, we added the law of nations and nations (this included political economy) and the fine arts, to the duties of the moral professor, and natural history, biology, etc. to those of the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy."9

This foregoing statement of Jefferson's was a modification of the content of General Assembly bills proposed in 1776 and 1779 concerning the curriculum and academic structure of William

1 Thomas Jefferson had no faith in miracles. He made up his own version of the Bible primarily by cutting it up in such a way as to exclude the incredible events: known as the Jefferson Bible.

2 See Herbert B. Adams, College of William and Mary, Circular No. 1-1887, Bureau of Education, Washington; Government Printing Office, 1887, p. 38. "Police" was derived from the German "Polizeiwissenschaft" for "modern science of administration."

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 The writer and family lived in Pavilion IX at the University of Virginia in 1957-58 and became thoroughly familiar with the aspects of Jefferson's Academical Village, as originally established.

6 Herbert B. Adams, op. cit.
and Mary. Both of these bills failed although Jefferson had a leading role in proposing them. The 1776 bill which failed in effect "have eliminated the faculty of one school of sacred theology with two professors therein, to wit, one for teaching the Hebrew tongue and expounding the Holy Scriptures; and the other for explaining the commonplaces of divinity and the controversies with heretics; one other school for philosophy, with two professorships therein, to wit, one for the study of rhetoric, logic, and ethics, and the other for physics, metaphysics, and mathematics; one other school for teaching the Latin and Greek tongues; and one other for teaching Indian boys reading, writing, vulgar arithmetic, the catechism, and the principles of the Christian religion."

The bill failing in 1779 was in effect a positive revision of the 1776 bill and would have had eight (rather than the six as restricted by the Charter) professorships -- (1) Moral philosophy, the laws of nations and fine arts, (2) law and police, including economics, politics, and commerce; (3) history, civil and ecclesiastical; (4) mathematics; (5) anatomy and medicine; (6) natural philosophy and natural history (biology, etc.); (7) ancient languages including Oriental (Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac), and Northern tongues (Moess-Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Olde Icelandic); and (8) Modern languages. (Also, a missionary would be provided to visit Indians.)

By 1808 Jefferson, during his second term as U. S. President, had drifted away from his alma mater, William and Mary. At that time Joseph Cabell (W&M – Class of 1796) a protege of Jefferson's, unable to establish a museum of natural history at William and Mary, had applied to Jefferson for aid in this museum project. However, Jefferson had discounted the project by Joseph Cabell.

Through Jefferson's private secretary, Col. Isaac A. Cole, Cabell was written: "Instead of wasting your time in attempting to patch up a decaying institution (William and Mary), direct your efforts to a higher and more valuable object. Found a


8If this 1779 bill had passed, one might speculate on whether there would have been a mixture of political economy under economics; and accounting, etc. under "commerce." "Police" being the science of administration, makes the matter even more interesting. William and Mary might also have antedated the University of Pennsylvania's "first" in American "business schools" (Wharton School in 1881) by over a century (1779).

new one (institution) which shall be worthy of the first State in the Union."9

Cabell then went into Virginia politics, became a member of the House of Delegates in 1809, and then a State Senator in 1811, remaining in the Senate until 1829. He championed the idea of a State university. The University of Virginia might not have arrived during Jefferson's lifetime if it had not been for Cabell's tactful efforts.

In 1824, William and Mary's President, John Augustine Smith, posed the idea of William and Mary competing with the University of Virginia by considering moving William and Mary to Richmond. Re-locating there (and with the probable addition of a medical school in Richmond, which was much needed in Virginia) was considered likely to secure a substantial number of students to such relocated William and Mary, since Richmond possessed significant advantages in population, finance, state government, and prestige in general.

Yet Smith wrote Cabell on March 7, 1825: "If we lost our cause (to move to Richmond), I would not expect to lose, I would not give up the battle." And further: "I have spoken in a manner of the University party, and of Mr. Jefferson in a manner not calculated to gratify his feelings or advance his reputation...."

Cabell wrote Jefferson on May 5, 1824, "A scheme is in agitation...which is to remove the College of William and Mary to the city of Richmond.... We (friends of the University) have said keep your college and your endowments; we do not want to meddle with you; but you shall not prevent the improvement of the State.... My present opinion is decidedly against the plan because I know that the college would be a rival to the University...."

Jefferson wrote Cabell on May 16, 1824: "Let William and Mary move. I certainly never wished that my venerable Alma Mater would be disturbed. Let William and Mary go on wheels. The move would make $100,000 remaining but its interest of $6,000 going to the University of Virginia would give us the two we lack of ten professors authorized plus books for the William and Mary library. Should William and Mary be removed, the Legislature will consolidate in with the University."


10See J. W. Randolph (Publisher), Richmond: Early History of the University of Virginia as contained in the letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell; Hitherto Unpublished, with an Appendix and an Introduction, 1856.
Not brought forward at the General Assembly session of 1824-25 was A Bill for the Discontinuance of the College of William and Mary, and the establishment of other colleges in convenient distribution around the state. (This bill was to be brought forth as a substitute for removing the College of William and Mary to Richmond.) However, the new curriculum brought about by Jefferson in 1779 for William and Mary did work out, and Political Economy did well as the predecessor field to Business Administration up to 1861. Also, whatever else, William and Mary did get by the critical years of 1808-1825 when the University of Virginia was being formed and at last founded and put into operation. William and Mary finally was resigned to staying in Williamsburg as a small, but at least venerable, institution.

Presidents came and went from Madison in 1777 to 1854, when President Benjamin S. Ewell, after an initial surrogate presidency in 1848-49, assumed the Presidency from 1854-88, thus overlapping the War Between the States.

As noted, one of Madison's achievements was his teaching of Political Economy under the Jefferson-inspired new secular curriculum; although ironically, Madison became personally clerical when he was later elected an Episcopal Bishop while also President of William and Mary. Following Madison as President was John Bracken (1812-14) (regarded by Thomas Jefferson as a "simpleton"). Presumably, one of the William and Mary professors took over from James Madison the teaching of Political Economy during 1812-14.

With John Augustine Smith's arrival as President of William and Mary (1814-26), he (Smith), although a medical doctor, taught the Political Economy course. In correspondence in 1825 between William and Mary's President J.A.C. Chandler and Edwin P.A. Beilman, Columbia University's Faculty and McVicar Professor Political Economy, a third-year course in 1815 at William and Mary entitled Government and Political Economy was mentioned. Also, to acquire a Bachelor of Arts (A.B.) degree at William and Mary in 1817, a student had to be well-acquainted with Political Economy (sic).

In the Zollinger Exhibit in Swem Library in August 1983, appeared (John Augustine) Smith's Lectures of 1821, wherein this Smith footnoted Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book V, Chapter 1 — part II. To give an idea of what was lectured on.


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this was about judges in the time of Henry III collecting certain types of King's revenue. Another note of Smith's commented: "The law restraining the rate of interest is absurd, un politic, and unjust."

Smith left William and Mary as President in 1826 to become a professor of anatomy at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. From there he went as a professor, come to the Presidency at William and Mary. He was succeeded as president of William and Mary by William H. Wilmer (1826-27), who died in office.

Wilmer had brought in Thomas Roderick Dew, age 23, to the new professorship of Political Law in 1826, one of Dew's subjects being Political Economy. His reputation became national in Political Economy, although he also taught History, Metaphysics, Natural Law, and Government. In 1828 he chaired a distinguished committee which issued a 23-page pamphlet. This impressive report involved the points of view of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and J. B. Say. Also it argued that the Tidewater area of Virginia would become a major commercial center for handling western products, thus denying that Virginia was irreconcilably an agricultural state. The Convocation at Charlottesville to which he made this report was presided over by former U. S. President James Madison and included former U. S. President James Monroe and Chief Justice John Marshall.22

Dew became President of William and Mary in 1836 after President Adam Empie's tenure as President (1827-36). Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations continued to be an assigned text in Dew's teaching of Political Economy. He also used Quesnay, J. B. Say, Ricardo, Malthus, Jefferson (Notes on Virginia), McCulloch (Outline of Political Economy), Sismondi, McVicar's Notes, and Judge Cooper's Lectures on Political Economy. His national reputation grew in the field of Political Economy, and in 1838 he offered a critique on U. S. President Martin Van Buren's sub-treasury plan.23

On June 17, 1846 Dew at the age of 43 married Natilia Hay. They went on their honeymoon to Paris where Dew died two months later (August 6, 1846) and was interred in Paris.


13Dew's influence on the teaching of Political Economy at William and Mary persisted after his death. For example, Robert J. Morris and Lyon G. Tyler used his Restrictive System.
Dew was succeeded as President of William and Mary by Robert Saunders during 1847-48. Saunders was in turn succeeded temporarily by Benjamin S. Ewell during 1848-49. Finally, John Johns became President (1849-54). Then in 1854 Benjamin Ewell for the second time became President of William and Mary, but for a long time -- until 1888.

The following professors at William and Mary were associated with the teaching of Political Economy after Thomas R. Dew until William and Mary closed down from 1861-65 during the War Between the States:

George Frederick Holmes, 1846-49, Professor of History and Political Economy.

Henry A. Washington, 1849-58, Professor in the Department of History, Political Economy, and Constitutional Law. Washington had a senior class which studied Political Economy the first half of the session. Preparatory reading recommended was Smith, McCulloch, Ricardo, and Mills.

Robert J. Morris, 1858-61, Professor of History, Political Economy, and Constitutional Law. Morris listed for textbooks Tucker's Political Economy and works by Say and Dew.

By 1861 Political Economy, the earliest predecessor to Business Administration, had been taught continually at William and Mary since James Madison started teaching it, probably as early as 1784.

CHAPTER THREE

The Reconstruction of William and Mary. As The Teaching of Political Economy and Economics is Prelude to Its First School of Business Administration

The South lost the War Between the States and bitter Reconstruction fell upon the South, the effects of the Reconstruction Amendments to the Constitution of the United States (XIII, XIV, and XV) still having repercussions today. President Benjamin S. Ewell tried hard to pull William and Mary together again, starting in 1865.

The last meeting of the Board of Visitors had been held in Richmond on October 9, 1861 with the War well underway. Former U.S. President John Tyler was then Rector of the Board of Visitors. His son, Lyon Gardiner Tyler, who was to succeed President Ewell in 1886, was only eight years old at that time.

The Board minutes for this last meeting in 1861 mentioned that the Commencement Exercises and also the Annual Meeting of the Board, which were both scheduled for July 4, 1861, were prevented from being held by the "disturbed condition of the country."

The next meeting of the Board was on July 5, 1865, at the office of James Lyons in Richmond. After eulogizing Chancellor (and former U. S. President) John Tyler, who had died in 1862, President Ewell estimated that $40,000 in specie currency would restore William and Mary to the condition it was in before the War. Removal of William and Mary from Williamsburg to Richmond came up as a possibility again but it was felt to be too extreme an undertaking.

The William and Mary catalog for 1865-66, printed in 1866, noted that the Collegiate course of study included Modern History, consisting of Political Economy and Constitutional Law for the senior class but the Professor(s) handling it were not listed.

The enrollment in 1865-66 was quite good with 39 male youngsters, age 12 to probably 15, in the Grammar School and 71 students distributed among the major departments as follows: Latin-16, Greek-5, French-10, Belles Lettres-9, Mathematics-21, and Chemical and Natural Philosophy-8.
In July 1867 the Main Building was substantially restored and the facility was reorganized with "a sufficient Corps of Academic Professors."

The catalog for 1870 noted that the degrees offered were the Bachelor of Philosophy (B.P.), Bachelor of Arts (A.B.) and Master of Arts (A.M.). If no degree was forthcoming, a certificate of progress, with the College Seal, could be issued.

Robert M. Hughes, from Abingdon, received an A.B. degree in 1872-73. Later on, Judge Hughes would be influential at William and Mary, including being the "architect" of the School of Government and Citizenship started in the early 1920's.

The catalog for 1874 listed Courses of Instruction, i.e. -- subjects taught, departments, and the assignment of professors to the Courses of Instruction.

Thenceforth there would be even more ambiguity in the catalogs in describing the academic organization, since the following terms were used with some interchangeability, and indeed, some of the confusion carried back to the 1700's: Course (of instruction), School, Department, Professorship, and Chair. Generally a Department consisted of one or more Schools (upside-down from modern nomenclature). Schools might also be simply Courses of Instruction. A Professorship could be held in one or more Departments and in one or more Schools. A Chair was similar to a School, except that a Chair would be held by just one Professor. However a Chair could be expanded later to a School or Department with one or more Professors.

For example, a School was usually neither a small version of a College nor a large group of faculty. Also a School could mean a sort of "school of thought", or "course of study" and, if small, a School might well be smaller than a Department and even with less autonomy than a Department. Sometimes a School might be chaired by a "Head". If larger, it might be chaired by a "Dean". However a Dean could chair a very small School, which, if it were larger, might be called a Department and have a chairman or head. Therefore, terms such as "university", "college", "school", "faculty", "department", and "course of study" which go from the greater to the lesser in modern use, could mean something quite different in the 1700's, 1800's and into the 1900's. For example to say that William and Mary had the first School of Medicine simply meant that it had one professor (McCullag) teaching a subject or subjects in medicine or anatomy for the first time in America in a legitimate college or university.

In 1874 under Courses of Instruction the following subjects were taught: Latin, Greek, Mathematics, French, German, Natural Philosophy, Mixed Mathematics, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Physiology, Moral and Intellectual Science and Belle Lettres (Wharton).

Each student had to attend three departments unless the faculty allowed him fewer.

However, Political Economy as a course seems to have been in limbo between 1866 when it was listed in the catalog of 1865-66 until Professor Wilmer taught it perhaps from 1874 to 1877, although he was listed in the Latin Department. This may be inferred from the Convocation of Visitors in Richmond in January 17, 1878. Minutes note that Professor Wilmer had resigned and so an appointment was needed for Professor of Belle Lettres, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Political Economy -- and a notice of this Faculty opening was put as an advertisement in the New York Herald and World and in the Richmond Dispatch. (The compensation was to be $1,000 for the 10-month school year plus fees worth about $500.) There were ten applicants, from whom Lyon Gardiner Tyler (later President of William and Mary) was hired for the position and presumably taught Political Economy in 1877-78. However, he left this low-paying appointment after one year, and Political Economy may not have been taught again until he returned as President and Professor in 1888, after William and Mary had been closed down from 1881 to 1888.1

It may be noted that General Joseph E. Johnston, second only to General Robert E. Lee in the Confederate Army, became a member of the William and Mary Board of Visitors on December 19, 1878. He was a member until his death in 1894.

In the November 27, 1885 meeting of the Board of Visitors, a committee was established to submit to the General Assembly a plan for an annual state appropriation for William and Mary. At another meeting of January 28, 1886 it was decided that William and Mary should seek to establish a system of "normal instruction" (teacher training) to prepare white male teachers for the free schools of the Commonwealth (in conjunction with the Collegiate course) for an appropriation of $10,000 annually. (By 1888

1 William and Mary itself never officially closed. The Board of Visitors continued to meet from 1881 until William and Mary re-opened to students in 1888. Bursar's reports and other business were taken up. President Ewell's and Bursar John T. Wise's salaries continued during the period.