### VI. TRADITIONS

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#### Why is tradition important to the University of Virginia?

The biggest reason that tradition is important to the University, and therefore to tour-giving, is that it creates a sense of community. Traditions invite all to participate, and are a way of binding all of those participants together. In a place so steeped in history, an emphasis on tradition helps us bridge the gap between the present and the past. For many people, feeling a sense of community will be a deciding factor in their college decision process. When you walk around Grounds with prospective students or visitors, it is important to show them how tangible the value of tradition is at UVa. But just as important as tradition is the University's equal, simultaneous and seemingly counterintuitive capacity for change. For instance, Jefferson's ideal of student self-governance persists at the modern University, which not only serves as a tradition but a vehicle for progress as students cast off traditions that are outdated or shown to be discriminatory, and fight to keep the events and values that make our school stronger and more cohesive.

#### **Contemporary University Traditions**

Adapted from Coy Barefoot's According to Custom: Student Traditions at Virginia

#### **Coats and Ties**

**The Tradition:** Dressing formally at sporting events to show pride for the University

History: Formal dress—or at least sport coats, ties, and trousers—was expected classroom garb among University of Virginia men until the mid-1960s. Even then, the tradition was vocally upheld by certain factions within the student body, who saw such dress as an indication of the distinctive character of the place. It was based upon the assumption that the University man has maturity enough and sufficient pride in his personal appearance that he would want to appear presentable to outsiders, as well as to his fellow classmates.



In a 1967 talk with students, professor Thaddeus Braxton Woody (who came to the University as a student in 1919) commented that it was distressing to see the tradition of gentlemanly dress slowly passing away. Shock and dismay were not uncommon reactions to the blue jeans and T-shirts that had begun to make regular appearances around Grounds in the 1960s. Opposition to wearing coats and ties began after WWII, exemplified by a student letter to the editor of *College Topics*: "Please do not try to indoctrinate us with the theory that the mere wearing of a coat and tie will effect a magical change on those of us who are not gentlemen by virtue of our actions." By about 1970 the transformation was complete and coats and ties had become the exception, not the rule.

**Today:** To the delight of some alumni, however, the tradition continued in the stands at home football games. But in September of 2003, new head coach Al Groh asked Cavalier fans to wear orange at Scott Stadium in an effort to create more excitement at football games and enhance home-field advantage.

Groh's **Sea of Orange** caused many traditionalists to cry foul. But the vast majority of fans appeared happy to help the team and give fans a choice in how to show spirit. Orange coats and ties have become a notable compromise.

#### Why Not "Doctor?"

**The Tradition:** Professors at UVa are never addressed as 'Dr.' unless they hold a medical degree.

**History:** Various attributions exist for this practice, the most popular being that Thomas Jefferson himself held no such degree and was always referred to as "Mr. Jefferson", and, in a gesture of humility and egalitarianism, all members of the University community are addressed by the same common title. This is a mode of address consistent with the master of Monticello's much-stressed belief in democracy and his democratic ways, in contrast

to the more aristocratically inclined Hamiltonians. A group of prominent University of Virginia professors signed a petition in the 1920s, or perhaps somewhat earlier, requesting that they be addressed as 'Mr.,' although they were Ph.D.s.

#### **Painting Beta Bridge**

**The Tradition:** Painting the bridge on Rugby next to the Beta fraternity house with slogans, messages, or advertisements!

**History:** The current bridge was built in late 1923 and opened to traffic in 1924 – the product of a citywide street paving and improvement project to prepare area roads for automobiles. Known initially as the "Rugby Road Bridge," it took the now-familiar name when the Beta Theta Pi fraternity built a house nearby in 1927. The Beta brothers still occupy this house today. Charlottesville authorities in the late 60s and early 70s did not take kindly to the tradition at first and several fraternity members were arrested for painting the bridge, but gradually the city has acquiesced to the students' artistic talents. The first painting occurred in fall 1926, when the *College Topics* reported that a group of students had "splashed bright green paint over the new bridge on Rugby Road." For many years, painting mainly involved celebratory sports scores until St. Patrick's

Day 1967, when the pattern of emblazoning Beta Bridge with messages, slogans and graffiti seemed to take off. Fans of the Irish holiday painted the bridge green, but rival supporters of the English throne painted over their work in red and wrote "God Save the Queen." The Irish patriots retaliated by replacing "Queen" with "Green."



#### Streaking the Lawn

**The Tradition:** Custom has it that before one takes a degree from the University, he or she is to run naked from the steps of the Rotunda down the 740-foot Lawn, kiss the statue of Homer, and streak back up the Lawn. One version says that streakers must then peer through the keyhole of the Rotunda toward the Galt statue of Jefferson and say "Good night evening Mr. Jefferson" before donning on their clothes.

**History:** From the pages of *College Topics*, October 1937: "At the Lewis boarding house last Thursday night some of the first-year men got terribly thirsty. So they all went down to the Corner in their pajamas. This was around 2 a.m. Evidently they had been thirsty

earlier in the night, but this is beside the point. When the over-jolly crowd got back to the Lewis' a couple of them forsook their pajamas and rushed pell-mell, Adam and Eve fashion up to their rooms. And to think that a nudist colony is in the making at Virginia. That's Jeffersonian Democracy for you."

In February 1974, the *Cavalier Daily* reported that naked students had been seen running on the Lawn and



in Alderman Library. On one memorable evening that same month, first-year students even staged a "mass streak" in the McCormick Road dormitory area, which included the University's first documented female streaker. The students failed in their attempt to set a world streaking record, but three people did manage to get arrested for disorderly conduct.

#### **School Colors: Orange and Blue**

**The Tradition:** Orange and blue are the University of

Virginia's official athletic colors.!

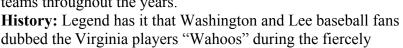
**History:** UVa athletic teams had previously worn **silver gray** and **cardinal red** (to honor the Confederacy), but those colors did not stand out on muddy football fields, prompting a student movement to change the school colors. One of the students attending the mass meeting was Allen Potts, a star athlete who played on Virginia's first football team in 1888. Potts showed up at the meeting wearing a navy blue-and-orange scarf that he had acquired during a summer boating expedition at Oxford University. Orange and blue were chosen as the official athletic colors after or



and blue were chosen as the official athletic colors after one of Potts's fellow students pulled the scarf off his neck and, waving it to the crowd, yelled, "How will this do?"

#### **University Nicknames**

The Tradition: Virginia's athletic teams have been accompanied by a somewhat confusing array of nicknames. The most prominent and widely accepted of these monikers are "Cavaliers," "Wahoos," and "Hoos," although "V-men," and "Old Dominion" also have been used to refer to UVa athletic teams throughout the years.





contested rivalry that existed between the two in-state schools in the 1890s. By 1940, "Wahoos" was in general use around Grounds to denote University students or events related to them. The abbreviated "Hoos" sprang up in student newspapers later on, and the term has gained popularity in recent years. In 1923, the college newspaper, *College Topics*, held a contest to choose an official alma mater and fight song. Although "The Cavalier Song," written by Lawrence Haywood Lee, Jr., Class of '24, failed to become part of University tradition, it inspired the nickname "Cavaliers."

#### **Cavalier Mascot**



**The Tradition:** The Cavalier performs with the UVa cheerleaders at all football and basketball (men's and women's) games, as well as various other University-related and athletic events. The Cavalier is selected from the student body through open tryouts.

History: In 1963, the University mascot became a bare-faced horseback-rider in Cavalier garb. Both the horse and the rider were furnished by the UVa Polo Club. However, the mounted Cavalier and his horse parted company in 1974, with the inception of AstroTurf at Scott Stadium. From 1974 to 1982, the Cavalier performed on foot. The 'Hoo, an orange-costumed mascot, made a brief appearance in 1983, but was not well received. The costumed Cavalier with a large character head debuted during the 1984 football season and has remained the official mascot off the University of Virginia ever since. The mounted Cavalier made its return during the 1989 Florida Citrus Bowl. Due to its instant popularity, the Cavalier on horseback returned the following season on a regular basis and continues to lead the Virginia football team onto the field at the beginning of all home games.

#### The Good Old Song and "Wa Hoo Wah"

**The Tradition:** "The Good Old Song," sung to the familiar tune of Auld Lang Syne," is UVa's unofficial alma mater. It is most frequently heard during home football games as Cavaliers stand and sway, arm-in-arm, singing "The Good Old Song" after each Virginia score and at the end of the game, win or lose. The song is also sung at numerous other UVa athletic events and University-related functions. "Wa-Hoo-Wah" is the University's unofficial fighting chant.

History: The Good Old Song was written in 1893. The author of the lyrics said it was a byproduct of a welcoming home of victorious football team and was the joint production of several students. The cheer "Wah-hoo-wah" was in vogue with the student body and was incorporated into the song. The origin of "Wah-hoo-wah" is uncertain. The cheer was used to root on Virginia teams as early as 1890, and it may have been borrowed from Dartmouth College, whose athletic teams were once known as the Indians. Legend attributes the yell to Natalie Floyd Otey, who sang the ballad "Where'er You Are, There Shall My Love Be" at Charlottesville's Levy Opera House in 1893. The predominantly student audience noticed that Otey warbled the first three of the song between each of the stanzas and decided to join in the refrain. By evening's end, goes the legend, the crowd had corrupted "Where'er You Are" into "Wah-Hoo-Wah."

#### Lighting of the Lawn

The Tradition: Every year around finals time, for one night in December, the University community gathers on the Lawn. A cappella groups will perform throughout the evening on the Rotunda steps and the celebration will culminate with the illumination of thousands of lights strung up on the Rotunda and Pavilions immediately following the reading of a humorous poem noting U.Va.-themed highlights of the year. Today, the event marks the ending of the fall semester and the start of the holiday season, and attracts nearly 7,000 community members. In keeping with the University's sustainability efforts, it is also an environmentally responsible event using low-energy LED lights, the majority of which were donated by Dominion Virginia Power in 2008.

**History:** The Lighting of the Lawn tradition began in 2001 as a way to bring the U.Va. community together in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

#### **Trick or Treating on the Lawn**

**The Tradition:** This event occurs on Halloween on the Lawn every year and is meant to provide an opportunity for the Charlottesville and University community to get together. Children are invited to wear costumes and take part in trick-or-treating at each of the 54 Lawn rooms. Candy is donated and distributed by more than 70 student groups and other organizations.

**History:** This tradition originated in the late 1980s and was initiated by students.

#### Vanished: The University's Lost Traditions

Adapted from Coy Barefoot's According to Custom and a Virginia Alumni News Story, Winter 2000

#### **First Year Hats**



Unlike the beanies seen on other university campuses throughout much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, first years at Virginia were encouraged to wear stylish felt or straw hats. Though it was considered an "unwritten rule," this custom was spelled out in the pages of the student newspaper each fall and again the following spring.

October 1921, *College Topics*: "From ancient times, First Year men at the University of Virginia have been expected to wear their hats outdoors consistently throughout their first year. You don't have to do it; absolute freedom of thought and action is one of the boasts of this institution. But you are expected to do it, and it is well to enter into the spirit of any school you attend." First years were meant

to tip or even remove their hats when passing a professor.

Why is it lost? Despite the efforts of upperclassmen, the first year hat tradition began to ebb in the late 1930s. By 1941, a reporter for the student newspaper observed: "This year the number of offenders, judging from the scarcity of hats to be seen on the Grounds, is greater than ever before." After WWII, the custom was put to rest. "Tradition should be flexible, one student observed in 1946. "It should adjust to changing conditions. The hat convention should be abandoned graciously, without hysteria." And so it was.

#### **Boxing and "Fight Night"**

At one time, boxing was known as "the major sport in Charlottesville." Boxing began informally among students in the years before the Civil War. Matches were held in UVa's gyms, including a round wooden building at the south end of the Lawn in 1891, and then Fayerweather Gymnasium when it opened in 1895. Under the leadership of a former Marine who coached at VMI and Washington and Lee, Cavalier boxing became a national powerhouse. When the sport



became an official varsity sport in 1927, as many as 5,000 fans would come to watch. When boxing moved to the Memorial Gymnasium, it held a tradition called "Fight Night." From *College Topics*, May 1940: "The boxing ring stood quiet and foreboding in the center of the large room. Its white canvas mat was splotched here and there with the dark stains of previous contests. There was a steady babble as young voices discussed the night's prospects. Tobacco smoke began rising towards the rafters...The balcony was overflowing as the band began feverishly tuning up. A rousing "Beer Barrel Polka" elevated the throng into an even higher state of excitement. Suddenly a deafening roar goes up from the crowd. All eyes are turned to the narrow entrance – the University's

boxing squad all clad in orange and blue. The applause continues and reaches a thunderous peak as the bright lights snap on and the overhead lights go off." **Why is it lost?** Boxing as a major college sport eventually succumbed to the criticism that it was too dangerous for student athletes (some called it "legalized murder"), and UVa eliminated the sport in 1955.

#### **Calathumps**

Raucous student behavior abounded from the University's founding years in the 1820s until the early 1860s, when the hardships of civil war sobered spirits on Grounds. During those first decades, despite repeated efforts by faculty and visitors to quell the uprisings, students insisted on "calathumps": late-night raids up and down the Lawn. Students hooted and hollered, fired off guns and noisemakers, broke windows, and generally disturbed the peace of the Academical Village. Ordinarily, they disguised themselves to avoid being punished. "Masked students paraded the grounds, fired their revolvers, and made night hideous to those who remained indoors and dangerous to those who ventured out," reported University librarian John S. Patton. Patton compared these raids to cowboys' drunken rampages and, attempting to explain such behavior within the academy, rationalized that "a calathump" was for students "the easiest and safest means of annoying professors whose 'walk and conversation' displeased."

#### Which significant University event was this practice connected to?

Calathumps were not always safe. It was during a calathump that law professor John A.G. Davis was fatally shot in 1840. This event sobered the calathumpers, to be sure, but the minutes of the Board of Visitors suggest that calathumps still went on for another two decades, even while student self-government was taking root.

#### **Dances in Fayerweather Hall**

When first built in 1893, Fayerweather Hall was a marvel of the South, with a 60,000-gallon indoor swimming pool and cantilevered inside track. The gymnasium, which now houses the Department of Art, also represented a new social space for students, who had previously held formal dances in the Rotunda library. In the 1920s, students promised not to drink alcoholic beverages after noon on the day of the dance. Those who attended a dance under the influence of liquor were subject to expulsion by the Honor



Committee and, in the words of the student newspaper, would "be classed with the cheat, the thief, or the liar."

On April 6, 1920, for example (a Tuesday night), students partied into the wee hours at the Eli Banana Sultana Cotillion. The balconies, walls, and ceiling of Fayerweather Gymnasium were decorated in peacock blue, with a cluster of bananas dangling from the ceiling and a sign spelling out "Eli Banana" in blue electric lights. The dances concluded

when members performed a "salaam" before their "queens"— those privileged young ladies whose escorts belonged to the Eli Banana Society.

#### The First "IMP Ball" (Probably)

Four nights later, on April 10, 1920, Fayerweather Hall had been redecorated to look like Hell—literally. "The interior of the building was shrouded in black with fantastically arranged flame-colored hangings, while scarlet lights made the scenic effect diabolically realistic," reported *College Topics*. Into that setting, announced by trumpeters, arrived the "royal cavalcade of King B-ski of the IMPs." A horse drawn barouche carried the "imperial chamberlain," dressed in ermines and a crown, which he passed on to his successor at the height of the evening.

#### The Co-Ed Room and Summer Pageants

Mary Jeffcot Hamblin, dean of women from 1927 to 1934, believed that the handful of women students at the University of Virginia deserved a special place of their own. "It was a miserable situation when I took over," she wrote. "Girls scattered here and there in out-of-the-way rooms, no common meeting place—not even restrooms, no place to even sit between classes!" She convinced University administrators to allocate \$5,000 to renovate a room in Hotel E, on the West Range, into a meeting place and lounge for women only. "The co-eds and I talked of what to call it," wrote Hamblin, "and agreed that 57 represented the varieties of students we had...so 57 West Range it became." Soon, it was called by another nickname, however, and the tradition of the Co-Ed Room was born. The room was open to all women through the day. Meetings of the Women Students Association, to which every female student automatically belonged, took place there in the evenings. From Monday through Friday, afternoon tea was served from 4:00 to 5:30, offering women an escape from the University's almost all-male environment. Housekeeper Betty Slaughter, nicknamed Betty Co-Ed, became the friendly embodiment of this feminine refuge on Grounds. She retired in 1960 after 33 years of service in the Co-Ed Room.

#### **Pageants**

From the 1890s into the 1920s, the fairer sex graced the Grounds in large numbers only during the summer months. Women came to Charlottesville to attend teacher institutes, established through the influence of President Alderman, who sought ways for the University to support public education. High points of those summers were the pageants, performances with thematic costumes and expressive dance presented outdoors, sometimes on the Rotunda steps, sometimes under the trellis near the newly built Cabell Hall

#### **Easters**



Until its controversial demise in the 1980s, students fondly claimed that a spring fling, timed to coordinate roughly with Easter and Thomas Jefferson's April 13 birthday, had been an unswerving University tradition almost as old as the Founder himself. Student publications of the 1940s traced Easters back to a "german" (formal dance) held in a Lawn pavilion in 1825. Into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, students presumed there would be three big social weekends over the year, with Easters the grand finale, complete with the arrival of "Easter girls" in large numbers. Names of fraternity members' dates, listed under the fraternities hosting them, filled the pages of the student newspaper before the parties began.

In 1935, a Wednesday night dance was hosted, kicking off a weekend that included a Friday night dance, a Saturday afternoon tea dance, and a Saturday night concert in Cabell Hall with live music. On those same nights, the Virginia Players performed its "Virginia Reel," an onstage parody of world and University events. Students and dates cheered the UVa baseball team through two games on Friday and Saturday. There was barely time to sleep. By the 1970s, containment and control of Easters became an administrative nightmare. Thousands attended street parties and mudslides in the Rugby Road neighborhood, coming from near and far to what was dubbed by *Playboy* as "the best party in the country." Crowds pressed body-to-body in the streets, making it impossible for fire trucks and emergency vehicles to reach the area when needed. In 1983, University officials decreed that no University funds, property, or personnel were to go into the celebrating of Easters, Openings, or Mid-Winters, and all three traditional party weekends faded into history.

#### **Secret Societies at UVa**

Robert Viccellio's Wrapped in Mystery, UVa Magazine: Spring 2012

#### History of Secret Societies and their Perception Over Time

One of the first student organizations on Grounds, the Jefferson Literary and Debating Society, began in July 1825 as a secret society, warning its initiates "not to divulge any of its proceedings, or anything that may occur in our Halls; everything seen, said or done shall be held in utmost secrecy, and any member guilty of a violation of this obligation shall be ignominiously expelled." The society, which quickly ceased to be secret, offered Thomas Jefferson an honorary membership. Because the Patrick Henry Literary Society also existed on Grounds, he politely declined the offer, wanting to be exempt "from all suspicion of partiality."

Jefferson was not unfamiliar with secret societies. He was a member of the F.H.C., established in 1750 and commonly known as the Flat Hat Club. "When I was a student of Wm. & Mary college of this state,

there existed a society called the F.H.C. society, confined to the number of six students only, of which I was a member, but it had no useful object, nor do I know whether it now exists," Jefferson wrote. Unruly student behavior was common during the University of Virginia's early years, and faculty feared that organized student groups, operating in relative secrecy, would make matters worse. "Faculties tended to see the earliest societies as evil threats to their authority and discipline," Clyde Johnson writes in *Fraternities in Our Colleges*.

While many of these societies certainly knew how to have a good time, their members also formed the leadership of more serious-



minded organizations, such as Student Council and the Honor Committee. In the 1960s, Dean B.F.D. Runk responded to critics of the ring and ribbon societies, saying that they were "looked upon with dignity and respect... and on the whole did a great deal of good for the University."

#### What is the importance of Secret Societies today?

For nearly a century, student societies had focused on three main areas: social pursuits, honoring outstanding members of the U.Va. community, and philanthropy. In the second half of the 20th century, new societies were formed that added a fourth element to those traditional emphases—activism in support of a specific cause. The prevalence of student societies also "plays upon the ever-present U.Va. theme of inclusion versus exclusion," writes Jennifer Mendelsohn (Col '90) in 1989. While concerns about the veil of relative secrecy and perceived exclusivity occasionally arise, Mendelsohn concludes, "They are an integral part of University life, inexorably linked to the web of tradition which gives this University such a strongly individual character."

For today's students, that mystique continues to contribute to the U.Va. experience. "The idea that there's something interwoven beneath the surface of the University's history that makes this a better place is very appealing to a lot of students—that there's more here than meets the eye," says Dan Morrison (Com '12), Student Council president. "Every group has its own flavor, culture and calling cards that come together to create a fun melting pot of drama and showmanship that you don't see anywhere else." The secrecy also adds to the University's mystique.

# Z



#### The Z Society

**Description:** Semi-secret ring society

Founded: Founded in 1892 as Zeta Ribbon Society

**History:** The Z Society, founded in 1892, is the oldest of the secret societies at UVa. Originally, the Z Society was founded as the Zeta Ribbon Society, in opposition to T.I.L.K.A and Eli Banana. The Zs have always been known for their big "Z" insignia with the number 3711 above or underneath. This number is not arbitrary; to the contrary, 3711 is the sum of the two years that the Zs hold most dear: 1819, the founding of UVa, and 1892, the founding of the Z Society.



**Activities:** The public does not learn the identity of a Z until the day of Final Exercises, when Z Society members wear rings with the "Z" logo. Historically, the Z Society has had a longstanding rivalry with the IMPs, due to the fact that the raucous IMPs did not approve of the tame behavior of the Zs. Also, when the Zs went completely secret in the 1970s, the IMPs became angry because that action made the Zs seem "more important" than the less secretive IMPs. Because of these tensions, Zs cannot be IMPs, and viceversa. Like the Seven Society, the Z Society is philanthropic. The Zs give sizable donations to the University, offer recognition to deserving students and faculty members, and fund a number of different scholarships and grants.



**IMP Society** 

**Description:** Ring society

Founded: 1902

**History:** The IMPs were originally known as the "Hot Feet," an

organization that came about in 1902, partially as a rival organization to the Z Society. Legend says that the IMPs found the Zs pretentious because they were known to only tip their hats to other members of the Z Society. The origin of the name "Hot Feet" is unknown, although it is known that the founding members selected the name after a 1902 trip to Mardi Gras. The Hot Feet dressed in devil uniforms, carried pitchforks, and stirred up a lot of trouble with their grandiose pranks. They were a raucous bunch, and, after an Easter 1911 prank which involved the sexual positioning of the preserved animals from Brooks Hall around Grounds, the University forced the Hot Feet to disband. The demise, however, was short lived because two years later, in 1913, students convened to create a similar organization called

Incarnate Memories Prevail, the modern IMPs.

Activities: Today's IMPs keep the memory of the Hot Feet sacred in many ways. In public, the IMPs still wear devil uniform and carry pitchfork, thereby revealing its membership; the IMPs still maintain a heated rivalry with the Zs; and, finally, the IMPs goal, like that of the Hot Feet, is to make the University community more fun. However, the differences are also manifold: the IMPs now have a philanthropic dimension that recognizes the positive efforts of members of the University community, the IMPs are now a ring society (although not a secret one), and IMP members wear their rings as soon as they are inducted. The IMPs also sponsor a transfer student party every fall, a faculty recognition dinner, and the IMP ball among other events.



## $\int_{\Omega}^{\infty}$

#### **Seven Society**

**Description:** Secret society

**Founded:** c. 1905; symbol first appeared in the 1905 Corks & Curls **History:** The origin of the Seven Society is a little fuzzy. History does disclose that the original "Sevens" were IMPs, and the first recorded instance of the Seven Society is from April 12, 1905.

**Activities:** The Seven Society is unquestionably the most secretive of the societies at the University of Virginia. The Seven Society does not reveal a member's identity until that member dies. Upon the death of a 'Seven,' four things occur:

- 1. A black Seven Society banner with white "7" appears at the funeral.
- 2. An obituary, indicating membership in the Seven Society, appears in the "Alumni News" section of *UVa Magazine*.
- 3. The death is announced in the Cavalier Daily.
- 4. The Chapel bells ring 7 times at 7 second intervals in the 7<sup>th</sup> dissonant chord on the day of the funeral. This eerie farewell is followed by an equally somber version of the "Good Old Song."

The Seven Society is highly philanthropic, and some notable contributions include:

- In 1915, the Seven Society contributed \$500.07 for a needy student fund.
- The "Aviator" Statue in the Clemons Library courtyard was a gift from the Seven Society in honor of James McConnell, a Seven Society member, who was shot down during World War I.
- In 1924, the Seven Society gave \$7.77 to fix a student's broken glasses.
- In the 1950s, the Seven Society contributed \$1000.77 for a stonemason to out a large "7" in the hill of Scott Stadium.
- In 1961, the Seven Society donated the University Mace to be used in official University processions. The Mace was meant "to symbolize the power and authority of the University."
- In 1977, the Seven Society contributed the commemorative plaque at Pavilion VII.

- Each Convocation, the Seven Society makes a contribution, in some denomination of "7," to the first-year class.
- During halftime of the final home football game of the 2008 season, a check for \$14,777.77 was delivered to the student body via a man hired to parachute from a low-flying plane.
- More recently, the Seven Society contributed \$1 million in support of the University's South Lawn Project.

#### **Notable members:**

- Frank Hereford and John Lloyd Newcomb, presidents of the University of Virginia
- Miss Mary Proffitt, secretary to the U.Va. presidents (1911-1953). She is the only female to be a known member of the Seven Society.
- Edward Stettinius, Secretary of State under Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman
- Walter Page, the florist who provided the black wreaths.
- Contrary to rumor, Robert F. Kennedy was not a member of the Seven Society, although a black wreath did appear at his funeral.
- Ravenell "Ricky" Keller III (Col '85), who died in 1997, is the first known African-American member.

#### 21 Society

**Description:** Semi-secret society

Founded: 1999

**History:** The 21 Society announced its existence on June 21, 1999, in 21 letters distributed to individuals and organizations around Grounds. The letters stated the society was founded to "to unify the politically active students of the University." **Activities:** Goals are to protect student self-government, including "the autonomy of the student judicial system" and promoting "activism among concerned members of the University community." Annually, the group recognizes 21 fourth-year students "for quietly serving this university, improving it in character and in name through persistent action." During a tour, feel free to point out the boxes of donated athletic equipment outside of lawn room 21 and in the McCormick Dorms quad as examples of secret society philanthropy.



**The Purple Shadows** 

**Description:** Secret society

Founded: 1963

**History:** The society presumably took its name from the "Remembering the purple shadows of the Lawn" line in James Hay Jr.'s 1903 poem "The Honor Men." The Purple Shadow's most infamous incident occurred in 1982, when they broke into Dean Cantavari's office and left a letter of scorn. Apparently, the Shadows were quite irate with the Dean's decision to cancel the popular Easters celebrations.

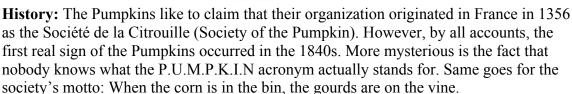
**Activities:** This secret society holds ceremonies throughout the year to commemorate the beauty and history of the University. For example, on April 13, Jefferson's birth—

affectionately known as Founder's Day—the Purple Shadows hold much pomp and circumstance in their purple robes and place a purple wreath at the foot of the Jefferson statue on the Lawn. In a letter written to a University Guides chair in the late 1980s, the Purple Shadows identified their two guiding tenets as support for the Honor System and encouraging activities that "enhance the University's tradition of excellence." The society recognizes members of the U.Va. community with a purple goose quill and with letters written in purple ink. As part of its staunch support of the Honor System, the group welcomes first-years to the community of trust with notecards at Convocation and presents the James Hay Jr. Award to the individual who has made the greatest contributions to the Honor System.

#### P.U.M.P.K.I.N Society

**Description:** Secret Society

Founded: c. 1967



**Activities:** Like the Purple Shadows, the darkly clothed "Pumpkins" have a marching ceremony every year, this time on Halloween. On October 31, the Pumpkins leave beautifully carved pumpkins, with an ornate *P*, for ten worthy students. The Pumpkins also leave a pumpkin for Carr's Hill, the Rotunda, and Monticello. In contrast to all the praise the Pumpkins give out, they also hand out the "E.B. Pendleton Award" to one student whom they think is totally overrated. The prize? A rotten, ugly gourd.



#### The Raven Society

Description: Honorary society Founded: April 20, 1904

Habitat: Room 13, West Range

**History:** The idea for the society came from William McCully James, a medical student who is also believed to have introduced lacrosse at U.Va. Joining with other students and faculty in 1904, James helped organize an academic honor society similar to Phi Beta Kappa, which was not established at the University until 1908. The first Ravens were chosen by a faculty committee that invited a dozen students to a special meeting concerning "a matter of grave importance to both students and faculty." The origin of the name comes from Edgar Allan Poe's famous poem "The Raven."

**Activities:** The Society is responsible for the upkeep of Poe's room and once per semester they contact third-years, fourth-years and graduate students that are in the highest GPA percentile of their class. The Ravens likewise have a ball every spring semester, and their membership and alumni represent some of the most accomplished faculty, alumni, and staff of the university.

#### Eli Banana and T.I.L.K.A

**Description:** Ribbon societies **Founded:** 1878 and 1889,

respectively

**History:** These two groups were actually ribbon societies (in truth, just a special name for drinking societies), which meant members designated their participation through ribbons worn on their lapels. Eli Banana was adapted from a Japanese secret society, and TILKA is a supposed acronym for five important Hindu words for power. For many years, these two societies consisted of the "in-group" of the University community, and, inevitably, a friendly rivalry developed. Furthermore, in the beginning, TILKA's membership was not only specific to the "cool kids", but, more specifically, the cool frat guys. In reaction to this, the Z Society is said to have formed and embraced the idea of including members outside of fraternity circles.



#### The Sons and Daughters of Liberty!



**Description:** Semi-secret society

Founded: 2003

**History:** The group's original name, Sons of Liberty, was changed to Sons

and Daughters in 2011.

Activities: The sons and daughters, when seen in public, dress in Colonial outfits and wear white masks. They are most commonly known for their list of "Tyrants and Rebels" posted every year around Grounds, and their relatively annual public appearances on Jefferson's birthday. It is believed that at the end of every year they have a secret Gala to which only the most "libertorious" souls on Grounds are invited. Their membership is kept secret until graduation when members wear Tricorn hats instead of the traditional graduation caps.

#### A.N.G.E.L.S.!

**Description:** Secret society

Founded: 1998

**Activities:** Letters of support and white roses are given to students who are in need or grieving. The group similarly recognizes noble acts and commemorates Founder's Day by placing white roses on the angels surrounding the Jefferson statue in front of the Rotunda's north steps.



#### **Yellow Journal**

The Yellow Journal is a secretly distributed publication at the University whose writers are able to join by invitation only. The publication is written in satire, and pokes fun at various UVA institutions.

#### **On Your Tour**

There are several places you can talk about Secret Societies. On an admissions tour, outside of Clark is a great location because the markings for the three major societies are

easily visible. On a historical tour, talking about the Galt statue of Thomas Jefferson as a secret society mailbox is one location, and the Seven Society plaque at Pavilion VII is another. When talking about secret societies, make sure to stress that it not only keeps UVa connected with its history, which makes student life unique, but it provides a sense of community pride through philanthropy.

#### The Development of Greek Life at UVa

"Greek" organizations have been a substantial part of the University of Virginia for over 150 years, often dominating student life, and, occasionally, disrupting it. The development of Greek Life is important to UVa historically because it illustrates a system that started out as a white male tradition, but went through changes that paralleled the University's changes as a whole in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely the introduction of African-Americans, women, and greater discipline.

#### Chronology

**1825:** The first fraternal society, The Jefferson Literary and Debating society, was formed.

**1852:** The first fraternity, Delta Kappa Epsilon, petitioned for faculty approval.

**1899:** Delta Kappa Epsilon built the first house on 14<sup>th</sup> street

**1925:** University women founded the Women's Self-Government Association.

1928: The first sorority, Chi Omega, was founded.

**1947:** President Darden assumes office and pledges greater discipline of the fraternities

**1969**: The Student Committee on Fraternities publishes a pledge against racism within the Greek system. Five African American students join fraternities.

**1970:** Several houses created a mudslide in Mad Bowl during Easters, beginning the Easters tradition and reviving the Greek system.

**1973:** The first separate black fraternities were formed (Omega Psi Phi and Delta Sigma Theta)

#### What were the origins of the first fraternal societies at UVa?

Fraternal organizations, in general, date back to the very beginnings of the University. The first such fraternal society, The Jefferson Literary and Debating Society (1825), provided a forum for debate, a bit of order in the midst of chaos. The "chaos" of the University is well documented. According to Professor George Long, "The beginning of the University of Virginia was very bad. There were some excellent young men, and some of the worst I ever knew…" Indeed, drinking, gambling, rioting, and general

violence began characterized the early University of Virginia. The Jefferson Society, in a way, offered students sanctuary from this maelstrom, at least until debate ended.

#### Why was the first fraternity formed, and what was it?

In 1852, two students, Abrahams and Rogers, petitioned the faculty for approval of Delta Kappa Epsilon. Initially, they failed to adequately specify the nature and activities of the proposed organization, and their request was, at first, rejected. The members met anyway, and the refusal was soon recalled, making DKE the first Virginia fraternity. Hillary A. Herbert, member of DKE from 1854-1856, and later Secretary of the Navy for Grover Cleveland, remembered both debates and literary discussions as activities of the society. "We strove to keep up a high standard," he recalled, "requiring always both character and scholarship for admission." Other fraternities soon followed, and by the Civil War eleven existed. For these early fraternities, the place of meeting was kept secret, and gatherings were held after dark.

#### How did the Civil War affect the Greek system?

Only those wounded or too young to fight remained at the University during these years. During the initial phases of post-war Reconstruction, however, the University experienced high enrollment, which steadily declined throughout the rest of the century. This initial boom, however, also saw a revival of the fraternity system. Delta Kappa Epsilon, the University's first fraternity, was also the first to reappear, and all members but one were former soldiers or officers in the Confederate Army.

#### The Rise of Sororities

Although women were not admitted to the College of Arts and Sciences until 1970, women dominated the Nursing and Education schools of the University long before 1970. In 1925, some of these University women founded the Women's Self-Government Association. Chi Omega followed three years later, and Kappa Delta was established in 1932.

#### When did the Greek system start experiencing criticism, and why?

By the late 1940s, the Greek system was facing heavy criticism from both students and administration. When President Darden assumed office in 1947, he pledged support to greater discipline of the fraternities, and he sought to create more equitable opportunities for non-fraternity men. There was even a rumor, which Darden denied, that he planned to abolish the system altogether. Though this proved unfounded, Darden did support a ban on first-year rushing, and, on some occasions, he spoke strongly against the fraternities. In his 1948-1949 report to the Board of Visitors, Darden further argued that "the university had suffered too often in the past from the activities of a group of fraternities and sororities dedicated primarily and sometimes exclusively to the outward and visible signs of social distinction."

Though students countered Darden's initiatives with protestations of self-governance and the Jeffersonian tradition, the Inter-Fraternity Council soon took its own steps towards reforming the system. It drafted guidelines for governing the presence of women at parties, and it held officers of the fraternity responsible for their infringement. By the 1960s, criticism had heightened even further, and, now, it came

from all directions, both student and administration. In 1968, Robert B. Cullen, editor of the *Cavalier Daily*, called the Greek system "a slowly dying anachronism."

#### What effect did the integration of African Americans have?

The University's new racial composition only added to the tension, and, in 1969, the Student Committee on Fraternities published a pledge against racism within the Greek system. Bid Day that year included five African-American students. Soon, separate black fraternities and sororities were founded, beginning with Omega Psi Phi and Delta Sigma Theta in 1973.

#### What is the legacy of the Greek system today?

As the 1970s approached, the fraternity system was often characterized as inevitably declining. Stephen T. Jacobs, of the Committee on Fraternities, published his observations of the fraternity system in the 1970 issue of *Corks and Curls*. It read, "There are some wild and erroneous charges, but a substantial portion of the attacks are true. There are fraternities that would never pledge a black, that brutally haze pledges, and that treat the rushes they don't like inhumanely. But there are fraternities who spend a good deal of time helping the underprivileged of the community, constructively aiding members in academic and personal trouble, and supporting worthwhile University activities." In his conclusion, he called for "individual houses [to] refuse to tolerate the unethical acts of certain fraternities." Greek life today remains a substantial part of student life at the University of Virginia, with about 30% of students participating.





Did the shooting of John Davis create the Honor System?

Despite oral myth, the Honor Code was not created as a reaction to this event. However, it can be seen as a turning point in student-professor relationships, and has also been called the first meeting of the Community of Trust. A close reading of the faculty minutes from those years, in addition to student letters and diaries, does not reveal any connection between the murder and the Honor Code's inception (except that Davis' replacement proposed the pledge).

In the early years of the University, Jefferson recruited professors from Europe who wasted little time in establishing their own notions of proper conduct and enforcing rigid discipline. In this suppressed atmosphere a rebellious state of war developed between the students and faculty, culminating in the tragic death of John Davis on November 12, 1840. After the shooting, students began to gather in small groups in their Lawn rooms to discuss the incident, to identify the person possessing the gun and theoretically, to search for a means by which they might govern themselves. A coalition of students formed and eventually turned in Davis' murderer after he did not come forward himself. This was a student initiative and the first true example of the University community coming together to guard against the actions of another in the community.

#### When was the first documented case of a student invoking Honor?

In November of 1836, a rebellion of the Student Military Company occurred. The 63 members, enraged by an effort to get the group to turn over its guns, rioted for three days until the state militia took control of the Grounds. During the revolt, the students sent word to the faculty that "every member of the company pledges his honor to stand by his comrades."

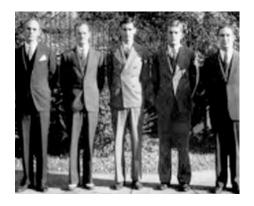
Who is responsible for the official creation of the Honor Code, and why? The creation of the Honor Code is attributed to Professor Henry St. George Tucker. On July 4, 1842, in an effort to ease the tension between students and faculty and in response to several allegations of cheating, Tucker offered the following resolution as a gesture of confidence in the students: "Resolved, that in all future examinations, each candidate shall attach to the written answers: I, A.B., do hereby certify on my honor that I have derived no assistance during the time of this examination from any source whatsoever."

Though the adoption of Mr. Tucker's resolution did not immediately establish the Honor System, the resolution did serve "to dissociate the idea of honor from the duel, and to associate it with truth...recognizing that what a university specifically honors is truth, and truth is not reached through lying or cheating" (1952). Following the Civil War, the Honor System experienced a period of great strength and became romantically tied to the

concept of the Southern gentleman, which extended to all aspects of student life. Men were expelled for cheating at cards, insulting ladies, and defaulting on payments of debts. During this period, no formal accusatory procedure existed—Honor violations were handled by a small group of students or the student body as a whole.

#### When was the first recorded expulsion?

In 1851, medical student F.S.F. Peete was found guilty and expelled by an all-faculty committee for leaving an exam room and consulting textbooks.



#### How did the Honor Code evolve?

In the wake of the Progressive Movement and an expanded University, the Honor System moved through a phase of agitated change. The System faced pressure to expand its scope to embrace all cases of student misconduct. As student attitudes changed, the Honor System's emphasis likewise "shifted from honor to honesty," thereby disentangling further the idea of honor from that of chivalry. Formal rules of procedure were also codified during this time, resulting in the thorough, orderly investigation of

violations. The recognition that accused students have certain rights, by analogy to due process rights in the Constitution, was widely seen as a giant step forward for the Honor System. In 1938, student leaders ruled the women would not be allowed to serve on the Honor Committee, despite repeated appeals by female students in the School of Education. This policy was overturned during the 1970s after women were finally admitted to the College of Arts and Sciences.

In the 1940s the use of closed trials became more popular to protect the rights of the accused, but with this the need arose to inform students about the workings of the System to promote open discussion and transparency. The Honor Committee kept the students well informed through student publications, and the confidential System experienced a period of wide acceptance.

#### How did the increasingly diverse student body impact the Honor System?

In 1956, nursing students voted by referendum to join the University Honor System, and they were represented on the all-male Honor Committee by the medical school representative. In March of 1967, a *Cavalier Daily* editorial read in part, "we do not know whether the spirit [of honor] can thrive in the University of tomorrow, so large and so diverse and so wrapped up in the exigencies of the modern world." In 1986, the incoming Honor Chair reported to the Board of Visitors that the primary cause of difficulty with the Honor System was the increasing diversity of the student body. The chairman said that "non-mainstream students had become primary targets for honor investigations. Athletes, particularly black athletes, were investigated at a significantly higher rate than students in other categories."

In 1999, after an extensive investigation, the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights determined that the Honor System did not violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

#### How was student self governance solidified?

In 1972, for the first of several times, the majority of voting students upheld the single sanction. In 1977, the student body ratified a written constitution for the Honor Committee. Never before had the Committee worked under the constraints of a written constitution that could only be changed with the approval of the students. The student body was also accorded the right to change the Honor System directly or override the will of the Honor Committee by popular referendum.

#### What were the major changes made in the 1980s?

- 1. 1980: A referendum was passed that gave accused students the right to choose a trial panel of randomly selected students and elected officers.
- 2. 1984: The criterion of reprehensibility was changed to a criterion of seriousness, which eliminated consideration of extenuating circumstances in Honor cases. The Honor Educator and Honor Counsel programs were also created to ensure that students going to trial have competent student counsel, and to make sure Honor awareness was promoted within the community.
- 3. 1988: An investigative panel was created to serve as a check on the thoroughness of investigations and a screen for cases which did not meet the requirements for an accusation.

#### What were the major changes made in the 1990s?

- 1. 1990: The passage of a referendum added the option for the accused to have a panel of *all* randomly selected students.
- 2. 1997: The passage of a referendum determined that there should be two votes in an Honor trial. The first vote considers act and intent, and if the vote on act and intent is that of guilt, then a second vote is taken on seriously (which was been updated to **triviality** in 2005). If the majority of the jury votes that the offense is not trivial, then the accused student is found guilty.

#### What were the major changes made in the 2000s?

- 1. 2010: Committee introduced the "Official Summary" to be written at the end of every trial and published to the public in order to increase transparency while maintaining proper confidentiality.
- 2. 2011: The criterion of intent was changed to **knowledge** and triviality was changed to **significance** to facilitate juror comprehension and to make the criteria more comprehensive and accessible.
- 3. 2013: The "Informed Retraction" is added through student referendum, which allows accused students to admit guilt and take a one-year leave of absence from the Community of Trust.

#### How likely are community members to report a violation?

In 2001, using a computer program he wrote to detect plagiarism, UVa physics professor Louis Bloomfield discovered that the term papers of 157 of this students had suspicious similarities. Bloomfield later called the honor cases "time sinks" leading to "careericide."

This same year, a survey underscored the challenge of student involvement. Of the students who said they were aware of an actual honor violation, 95.4% said they did not report it or initiate charges. In a recent survey of faculty, only 27.6% said that they took action through the Honor System. The majority preferred other means of handling an incident, ranging from discussing it with the student to academic censure, such as giving a failing grade.

#### The Troubling Side of Tradition

This adapted section from Emily Stover's thesis about the University Guide Service is meant to delineate the complex job we do as both the historical interpreters and ambassadors of UVa, and the possible pitfalls that come with this responsibility.'

On both Admissions and Historical tours, Guides often have to allow paradoxical narratives of progress and tradition to coexist. Traditional southern values are represented as the foundation of a community that is said to have progressed beyond the struggles of racism and integration. Guides should know how to explain the importance of tradition at the University, while also recognizing that the origins of some traditions represent values that we do not hold today. UVa has certainly made a lot of progress since the first small class of southern, aristocratic white males, including the successful integration of African-Americans and women. But it is important to note that numbers such as the statistic of modern African-American graduation rates or the current percentage of women do not represent the end of a story, but rather landmarks in a process that continues today.

#### The University: Progressive

Based on the original class of students, it is obvious that on the surface Jefferson failed to create a school where the smartest, not the wealthiest, young white men went to shape their futures. However, mentioning the University's lack of diversity at the time or its use of slaves during construction and the early years is often used by Guides as a reference point for demonstrating how far the community has progressed in the race to meet Jefferson's ideals of equality and meritocracy. There have been many points of progress in the history of African-Americans at UVa: the enrollment of Gregory Swanson in 1950, the push for larger enrollment in 1969, and now (UVa has the highest graduation rate for African-Americans of any public University). Each of these points help weave together a picture of a progressive community, but should not be used to characterize a post-racial time where we can be entirely distinct from our roots. A crucial part of being both a steward of history and an interpreter of the present is recognizing the role that our origins play in who we are today.

#### The University: Traditional

Progress is often highlighted by referring to specific portions of UVa's less than honorable history regarding slavery and racism, but history is also used to present UVa as a community with a strong sense of tradition that binds our members together. One of the main reasons why history and tradition play such an important role in binding the community together is because UVa is seen as a persisting historical community that still upholds the values espoused by Jefferson. Our founder himself is known paradoxically as both a revolutionary and a man of his time, and the University must deal with this complex legacy today. Guides must cope with this because emphasizing the role of

tradition in daily life raises questions about how a community can be living the historical southern values that perpetuated racism and self-separation, and simultaneously fighting them in an effort to be more progressive.

#### **Origins of Southern Honor**

The concept of honor itself has deep roots in southern history that still invisibly pervade the Honor Code at UVa today. According to Edward Ayers, honor was "a system of values within which you have exactly as much worth as others confer upon you. Women, children, and slaves had no honor." The southern system, in comparison to the north, was heavily dependent on the existence of slavery because it "dishonored all members of one class and bestowed honor on another [white men]...the poorest free person took pride in the fact that he was not a slave." Therefore, southern honor was associated with, if not totally reliant on, racism, yet these racist origins often go unnoticed at UVA today. In recent years the Honor Committee has explained its origins in relation to student self-governance, with students banding together after the death of a professor to police themselves. Instead of relying on this narrative (which is not historically accurate), we must recognize that the modern Code is distinct from its possibly prejudiced origins, even though the Code was probably implemented in order to encourage more gentlemanly behavior.

#### **Origins of the Greek System**

The distinct southern Greek tradition is indeed associated with many traditional southern values, and this association can be evidence in aspects of Greek life from dress code to parody. A UVA student magazine known as the *Spectator* published joke fraternity applications in its November 1954 issue, which requested lists like an applicant's country club memberships or when the applicant's family had first settled in Virginia. Both applications emphasize the ideal of a wealthy, white plantation owner as a southern fraternity brother's ancestor, according to Zengerle, an anthropologist. To distinguish the present from these roots, tours place emphasis on the diversity of Greek organizations by listing the addition of multicultural or honors Greek councils as a supplement to the Inter-Sorority and Inter-Fraternity Council, which are often unlabeled and portrayed as the default option. While it is crucial to emphasize resources that are inclusive to all potential tourists, portraying the other Greek council only as alternative options implies that a traditional hierarchy still exists on Grounds just beneath the surface.

#### **Guys in Ties, Girls in Pearls**

The traditional dress code for men at UVa historically was that of a southern gentleman, and typically included a somewhat formal suit, which is what many "Guys in Ties" sport at football games today. This dress code was supposed to emphasize the idea that the first students at the University had "almost invariably the manners of gentlemen," which excluded both women and minorities, according to Professor Hitchcock. When giving

tours, Guides recognize that this tradition can be exclusive because of either its southern origins or the socioeconomic status formal attire implies, and often mention the 'Sea of Orange' movement as an alternative. Today, we can see these competing movements as a fun way to provide variety and for students to express their individuality.

#### The Rotunda as a Museum versus the Rotunda as a Hub for Student Life

On both historical and admissions tours, Guides will often reference the Lawn's long, continuous history as an active part of the school, as Jefferson envisioned. Guides emphasize that professors still live in the Pavilions and students still live on the Lawn, which means the Rotunda is not a museum but rather the focal point of student life. But time is also spent discussing the Academical Village as a UNESCO World Heritage site, which is steeped in history. Therefore, the Rotunda is represented as a space that is simultaneously historical and progressive. However, we know that many current students have never been inside of the Rotunda, and the constant influx of tourists and events in the Dome Room make the space seem unsuitable for long periods of concentration (even though it is supposedly a study space). Guests are allowed to step inside rooms, but further movement is impeded by ropes and signs are placed asking people to refrain from touching objects. Also, Guides have used the Board of Visitors as an example of a contemporary group that uses the Rotunda as much now as they have historically. But when they are meeting several armed guards patrol the building and many rooms remain roped off. Under the surface this implies a sense that some groups maintain more access to the space than others, which seems counterintuitive to the Jeffersonian ideal of equality in using the space for the acquisition of knowledge.

#### Implications of this Paradoxical Representation of UVa

According to Stover, the problem with this representation is that it allows community members and visitors to gloss over topics such as slavery and the challenges of integration for both African Americans and women. Any emphasis placed on tradition is often reframed or downplayed so that it safely promotes old southern values without addressing their possibly racist origins. For example, UVA Greek life is depicted as more laid back and relaxed than it might be at other southern schools; therefore it is disassociated from its original and controversial origins as a part of the traditional, southern white hierarchy. Once University traditions have been tamed so that they are untainted by questionable values, historical failures such as late integration or the ownership of slaves also become simple reference points for progress in order to preserve the University's traditional yet progressive image. Many tours mention Gregory Swanson, the first African-American student to enroll at UVA, but his story is often shared as an example of how far the school has come rather than as a cautionary tale of how difficult the integration process was and is. Therefore, the paradoxical representation of UVA is problematic because it allows the University to employ its history in a selective manner while sweeping underlying issues aside in the name of progress.