The Making of Martial Minds: The American Collegiate Experience and its Influences on Students and Administrators during the First World War, 1870-1918.



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Acknowledgements

Some things old,
My family, not the least of which my mother, who hath given her all to enable my continual pursuit of knowledge in the face of a great and many hardships over the turning years. There was no burden too heavy, no mile too far, and no price too great that she would not carry, travel, or pay for my success. I only pray she knows my love for her is similarly unbounded.

M.D. Brooks, L.M. Weaver, and JAT H-B. Gentlemen are these brothers each. Solid as oak and possessors of all things good and true who have, time and again, given their energies and ever-reaching counsel on the topics of Life, Love, and Longing. Where would I yet be without them?

Some thing new,
Amelia, my dearest love. An architect of my heart. With the gentleness of Christ, she hath re-built me in the moments of tumult, loved me with patience and filled me with joy, renewed and strengthened me to continue the conquest of my own, once insurmountable mountains. In moments of peace and times of trial, there is none other I'd choose to sail the swift rolling seasons. Love is too meager a word for the ways I feel for her.

Some things barrowed,
The generous munificence of Mr. Jack Kent Cooke and the Foundation he endowed to continue good works in his absence. Throughout three degrees and more than eight years of higher education, they have shown their upmost belief in me and my academic journey. It is through their treasure, unrestrained and freely-given, that I have operated with no unanswered need at both Cornell and Oxford. One cannot put a price on the experiences that they have enabled.

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Some things blue,
The golden lives and gleaming memories of those that I have lost over the course of my academic journey.

Herman R. Owens, my Papa — *Rose Owens, my Granny*

Marty L. Owens, my Father — *Florence Pollard, my Grandmother*

Their mortal bodies may not have seen Oxford, but their spirits have remained beside me all the while. On another, more perfect shore they wait to receive me. Age and time do not attend them; pain and sadness are but emotions that have passed away. Their absence is a weight heavy on my heart and a constant reminder that time is forever fleeting. I shall never forget that I stand on the shoulders of giants.

To these I am thankful; to these I am indebted.

Dedication

John Butler,

You gave your life in the Meuse-Argonne for those you never knew. Little did you know that a century later your words and writings would start a journey that would lead a curious, young collegian to seek out the memories of an entire generation of student-soldiers. Many times, I have wondered why? Why had I been the one to hold your letters and flip through their pages? The one to open your wallet and cry over its contents? To weather multiple French winters to visit your grave? Why me? Was there not someone whose skills were more properly suited to doing your story justice?

It nevertheless fell to me. This dissertation is the product of a journey which your archives at Cornell started nearly eight years ago. I dedicate it to you, John Butler, to you and your fellow doughboys who gave their tomorrows for our todays. I only pray that I have done justice to you all in this act of remembrance.

Lest we forget.

"What if he does not come, you say?
Ah, Well! My sky would be more gray.
But through the clouds the sun would shine
And vital memories be mine.
God's best of manhood is, I know
Not 'will he come,' but 'did he go.'"[1]

Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus – Quae retribuit mihi pro omnibus – Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo – Dominus me huc usque adduxit et ei gratias ago Benedicamus Domino!

[1] James W. D. Seymour, ed., *Memorial Volume of the American Field Service in France, "Friends of France," 1914-1917* (Boston, Massachusetts: American Field Service, 1921), 215.

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Shortform Abstract

The First World War had profound impacts on all facets of American life, significantly redefining the relationship between citizens and their service to the nation. American higher education undertook a more active and defining role on both the American homefront and the European battlefront than has been previously presented by scholars. Dramatically expanding its service-oriented mission by unrestrainedly devoting its talents, treasure, facilities, and students to the national war effort, American colleges and universities proved themselves to be a useful resource to the nation during moments of national crisis. This dissertation argues: (1) that American colleges and universities were martial spaces long before the First World War; (2) that college undergraduates and alumni played a much larger role in defying American non-neutrality and influencing interventionism through overseas volunteerism than has been examined; and (3) that the American Government found in *the collegiate*—the students, alumni, faculty, and administrative staff of American colleges and universities—an ample population of citizens eager and ready for war. There was no more common term on the Collegiate Era campus than *do something*. An extreme devotion to one's college, characterized by an immense pressure to prove one's merit through selfless acts which conferred distinction upon *alma mater*, *doing something* pervaded all aspects of collegiate life. Collegiate ideas of service and voluntarism came together during the First World War to produce a uniquely collegiate response in which students gave their time, treasure, and lives to *do something* for their nation—their collegiate nation. While filling a gap in the historiography of American higher education, this dissertation presents important implications for the broader American First World War experience and the history of collegiate-government cooperation that continues to this day. Higher education, rather than passively standing by from 1914 to 1918, was an active and willing participant.

Longform Abstract

The First World War had profound impacts on all facets of American life, significantly redefining the relationship between citizens and their service to the nation. During the War, American higher education dramatically expanded its service-oriented mission by unrestrainedly devoting its talents, treasure, facilities, and students to the national war effort, proving itself a useful resource to the nation during moments of national crisis. Though much has been written on higher education's involvement in the Second World War, historians have yet to fully examine the formative events which led to the successful cooperation between the federal government and America's colleges from 1941 to 1945. Indeed, many historians of American higher education neglect discussion of the First World War entirely, overlooking the wartime experiences of *the collegiate*—the students, alumni, faculty, and administrative staff of American colleges and universities— and the ways those experiences shaped both higher education and the broader American war effort. By contrast, scholarship on the role of English and German institutions during the War—such as John Taylor's *The Impact of the First World War on British Universities* (2018) or Andrea Wettmann's *Heimatfront Universität* (2000)—has framed the Great War as a foundational moment in higher education's relationship with national governments, not merely a temporary interruption to academic life. More concerning still, despite an abundance of collegiate records and honor rolls cumulatively documenting a great many thousands of students who took active roles throughout the War's duration and enumerating some ten thousand more who perished, discussions of student experiences during the War are at times dismissive, with some historians claiming that students largely avoided the conflict.

With such a disjointed historiography, what *was* the wartime experience of American higher education? More specifically, what role did *the collegiate* undertake during the War? Archives abound with evidence of *the collegiate's* deep engagement with the War, yet such

has received little attention from recent historians. Given such a remarkable level of participation, is it possible that the collegiate lifestyle—characterized by its emphasis on violent sport, ruthless competition, and almost fanatical loyalty to *alma mater*—conditioned collegians for wartime service in way pervious scholars have not acknowledged? How did such emphatic participation influence the broader Great War experience for the American nation? This dissertation attempts to answer these questions by undertaking an extensive examination of the ways collegiate life on American college and university campuses from 1880 to 1918 influenced collegiate involvement in the First World War.

Part One*, Doing Something, The Collegiate Era, 1880-1914*, argues that American colleges and universities were already distinctly martial spaces well before the First World War. There was no more common term on the Collegiate Era campus than *do something*. An extreme devotion to one's college, characterized by an immense pressure to prove one's merit through selfless acts which conferred distinction upon *alma mater* and thereby obtained the pride of one's friends, *doing something* pervaded all aspects of collegiate life. Such a powerful idea of service informed everything a collegian did; from the moment a student stepped foot upon the campus they entered a remarkably martial environment as entering freshmen, staunch sophomores, and godly upperclassmen vied to do the most for *alma mater*. Collegians could be the sports hero, the ruthless businessman, and the polished gentleman all at once: they could engage in skirmishes on the ice, enact strategy in student politics, and fight pitched battles on the college gridiron. The Collegiate Era campus contained an innumerable number of fraternities, societies, clubs, organizations, varsity teams, student publications, vocal groups, brass bands, orchestras, and volunteer opportunities with which a student might have *done something*. At its very foundation, *do something* was the service of an individual student to the university as a collective. Much like how service would later be presented to the American public during the War, the duty to bring honor to one's *alma mater*

was an obligatory duty in which students exercised their autonomy and initiative by choosing what areas of the collegiate lifestyle they engaged with to best serve it.

A war-like sporting culture only further cemented martial temperaments among students. Because of this, the War would manifest itself as a much larger football game for many students and alumni, a continuation of the fervent loyalties and quick adrenaline instincts they had cultivated in their collegiate years. Student letters from the time are littered with sports terms and references to big games, collegiate rivalries, and familiar football songs. For a generation of students continually questioning their own courage, wondering if they would be able to show the same bravery as the generations before them, their attempts to enact their own battles on gridiron and in the rink would serve as beneficial practice for them and their nation when Europe erupted in war. With selfless and heroic images of their fathers and grandfathers looming in their minds, the peer pressure of an urgent need to *do something*, and the martial temperament of the playing fields, students felt compelled to fight. The climax of collegiate manhood, war offered a chance to prove oneself in an athletic arena much larger than the gridiron and to *do something* for an organization larger than the fraternity or the college team.

Part 2, *Martial Minds at War, Student Volunteerism and Enlistment, 1914-18*, covers the war period in which students' intense loyalty to their *alma mater*—formed during the preceding fifty years—was co-opted and transmuted into a larger loyalty to the nation through service with humanitarian aid organizations, foreign armies, and the American armed forces. Here it is argued that collegiate alumni and undergraduates played a much larger role in defying American non-neutrality and influencing interventionism through overseas volunteerism than has heretofore been understood. Far from being the lackadaisical loafers, inattentive to events occurring outside of their ivy-covered college gates, that they are often presented as, students were acutely aware of world events and eagerly devoted their energy to

pro-interventionist convictions. When war came to demand the unconditional cooperation of the nation, and its citizens, industries, and institutions were expected to devote the entirety of their efforts to absolute victory, the American Government found in *the collegiate* an ample population of citizens eager and ready for war.

Ideals of voluntarism and service reached their climax during World War One, offering American citizens opportunities to willingly volunteer their services to the nation. Such service may have been a new obligation of American citizenship, but it was not without links to duties and obligations that were not altogether new for college students. The Collegiate Era coincided with the professionalization of American industry and governance. Traditional outlets from which institutional and bureaucratic systems drew their employment—the church, a landed gentry, or professional organizations—came to be replaced by experts from colleges and universities. Collegiate administrators believed that their institutions, long dedicated to the cultivation of moral, intellectual, and social attributes necessary to graduate well-informed and civil citizens, were in the best position to fill this need. By training students in the best methods to steward and revise professional reforms—and then providing civil governments with access to those students—universities could define national credentials and set standards for professionalism by. By providing legislative advice, definitive research, and educated civil servants, higher education ensured that only its students could obtain the best knowledge necessary for local, state, and national service.

Volunteerism was a similarly well-known and long-practiced activity on college campuses. Christopher Capozzola has argued in *Uncle Sam Wants You* (2008) that American society devolved into a "culture of coercive voluntarism" during the War. When Capozzola wrote that lending a hand for the war effort was "not just a good deed but a duty," he could have just as easily said the same about lending a hand to cheering on the football team, writing for the student newspaper, or taking a part in the spring review. Once again,

collegians were already familiar with the concepts that would come to grip the American conscious during the War. The collegiate lifestyle fostered a similar "culture of coercive volunteerism" within an environment replicating, often more exaggeratedly, the intense competition that awaited students in outside society. The things one did to bring honor to one's institution one did voluntarily, but voluntary only in the sense that the alternative was inconsiderable. Though not so serious as requiring vigilante justice for those who shirked their duty or were suspected traitors, the prospect of a social death often sufficed to motivate young men concerned with their reputation. One had to fight to prove his worth; by struggling one showed that they truly cared. To not give one's voluntary service to *alma mater* would relegate students to four years of social exclusion as a "boob," a "grind," or, in a word that would take on a whole new meaning during the War, a "slacker."

Collegiate ideas of service and voluntarism came together during the First World War to produce a uniquely collegiate response. David M. Kennedy, author of *Over Here, The First World War and American Society* (1980), has stated that the implementation of military training camps on college campuses turned American colleges into "a vast network of pre-induction centers." While military training was an important means of marrying the warlike environment of the college to the martial means of the nation, this dissertation argues that students were self-inducting long before 1917. While the federal government urged neutrality, *the collegiate* acted anything but. As early as 1915, students and faculty pressed their college administrations for organized drill and, when the government was unable to detach US Army officers, administrations hired knowledgeable, and certainly un-neutral, French, Canadian, and British officers. And, when the United States Government turned to propaganda in late 1917 to convince the masses of the War's importance, college students needed no such propaganda, they had been agitating for American intervention and preparedness since August 1914. Indeed, when America declared war, students left the colleges en masse to such

a degree that General Pershing asked administrators to tell their studentships to refrain from enlisting.

More fundamentally, thousands of collegians were already prominent actors over there before they began flocking to the armed forces following America's declaration of war. Three years ahead of the AEF's arrival on the European continent, America's first organized combatants were college-men who volunteered for service with the French and British armed forces. Some joined the French Foreign Legion or crossed the border to join Canadian units. Others, the RAF or the Lafayette Escadrille. The most sizable majority, however, volunteered with humanitarian aid organizations driving ambulances for the Allies. Over 3,000 collegiate ambulanciers from 126 different institutions filled the ranks of the American Field Service during the war, more than three percent of the male undergraduate population. Wilson had called for absolute neutrality, yet collegiate students dismissed the calls and put their lives on the line so that they might *do something* to make their peers proud. While serving with the French, they wrote home in non-neutral terms to parents, friends, teachers, and fraternal organizations, painting a vivid first-hand account of the suffering and devastation they witnessed. The recipients quickly published excerpts in the national newspapers, took out full broadsides in well-read magazines, sent photographs to alumni periodicals, extolled the doings of the small-town college boy in hometown rags, and filled all manner of collegiate print news with the exploits of *alma mater's* sons. These same volunteer ambulance drivers returned to their colleges with strong affinities for the Allied cause and set about using their Big Men personas to convince their peers to join them overseas.

While filling a gap in the historiography of American higher education, this dissertation presents important implications for the broader American First World War experience. American colleges and universities took a more active and defining role on both the American homefront and the European battlefront than has been previously presented.

Higher education, rather than passively standing by during the period of American neutrality, was an active participant. This dissertation adds new insight into pro-interventionist actors, showing that the writings of student volunteers were another factor in the attempt to influence public opinions alongside more prominent actors that we are currently familiar with. Before April 1917, *the collegiate* had long been agitating for and acting out American intervention in the absence of government assistance and directive.

By focusing this research on students—their letters, newspapers, scrapbooks, and other printed collegiate ephemera—First World War historians are granted a unique case study of how an overlooked, but no less powerful, group of young Americans grappled with their own varying interpretations of duty, citizenship, neutrality, preparedness, patriotism, and pacifism from within the militaristic environment of the Collegiate Era campus. For collegiate historians, it offers a redefinition of the rigid social parameters that currently represent entry into the collegiate lifestyle, showcasing that collegiate life in Collegiate Era colleges and universities was extremely mixed and offered varied ways to citizenship apart from joining the social elite. Furthermore, this dissertation gives further credence to the argument that western colleges attempted to copy their elite, northeastern cousins. Of especial importance is the implication that such a reproduction was not confined to student life. Indeed, despite the differences in location, culture, tradition, and student diversity, the jingoistic sentiments and close affinities to the Allied Powers found among the elite college students of the northeast were reproduced alongside the collegiate lifestyle in the west.

To historians of the Second World War, this dissertation will be of further interest. When the United States government mobilized the colleges in 1917 to train troops and draft propaganda for the nation, they found a long-term and mutually beneficial courtship. For over fifty years American higher education would provide men, material, physical space, and brain power when the government requested it. In return, the government provided research

funding, publicity, and preferential treatment to college graduates. Higher education's long-term collaboration with the United States government originated during the First World War. This dissertation also imparts implications for our understanding of the cultural and academic revolutions of the Vietnam era: what the students of the 1970s were so desperately rebelling against is what the students and administrations of the Collegiate Era were so fervently advocating for. Ultimately, this examination of American higher education's First World War experience matters because it broadens our understanding of higher education's role during moments of national crisis. The civil objectives of the college were laid aside on the mantel of national service like never before and, arguably, never since. No step for the nation would be too far as higher education abandoned its commitment to academic service. The stifling of academic freedoms, the moderation of free speech, the full-scale training of soldiers, and the reorganization of colleges into training grounds, were changes condoned and accepted by administrators and students alike. Such a fervent devotion to national service rendered colleges and universities unrecognizable as higher education redefined its purpose to make martial minds.

Abbreviations for Footnotes and In-Text References

Collegiate Newspapers

CW The Crimson White

CS Columbia Spectator

CDS Cornell Daily Sun

DI Daily Illini

DM Daily Maroon

DPA Daily Palo Alto

DP Daily Princetonian

TD The Dartmouth

HC The Harvard Crimson

PSC Penn State Collegian

SFC San Francisco Call

YDN Yale Daily News

Collegiate Magazines

CAN The Cornell Alumni News

CE The Cornell Era

DAM The Dartmouth Alumni Magazine

HGM The Harvard Graduates' Magazine

HI The Harvard Illustrated

PAW The Princeton Alumni Weekly

UCW University of Chicago Weekly

UoIB University of Illinois Bulletin

UR The University Record (University of Chicago)

YAM The Yale Alumni Magazine

Newspapers

BET Boston Evening Transcript

CDT Chicago Daily Tribune

NYT New York Times

RTD Richmond Times Dispatch

Organizations

AEF American Expeditionary Force

AFS American Field Service

AWC Army War College

CEST Committee on Education and Special Training

COSATCs Commanding Officers of All Students' Army Training Camps

FSAA Field Service of the American Ambulance

IIB Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau

PCGs Presidents of College Grade

PSATCs Presidents of All Students' Army Training Corps Institutions

ROTC Reserve Officers Training Corps

SATC Students Army Training Corps

USAAS US Army Ambulance Service

Collegiate Archives

AC-ASC Amherst Archives and Special Collections

BUA Brown University Archives

CLSC Clemson Libraries Special Collections

DRMC-CUL Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library

DC-RSC Dartmouth College Rauner Special Collections

HUA Harvard University Archive

IS-USCD Iowa State University Special Collections Department

MC-SC Marietta College, Special Collections

MSU-ASC Mississippi State University Archives and Special Collections

PUA-MML Princeton University Archives, Mudd Manuscript Library

RBML-CUL Rare Book and Manuscript Library Columbia University Archives

TAMU-CMLA Texas A&M University Crushing Memorial Library and Archives

UA-UoA University Archives, University of Alabama

UA-UoF University Archives, University of Florida

UA-UoI University Archives, University of Illinois

UA-UoM University Archives, University of Minnesota

UoWM-A University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives

YMA Yale Manuscripts and Archives

Author's Note On Formatting

No distinction is given between *colleges* and *universities* and use of the words on their own will be accepted to mean *American colleges and universities*, unless otherwise noted. Similarly, the words *college* and *university* are interchangeable and understood to mean institutions of higher education unless explicit differences are drawn between the two.

Graduation years play an important role in this dissertation, denoting the approximate period a student attended college and making known his possible connection to those around him from his own school and from others. When students are initially introduced, their names are followed by their institution (X) and their graduation date (Y) in the following way: X'Y. As Example:

Edward Tinkham, C'16, led an ambulance unit from Cornell during the War.

Names of famous institutions have been shortened to their first letter (e.g. Harvard, Yale, Stanford), while those universities sharing the same name or institutions that readers will be less familiar with have been shortened to their first three to four letters (e.g. Michigan, Minnesota, California, Clemson). Institutional names have also been shortened according to standards contemporary with the subject matter. This more readily applies to institutions with the beginning *University of—* (e.g. University of Arizona) or ending with *—State University* (e.g. Iowa State University). *University of—* institutions will be referenced by their full names at first chapter reference (e.g. University of Virginia). On subsequent chapter reference they will be referenced by their state name (Virginia). Institutions ending with *—State University* or *—State College* will be referenced in full on first chapter reference (e.g. Mississippi State University). On subsequent reference *College* or *University* will be dropped and *State* retained (e.g. Mississippi State). For schools not having *University* or *College*, such as *A&M* schools (e.g. Texas A&M), the *A&M* will be retained.

The Making of Martial Minds

The great service early rendered by college boys to the cause for which we now fight has not, I think, been sufficiently recognized…When the history of the war comes finally to be written, it will be seen, I think, that the colleges interpreted in advance with clear vision what was later to be the sober thought of the nation, as the college boys were the first to go overseas. Today we see the justification of it all: and no man can say that the colleges were not right.[2]

Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College, 20 June 1918

Such were the words of President Kenneth Morton Sills to the meager crowd gathered at the commencement and inaugural exercises of Bowdoin College on 20th June 1918. Few seniors sat in the crowd waiting to receive their diplomas, their thoughts largely fixed on a destructive war over four thousand miles away and their classmates who had entered it. Similar scenes played out in colleges and universities across the nation that summer as college students continued to trade pen and paper for rifle and bullet. It has been over a century since August's guns fell silent, and writers' pens have spilt much ink in the discussion of America's First World War experience. Yet within the historiography, the role of higher education remains, as it did in Sill's time, insufficiently recognized. Students, faculty, and administrators played major roles in the conflict. College presidents loudly voiced their opinions on interventionism, gave time and effort to preparation movements, and freely offered the lands, treasure, and citizens of their colleges to the needs of the nation; faculty members gave their knowledge and expertise to the war effort, drafting wartime policy, developing implements of war, and crafting propaganda; and students hotly debated America's world position, eagerly volunteered for overseas service under foreign flags, and gave their own lives and youth for Wilson's crusade. Even the university campus and college yard changed from the cradle of life's "shortest, gladdest years" into the nation's armed

[2] "Addresses at the Inauguration of Kenneth Charles Morton Sills as President of Bowdoin College, June 20, 1918," *Bowdoin College Bulletin*, no. 84 (October 1918): 15.

nursery: dormitories masqueraded as barracks, the crisp white lines on football fields gave way to the zig-zag of trenches, laboratories morphed into machine shops, and gymnasia emptied of their exercise equipment for use as airplane hangars. As Ernest Earnest, professor of English at Temple University, has observed, "in no previous era of American history had the colleges been so closely linked with the larger national drama" than during the First World War; indeed, Mark Nemec, author of *Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds* (2006), argued that this was the first time that collegiate voices began to seriously and publicly debate "the proper nature and extent of their service to the state."[3]

The First World War had profound impacts on all facets of American life, significantly altering the relationship between citizens and their service to the nation. During the War, American higher education dramatically expanded its service-oriented mission by unrestrainedly devoting its talents, treasure, facilities, and students to the war effort, proving itself a useful resource to the nation during moments of national crisis.[4] Though much has been written on higher education's involvement in the Second World War, historians have yet to fully examine the formative events which led to the successful cooperation between the federal government and America's colleges and universities from 1941 to 1945. Indeed, many historians of American higher education neglect discussion of the First World War entirely, overlooking the wartime experiences of *the collegiate*—the students, alumni, faculty, and administrative staff of American colleges and universities— and the ways those experiences shaped both higher education and the broader American war effort.[5] By contrast, scholarship

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[3] Ernest Earnest, *Academic Procession: An Informal History of the American College 1636 to 1953* (New York, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953); Mark R. Nemec, *Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds: Universities, Leadership, and the Development of the American State* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 231.
[4] Roger L. Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, New Jersey; Oxford, Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2015), 423; John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, Maryland; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 201.
[5] Richard G. Axt, *The Federal Government and Financing Higher Education* (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 73.

on the role of English and German institutions during the War—such as John Taylor's *The Impact of the First World War on British Universities* (2018) or Andrea Wettmann's *Heimatfront Universität* (2000)—has framed the Great War as a foundational moment in higher education's relationship with national governments rather than merely a temporary interruption to academic life.[6] More concerning still, despite an abundance of collegiate records and honor rolls cumulatively documenting a great many thousands of students who took active roles throughout the War's duration and enumerating some ten thousand more who perished, discussions of student experiences during the War are at times dismissive, with some historians claiming that students largely avoided the conflict.

With such a disjointed historiography, what *was* the wartime experience of American higher education? More specifically, what role did *the collegiate* undertake during the War? Archives abound with evidence of *the collegiate's* deep engagement with the War, yet such has received little attention from recent historians. Given such a remarkable level of participation, is it possible that the collegiate lifestyle—characterized by its emphasis on violent sport, ruthless competition, and almost fanatical loyalty to *alma mater*—conditioned collegians for wartime service in ways pervious scholars have not acknowledged? How did such emphatic participation influence the broader Great War experience for the American nation?

This dissertation attempts to answer these questions by undertaking an extensive examination of the ways collegiate life on American college and university campuses from 1880 to 1918 influenced collegiate involvement in the First World War. While filling a gap in

[6] Few recent histories have been written, but place their focus on British, French, and German Universities: Tomas Irish, *The University at War, 1914-25: Britain, France, and the United States* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015); John Taylor, *The Impact of the First World War on British Universities: Emerging from the Shadows* (London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Elizabeth Fordham, Jay M. Winter, and Jean-Louis Robert, eds., *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914-1919; Volume 2: A Cultural History*, vol. 2, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

the historiography of American higher education, this dissertation presents important implications for the broader American First World War experience. American colleges and universities took a more active and defining role on both the American homefront and the European battlefront than has been previously presented. Higher education, rather than passively standing by during the period of American neutrality, was an active participant, long agitating for and acting out American intervention in the absence of government assistance and directive. This dissertation adds new insight into those collegiate pro-interventionist actors, showcasing how the writings—and deeds—of student volunteers were working to influence public opinions on a largescale.

By focusing this research on students—their letters, newspapers, scrapbooks, and other printed collegiate ephemera—First World War historians are granted a unique case study of how an overlooked, but no less powerful, group of young Americans grappled with their own varying interpretations of duty, citizenship, neutrality, preparedness, patriotism, and pacifism from within the militaristic environment of the Collegiate Era campus (1880-1920). For collegiate historians, the focus offers a reexamination of arguments that have presented the Collegiate Era as one of extreme rigidity and social exclusion; on the contrary, college life was surprisingly mixed and offered varied means to attain collegiate citizenship apart from family legacy and elite social status. Furthermore, this focus supports arguments that western colleges attempted to copy their elite, northeastern cousins. Of especial importance is the implication that such a reproduction was not confined to student life. Indeed, despite the differences in location, culture, tradition, and student diversity, the jingoistic sentiments and close affinities to the Allied Powers found among the elite college students of the northeast were reproduced alongside the collegiate lifestyle in the west.

To historians of the Second World War, this dissertation will be of further interest. When the United States government mobilized the colleges in 1917 to train troops and draft

propaganda for the nation, they found a long-lasting and mutually beneficial courtship. For over fifty years American higher education would provide men, material, physical space, and brain power when the government requested it. In return, the government provided research funding, publicity, and preferential treatment to college graduates. Higher education's decades-long collaboration with the United States government originated during the First World War. Our understanding of the cultural and academic revolutions of the Vietnam War era (1960-1975) are also broadened by this study: what the students of the 1970s were so desperately rebelling against is what the students and administrations of the Collegiate Era were so fervently advocating for. Ultimately, this examination of American higher education's First World War experience matters because it broadens our understanding of higher education's role during moments of national crisis. The civil objectives of the college were laid aside on the mantel of national service like never before and, arguably, never since. No step for the nation would be too far as higher education abandoned its commitment to academic service. The stifling of academic freedoms, the moderation of free speech, the full-scale training of soldiers, and the reorganization of colleges into training grounds, were changes condoned and accepted by administrators and students alike. Such a fervent devotion to national service rendered colleges and universities unrecognizable as higher education redefined its purpose to make martial minds.

The Making – Collegiate History at War

The history of American higher education has been a well-represented field of research since the 1920s, with new histories of America's colleges and universities keeping steady pace with the rapid growth of institutions across the United States. The historiography has three distinct periods: a formative period in which the foundational texts of the study were written (1950—1965); a revisionist period in which social historians challenged the historiography's narrow scope (1975—1990); and a synthesis period in which modern

historians have summarized the most relevant literature of the preceding periods while forging ahead with cataloging the history of higher education since the turn of the millennium (2000-present). Throughout these periods historians have resigned higher education's Great War experience to quick discussions in passing or have misrepresented the history by neglecting nearly three full years of collegiate involvement, truncating the larger exploits of collegians and their institutions to the War's final months.

Formative period historians tended to examine the First World War only in passing, focusing instead on the more recent (to them) developments in higher education during the Second World War. Ernest Earnest's *Academic Procession* (1953), an informal but succinct survey of higher education since the colonial period, only briefly mentions that institutions transformed into military schools during the conflict's final months; John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy's *Higher Education in Transition* (1958), which entered its fourth printing in 1999, devotes a page and a half to collegiate military training before moving quickly on to the Second World War; and Fredrick Rudolph's *The American College and University* (1965), widely considered to be the first serious study of American collegiate history, makes ready mention of processes occurring "before the First World War" and how they changed "after the war" but surprisingly skips over the War itself.[7] Other important and highly influential studies of higher education's professionalization at the turn of the century, such as Laurence Veysey's *The Emergence of the American University* (1965), end their discussions in 1910, leaving the reader with the assumption that the War years were uneventful for the college.[8] Similarly, William Clyde DeVane's *Higher Education in Twentieth-Century America*

[7] Earnest, *Academic Procession*, 249–58; John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1638-1956*, 4st ed. (New York, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1999), 224–27; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990).
[8] Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

(1965), another informal study *a la* Earnest, takes Rudolph's approach and jumps between chapters on graduate education before the War and colleges in the interwar years.[9] These texts acknowledge the war, yet provide no sustained, collegiate-level account of higher education's broader Frist World War experience circa 1914-1918.

During the revisionist period a new interest in higher education's history during America's bicentennial year resulted in the widespread reassessment of collegiate history. Along with many works rising to challenge the prevailing understanding of antebellum colleges (that they were backward) and the makeup of studentships (that they were homogenous), other historians began asking questions relating to higher education's role in influencing broader American opinion and its role in cultivating ideas of service among students. Into this discussion stepped Carol Gruber with the first book-length study devoted entirely to American higher education's response to the First World War.[10] *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of Higher Education* (1975) has had unparalleled longevity within the historiography, evident in the fact that it is routinely the most footnoted work in both collegiate and broader World War histories. One would not necessarily call her book widely *available*, however, the first—and only—edition has been out of print for over fifty years and is not shelved in many academic libraries. Broadly covering the mobilization of higher education's academic resources for government service, Gruber reconstructs the late-war linkages between higher education and the War Department's Committee on Education and Special Training (CEST) to show that colleges and universities were eager actors in providing manpower, technical training, and expertise to the government despite faculty and administrators having to navigate harsh censorship and attacks to their academic

[9] William Clyde DeVane, *Higher Education in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965).
[10] Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1975).

freedom. Central to Gruber's study is the Students' Army Training Corps (SATC), a program conceived and brought to fruition by collegiate administrators, their government contacts, and the U.S. military, which paved the way for complete militarization of American colleges and universities during the World War and led to the eventual enlistment of over 120,000 students in October 1918. Presented as the climax of higher education's support for the national government, Gruber argued that the SATC was the "logical conclusion to and the fitting symbol of the commitment of the talents and resources of American institutions of higher learning to winning the war."[11] Discussion of the SATC was not new. Earnest, Brubacher, and Rudy had acknowledged the program for its dramatic transformation of the collegiate campus in the 1950s, but Gruber was the first to argue that the program was part of a larger, decades-long effort by collegiate administrators to prove the usefulness of themselves and their institutions to the federal government. Only, administrators had gone so far in their effort to support the government in the First World War that "they had no principled position from which to resist their total submergence in the war effort" and fully subjected the academic institution to what amounted to military control.[12]

Mars and Minerva was fundamentally a study of the actions undertaken by administrators and history faculty members, however, and focused primarily on narratives from presidents and professors in its description of higher education's Great War experience. This left unwritten the history of those most affected by higher education's march to war: the students. More concerning still, the few student narratives included gave the impression that student and campus involvement was limited to the SATC's two-month lifespan at the end of the War. Subsequent work by historian David Levine, *The American College and the Culture*

[11] Ibid., 256.
[12] Ibid.

of Aspiration (1986), only further cemented this impression.[13] A broader study of the interwar period (1920-1941), Levine's first chapter, *The Colleges Go to War*, examined the increased wartime cooperation between the federal government and American higher education. The SATC was front and center of his examination, a program which he considered to be higher education's "rite of passage" from "carefree adolescence to manhood."[14] Higher education's coming of age was argued to be the foundational moment in which the U.S. government's need for trained manpower was formally connected to higher education's ability to produce well-trained students readily equipped to tackle the nation's most pressing problems. Higher education had managed to make itself valuable to the nation in a time of great need and further cooperation would come of it. While his arguments have been influential in our understanding of collegiate-government cooperation, his focus on the SATC, much like Gruber's work, reduced higher education's Great War experience to the final months of the War. Such framing neglects that for fully three years students had been volunteering in foreign armies and humanitarian organizations and, after April 1917, enlisting and commissioning by the thousands in America's armed forces. It also neglects pre-1914 foundations, such as the 1862 Morrill Land-Grant Act's provision for the study of military tactics on campuses or the War Department's arrangements for detailing Regular Army officers to colleges, which were already formally connecting higher education with the federal government as training grounds for future officers.

This framing, which I define as the "SATC primacy argument," has given rise to two fundamental misrepresentations in the historiography of American higher education's First World War experience: first, that the SATC was higher education's principal contribution to the American war effort; and second, that its cloistering aspects kept the bulk of collegians

[13] David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).
[14] Ibid., 27.

from combat service. These misrepresentations have narrowed subsequent scholarship to the SATC, leaving the broader wartime experience of the colleges largely overlooked.

To be fair to Levine and Gruber in the first misrepresentation, one cannot argue that the SATC was not a defining moment in the history of higher education. Part determination to increase their presence in the national consciousness, part desperation to stop hemorrhaging enrollments due to the War, collegiate administrations intensely courted the federal government to foster more encompassing military ties. The SATC program was result of such development and eagerly welcomed by administrators as a means by which to prove higher education's use to the nation.[15] Changes occurred almost overnight as the classroom gave way to the training ground: academic and extracurricular activities ceased, intercollegiate sports seasons were cancelled, dormitories became barracks, science labs became radio schools, and quads became drill grounds. All manner of academic study were suspended in favor of drill, military history, cartography, and other military science courses. Fraternities were commandeered by student soldiers and their civilian counterparts forced to sleep in tents, and student newspapers suspended as their editors were rounded up on charges of disorderly conduct and sedition. Institutions of higher education simply ceased to exist in their pre-war form for the duration of the SATC program.[16] Yet, within three months of its inception, the war had ended—and with it the SATC. Despite the academic institution undergoing this drastic change *only* in October 1918, Levine and Gruber's emphasis on the shift from the study of Minerva to the study of Mars has shaped a historiography that truncates the wartime experience of higher education to its final three months and perpetuates the view that the SATC was its principal contribution.[17] Of the one to two pages other

[15] Thelin, *A History*, 199–204; Geiger, *Higher Education*, 423–28.
[16] Axt, *The Federal Government and Financing Higher Education*, 75–76; Thelin, *A History*, 200.
[17] Philo A. Hutcheson, *A People's History of American Higher Education* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2019); Carl Kaysen, *The Higher Learning, the Universities, and the Public* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969); William Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of*

historians rarely dedicate to the collegiate experience during the World War, the SATC carries the focus, becoming the exaggerated feature of America's colleges and universities circa 1914-1919.[18]

This focus is most evident in the works of synthesis period historians. Over the past two decades, John R. Thelin's *A History of American Higher Education* (2004) and Roger L. Geiger's *The History of American Higher Education* (2015) have emerged as the primary survey histories of higher education, largely supplanting Rudolph, Veysey, and Rudy as the authoritative reference. With ample notes to secondary literature, Thelin's volume provides a whirlwind tour of higher education's most pivotal moments—more synopsis than original intervention—synthesizing the prevailing scholarship current at the millennium. Later editions have updated the account to incorporate newer studies. Thelin allots but four pages to the War—of which one addresses post-war stadium building—and provides only a brief synopsis of Gruber and Levine's SATC argument, referencing Princeton, Harvard, and Stanford alumni magazines from 1918 to further cement the SATC primacy argument.[19] Similarly encompassing, but more archivally grounded, Geiger's volume traces American higher education from the colonial era to the Second World War, focusing on how governance, markets, and academic culture converged to produce the modern research university. Geiger centers his Great War discussion on a four-page examination of the SATC and the Committee on Public Information (CPI), a government propaganda wing composed of leading university faculty organized by Wilson propagandist George Creel and University of Minnesota historian Guy Stanton Ford.

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the University," 1865-1917 (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); Stephen J. Nelson, *The Shape and Shaping of the College and University in America, A Lively Experiment* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2016); Wechsler, *Revolt on Campus* (New York, New York: Covici Friede Publishers, 1935).

[18] Levine, *Aspiration*, 27.

[19] Thelin, *A History*, 199–204.

Like Gruber, Geiger utilizes the narratives of administrators to drive his examination of how the SATC expanded collegiate-government cooperation. According to Geiger, the SATC was widely praised for coordination and centralization, quoting Parke Kolbe, the University of Akron's president, as a typical example of presidents who thought highly of the SATC's military presence on campus. Geiger's analysis closely follows Levine's "resounding success" thesis, in which Levine, drawing on evidence from Pomona College and Parke Kolbe's *The Colleges in Wartime and After* (1920), argued that many presidents lamented the SATC's demobilization.[20] This is a puzzling argument. A closer examination of archival sources reveals that administrators across American higher education considered the SATC a failure—including those at Pomona College—urging for its prompt disbandment at the end of the War. Levine and Giger focus on smaller colleges where the SATC helped to boost enrollments and inject capital desperately needed in the absence of student fees. Larger institutions (and many smaller ones) had much stronger endowments and were in no such desperate a need. In addition, where the overbearing nature of the SATC proved sufferable for institutions already in decline before the War, it was incompatible for institutions where administrative independence ran high. While Parke Kolbe was no critic of the SATC—indeed, his university profited from hosting it—other administrators found their institutions in serious financial predicaments from unpaid government contracts and military expenses. Praise for the SATC was the exception not the norm.

The emphasis placed upon the "resounding success" thesis has extended beyond higher education, affecting the broader historiography of the American experience in the First World War. It is notable that the bulk of this literature makes no mention of colleges at all,[21]

[20] Levine, *Aspiration*, 30.
[21] John S. D. Eisenhower, *Yanks: The Epic Story of the American Army in World War 1* (New York: The Free Press, 2001); Jennifer D. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America*, War/Society/Culture (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Christopher Capozzola,

and that those works which do refer to *the collegiate* truncate its experience to the SATC before turning to more sustained discussion of academics associated with George Creel's CPI.[22] David M. Kennedy's expansive volume on the American homefront, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, is an example of the latter. Kennedy presents the collegiate experience as a one paragraph summary of Gruber's SATC description before moving on to a chapter subsection discussing the contents of the SATC's War Issues Course provided by the CPI.[23] But even in such works with little to no reference to the collegiate, such as Jennifer D. Keen's *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (2001), the SATC is presented as the whole of the collegiate story.[24] In Keen's discussion it is a single footnote detailing collegiate commissions from SATC sources.

The second major misrepresentation of higher education's First World War experience centers around Levine's argument that "many of the nation's most promising youth avoided the conflict."[25] It is only partially true that returning students and entering freshmen found themselves sequestered to the colleges during the War's final months, as the War Department routinely called SATC men for deployment regardless of their training status. More serious is that by reducing four years of diverse student experience to the SATC's brief window, Levine's account invites the conclusion that the graduating classes of '14, '15, '16, '17, and '18 played little part in the war. On the contrary, students utilized multiple avenues to involve themselves domestically and overseas long before the SATC's conception. Levine further

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Uncle Sam Wants You; World War 1 and the Making of the Modern American Citizen (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[22] John Maxwell Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses: Woodrow Wilson and the Birth of American Propaganda* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 171; Stewart Halsey Ross, *Propaganda for War: How the United States Was Conditioned to Fight the Great War of 1914-1918* (Joshua Tree, California: Progressive Press, 2009); Alen Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), 160–61.

[23] David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, Twenty-fifth Anniversary Edition (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[24] Keene, *Doughboys*.

[25] Levine, *Aspiration*, 31.

argues that the SATC sought to pay the "more well educated and financially comfortable" to remain in the colleges for leadership and administrative training, bringing an element of class privilege into the argument that is misplaced.[26] Levine overlooks three points: first, that the program drastically lowered entrance standards and completely removed the monetary barriers of room, board, and tuition, widening matriculation beyond the sons of the well-educated and well-to-do; second, that the SATC only held men in theory, with the archives of many presidents being well-stocked with complaints that the War Department was summoning students long before their training was complete; and third, that by the time the SATC took over campuses in October 1918, many of the schools' rising-juniors and seniors had already enlisted or taken commissions on their own accord. While the SATC was an important means of marrying the warlike environment of the college to the martial means of the nation, it was only a means by which to fill the colleges after they had already been emptied. Levine further muddies the water by comparing the SATC to northern elites buying their way out of the draft in the Civil War. "Whereas any young northerner with the necessary means could pay his way out of the Civil War," wrote Levine, "in World War 1 the federal government paid young men to stay in college."[27] Only, young collegians were not looking for ways to stay out of the War, they were looking for ways to be a part of it.

Thousands of students had already left the colleges long before the SATC commandeered them. From as early as 1914, American undergraduates were agitating for intervention. The most determined crossed the Atlantic to enlist with foreign units bound for the frontlines, and many gave their lives in the process. Some skipped class to cross the border and enlist with Canadian units; others crossed the Atlantic to join the French Foreign Legion; while others still, gave their talents to the RAF or the Lafayette Escadrille. Historian

[26] Levine, *Aspiration*, 31.
[27] Ibid, 31.

Marc Wortman wrote of these flyboys in *The Millionaires' Unit* (2006), the story of six wealthy Yale students who helped create the early American Airforce.[28] Riding on a rush of millionaire dollars they formed their own aeroclub in 1916 to practice flying and eventually became some of the first American fliers over there. The most sizable majority of collegiate volunteers enlisted with humanitarian aid organizations like the American Field Service or Norton-Harjes Service to drive ambulances for the Allies. Over 3,000 collegiate ambulanciers from 126 different institutions filled the ranks of the Field Service during the war, more than three percent of the male undergraduate population.[29] It would have been hard for someone not to at least know a classmate in the Field Service at many schools—fully eleven percent of Princeton, seven percent of Amherst, and three-point-four percent of Stanford undergraduates drove ambulances at some point during the War. Arlen J. Hansen compiled the writings of the most famous among them in his 1996 *Gentlemen Volunteers*, helping to bring the work of previous Field Service historians to broader audiences.[30] His work was instrumental in deciphering the movements and specialized language of the young men whose letters are addressed in later chapters. Despite their large presence, collegiate histories rarely address the actions of these collegians and their influence on student populations. Even in Julia F. Irwin's *Making the World Safe* (2013), itself an examination of American soft power though the actions of the American Red Cross, collegiate ambulance drivers go unacknowledged despite forming the basis of the Red Cross's own Norton-Harjes Service.[31] Curiously, historians of

[28] Marc Wortman, *The Millionaires' Unit, The Aristocratic Flyboys Who Fought The Great War and Invented America's Airpower* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Pan Books, 2006).
[29] Edwin W. Morse, *The Vanguard of American Volunteers in the Fighting Lines and in Humanitarian Service: August 1914-April 1917*, America In The War 2 (New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 132; FSAA, *American Field Service Roster of Volunteers 1915-16-17*, 1917; also see The War Records Committee, *Brown University in the War; A Report of the War Records Committee* (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 1919), 10; "Cornell Lags Behind in Ambulance Service Work," *CDS*, April 16, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 134.
[30] Arlen J Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers: The Story of American Ambulance Drivers in the Great War* (New York, New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996).
[31] Julia F. Irwin, *Making the World Safe* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013).

America's Great War experience more readily acknowledge collegiate volunteers than do historians of higher education. David Traxel (*Crusader Nation*, 2006), Garrett Peck (*The Great War in America*, 2018), and G. J. Meyer (*The World Remade*, 2016) give brief acknowledgment of student volunteers who went overseas as ambulanciers and aviators, with Harvard alumnus Alan Seeger commonly presented as the prime example of the upper-class Eastern undergraduate, with the resources and leisure to depart college, who comprised the majority of student volunteers.

Seeger is most known for his romantic and idealized depictions of the War, often speaking fondly of troop movements and battles with an air of heroism and adventure. Kennedy states that Seeger came to stand as the "authentic voice of late-nineteenth century American high culture," but notes that Seeger himself admitted he was "of a sentimental and romantic nature."[32] Back home, his poems and writings were widely published and highly acclaimed despite their rosy view of the War. He found his greatest readership among the upper classes who wistfully viewed the World War as they did the Civil War: as an ennobling and man-making experience necessary for reviving American manhood. *Rendezvous With Death*, Seeger's most famous poem, impressed upon the minds of young men the glory to be obtained by dying in battle; indeed, many collegians wrote in their own letters home during the War that it wasn't "when you died, but *how*," revealing their own romantic and patrician views on ideas such as service, duty, and honor. Seeger became immortalized as an American hero when he died on 23rd July 1916, and his poems and writings propelled to even greater acclaim.

Along with fellow Havard graduate Victor Chapman, in the same way that the most famous post-war collegiate writers (Dos Passos, Hemingway, Cummings) would come to

[32] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 181–82.

stand for the War's disillusioned sect, Seeger has come to represent the type of adventurous collegiate writing which influenced scores of other collegians to view the War in terms glorious and romantic.[33] But Seeger's is only indicative of a certain, if not exaggerated, type of collegiate-war writing aimed to please a selected audience. Many of Seeger's fellow volunteers did not share his naive views and undertook efforts to describe the War as they saw it no matter how gruesome. Stories of decaying body parts, masses of rotting horses, and the bloody aftermath of shelling fill the diaries of ambulanciers in sentences neither idyllic nor romantic. Furthermore, collegians like George Dock, Coleman Clark, and Henry Meeker, who derived from the same elite northeastern background, derided men like Seeger as "gabys" and adventure seekers, often writing that such men would be better off staying at home. Elite northeastern collegians, though making a sizable portion, were also not the only exclusive members of the Field Service. Over 120 different institutions were represented by groups as large as one hundred and as small as a single man. Many ambulanciers wrote of not having enough money to enroll in the Field Service, having either to apply for scholarships to pay for clothing, equipment, and travel, or having to defer their enlistment until they could make the money through working. One Stanford lad took to working in a local auto repair shop so he could cover his necessities while also learning how to drive a car. Much like collegiate life during the era, the opportunities to volunteer and participate were not exclusively restricted to the wealthy.

Involvement did not end with overseas volunteerism. Back on college campuses, students and their professors were drilling side-by-side on the college lawn. When the War Department refrained from detaching US Army officers, students took matters into their own hands. At the North Carolina State University, students formed a drill regiment and hired a

[33] David Traxel, *Crusader Nation: The United States in Peace and the Great War, 1898-1920* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 184; Kennedy, *Over Here*, 182.

Canadian officer to teach them modern maneuvers used in the European theatre. Harvard similarly hired French officers to teach their drill classes. After the U.S. declaration of war, student withdrawal increased to such a degree that General Pershing asked administrators to tell their studentships to refrain from immediate enlistment. Students believed it was their duty to give their service to the nation. Kennedy notes that were few words so "widely bruited in American society" than *service*.[34] During the War, the idea of national service came to bridge the gap between citizens hotly devoted to individual freedoms and the necessities of giving up those freedoms out of loyalty and devotion to the whole.[35] Marketing the necessity of civilian sacrifice to fulfill the nation's military and economic needs as an act of service allowed for the government to demand one's service as an obligation to the nation while also allowing the individual to exercise his autonomy to give it. Collegians were already well versed in the notions of service, both to their schools and their nation, long before such understanding became commonplace.

The Collegiate Era had coincided with the professionalization of American industry and governance, and the traditional outlets from which institutional and bureaucratic systems drew their employment—the church, a landed gentry, or professional organizations—came to be replaced by experts from colleges and universities at the turn of the century.[36] According to Mark Nemec, author of *Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds* (2006), the colleges and universities capitalized on public clamor for the reform of existing American institutions that had become corrupt and overly inefficient.[37] New institutions backed by public trust could not "spring to life" at the behest of the electorate, however, and reformers pushed for non-governmental institutions to foster "new institutional and intellectual apparatuses for

[34] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 153.
[35] Ibid., 154.
[36] Nemec, *Ivory Towers*, 9, 25.
[37] Ibid., 27.

governance."[38] Collegiate administrators believed that their colleges and universities, long dedicated to the cultivation of moral, intellectual, and social attributes necessary to graduate well-informed and civil citizens, were in the best position to fill this need. Undeniably, preparing a capable cadre of citizens with knowledge necessary for government service was ample opportunity to showcase higher education's worth to the nation, and presidents wasted no time in developing their institutions into "great civil service academies"— the civilian versions of West Point.[39] Veysey described these developments in three points: (1) that higher education continued its mission to instill moral and civic virtue in students; (2) that moral and civil training developed a political foundation for graduating students with knowledge to enact government reform; and (3) that the institution mobilized its research apparatus to formulate "rational substitutes" for "political procedures subject to personal influence."[40] It wasn't long before federal and state governments began instituting new methods of cooperation to further those developments.

Partnerships with state legislatures, like those pioneered in the Wisconsin Idea or the California Idea, connected researchers at state universities with their government counterparts at the state house; academics became advisors in the development of legislation aimed at solving the states' most pressing problems, while extension departments placed collegiate resources in the hands of rural communities to help address localized issues. At the federal level, the Adams Act of 1906 and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 provided research grants to university experimental stations to invent solutions for increasing the production of agricultural goods and standardize the regulation of services with the overall aim to raise public confidence in American business. Governmental cooperation materialized for the

[38] Ibid., 28.
[39] Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 24–25; Edmund J. James, "The Function of the State University," *Science* Vol. XXII, no. 568 (November 17, 1905): 625.
[40] Veysey, *Emergence*, 72–73.

colleges time and again: the U.S. Geological Survey, the National Bureau of Standards, the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, and the establishment of the National Research Council of 1916, each offered opportunities for academics and graduates to aid in government reform.[41] All the while, colleges began training students in the best methods to steward and revise these reforms. University schools of political science began operating across the nation. Columbia led the way in 1880, with Michigan following year after, and Wisconsin in 1892. The establishment of schools of mining and forestry allowed universities to provide trained workers directly to federal and state service while defining credentials and setting national standards for professionalism. By providing legislative advice, definitive research, and educated civil servants, higher education was able to set expectations for the basic set of knowledge which different fields and disciplines should attain. Most importantly, having made the rules, higher education ensured that only it could provide the best instruction in knowledge necessary for graduating suitable actors for local, state, and national service.[42]

Within daily college life, ideas of service informed everything a collegian did on his campus. Similarly to service, there was no more bruited a term during the Collegiate Era than *do something*. An extreme devotion to one's college, characterized by an immense pressure to prove one's merit through selfless acts which conferred distinction upon *alma mater* and thereby obtained the pride of one's friends, *doing something* pervaded all aspects of collegiate life. From the moment a student stepped foot upon the campus they entered an intense "training ground for ruthless competition" as entering freshmen, staunch sophomores, and godly upperclassmen vied to do the most for *alma mater*.[43] The Collegiate Era campus, a place described by Yale graduate Henry Canby as "part cloister, part romance," contained an

[41] Levine, *Aspiration*, 50.
[42] Nemec, *Ivory Towers*, 11.
[43] Henry Seidel Canby, *Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of the American College* (Murray Hill, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), viii.

innumerable amount of fraternities, clubs, organizations, secret societies, varsity teams, student publications, vocal groups, brass bands, orchestras, and volunteer opportunities with which a student might have *done something*.[44] At its very foundation, *do something* was the service of an individual student to the university as a collective. Much like how service would later be presented to the American public during the War, the duty to bring honor to one's *alma mater* was an obligatory duty in which students exercised their autonomy and initiative by choosing what areas of the collegiate lifestyle they engaged with to best serve it.

Volunteerism was another well-known and long-practiced activity on college campuses. Christopher Capozzola has argued in *Uncle Sam Wants You* (2008) that American society devolved into a "culture of coercive voluntarism" during the War. His discussion of the ways Americans enforced this voluntarism would be as commonplace in the collegiate space (with a few slight changes) as they are in the sphere of American propaganda.[45] When Capozzola wrote that lending a hand for the war effort was "not just a good deed but a duty," he could have just as easily said the same about lending a hand to cheering on the football team, writing for the student newspaper, or taking a part in the spring review. Once again, collegians were already familiar with the concepts that would come to grip the American conscious during the War.[46] The collegiate lifestyle fostered a similar "culture of coercive volunteerism" within an environment replicating, often more exaggeratedly, the intense competition that awaited students in outside society.[47] Indeed, the "volunteer authorities of the undergraduate world," as stated by Professor Wilbur C. Abbott, made every effort to foster an environment of competitive supremacy:

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[44] Ibid.; also see: James Axtell, *The Making of Princeton University: From Woodrow Wilson to the Present* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 238, 270.
[45] Capozzola, *Uncle Sam*, 8.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 238; George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University Revisited: From Protestant to Postsecular*, Second (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 99.

> In the student university competition is the rule of life. Men compete or 'try out' for every place in every activity—athletic, literary, executive, musical, even social. From Freshman to Senior, life presents one long conflict, one endless rivalry, with prizes at the end…they offer him what youth continually desires, a chance to try its strength and skill with its fellows.[48]

Prizes were ultimately the headships of organizations and athletic teams, positions from which students could truly prove their worth by leading the college elevens to victory, directing a theatrical performance that was highly acclaimed, playing a lead solo in the college orchestra, or leading the production of the college yearbook. The things one did to bring honor to one's institution one did voluntarily, but voluntary only in the sense that the alternative was inconsiderable. Though not so serious as requiring vigilante justice for those who shirked their duty or were suspected traitors, the prospect of a social death often sufficed to motivate young men concerned with their reputation. One had to fight to prove his worth; by struggling one showed that they truly cared. To not give one's voluntary service to *alma mater* would relegate students to four years of social exclusion as a "boob," a "grind," or, in a word that would take on a whole new meaning during the War, a "slacker."

In broader American society, voluntarism and service reached their climax in the establishment of the Selective Service System—otherwise known as the draft—and was presented as an organized means by which citizens could willingly volunteer their services to the nation.[49] Such military service may have been a new obligation of American citizenship, but it was not without its links to duties that were not altogether new. According to Capozzola, Americans had already begun to formulate ideas of service and voluntarism within their churches, schools, clubs, and families.[50] So too in the colleges; only, for

[48] Abbot worked at no less than seven universities, ending his career at Yale and Harvard, Wilbur C. Abbott, "The Guild of Students," *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 1921, 619.
[49] Kennedy, *Over Here*; Capozzola, *Uncle Sam*, 22.
[50] Capozzola, *Uncle Sam*, 22.

collegians, military service was part of their collegiate training and carried the understanding that they were being equipped for future national service should the need arise.

When the nation called, they responded eagerly to the nation's needs and campuses emptied rapidly. Columbia's School of Engineering was attended by a singular graduate in June of 1918; the entire senior class at Texas A&M departed campus for Officers Training Camps when news of America's entrance reached them; and so many fraternity brothers had enlisted or commissioned at Brown that fraternity boards began voting to sell the chapter houses.[51] Within the eight colleges of the Ivy League alone, roughly 50,000 students involved themselves with the armed forces, with thousands more providing their services to civilian and government war work. Keen has noted that college men made up the majority of the 182,000 officers trained during the war.[52] Indeed, a staggering 7.4% of all commissioned officers—13,461 men—hailed from Cornell, Yale, or Harvard.[53] A further 7%—12,992 men—held ties to Texas A&M, Princeton, Iowa State A&M, and the University of Illinois. More than 500 other colleges and universities had similarly warlike studentry and alumni.

In terms of collegiate losses, Levine has estimated that approximately 6,500 collegians died in the War. Although no complete survey of collegiate war records has been undertaken prior to this study to substantiate these claims—Levine fails to provide his own references for the estimate—Levine's figures have long been accepted as authoritative within

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[51] "Ask Alma's Owl: Over Here, Columbia Mobilized for World War I," *Columbia News*, accessed May 29, 2022, https://news.columbia.edu/news/ask-almas-owl-over-here-columbia-mobilized-world-war-i; Henry C. Dethloff and John A. Adams, *Texas Aggies Go To War: In the Service of Their Country, Expanded Edition*, Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, Number 104 (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 36; William Chester Beard to "Ed," 9 July 1918, in "Brown University World War 1 Correspondence" (Archival Collection, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1919 1917), box 1, BUA; April C. Armstrong, "Princeton University During World War I," *Mudd Manuscript Library Blog*, January 13, 2016, https://blogs.princeton.edu/mudd/2016/01/princeton-university-during-world-war-i/.

[52] Keene, *Doughboys*, 16.

[53] Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 432–33; Corydon Ireland, Harvard Staff Writer, "In 1914, Poised for War," *Harvard Gazette* (blog), May 28, 2014, https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2014/05/in-1914-poised-for-war/.

the historiography. Levine's estimate appears likely to originate with Charles Thwing's *The American Colleges and Universities in the Great War* (1920), where collegiate deaths are given as roughly 6,500.[54] Such early figures, whether Thwing's or those offered by Parke Kolbe in *The Colleges in Wartime and After* (1919), were formulated well before colleges completed systematic honor-roll tabulations in the 1930s.[55] Indeed, even today, casualty lists are elusive at worst and incomplete at best, with little consistency in distinguishing students, alumni, and SATC members within the rolls. Closer examination of collegiate records reveals Levine's estimate to be seriously understated. My own calculations, detailed in Appendix One, identify more than 5,600 deaths across only one hundred institutions. Given that more than four hundred other institutions remain unaccounted for, and that smaller colleges typically lost between ten and twenty students, the overall number of collegiate war dead could plausibly be twice that long-accepted estimate. Assuming that the brunt of American military deaths were bore primarily by those of college age (18-24), and that the total number of collegiate deaths is closer to 12,000, collegians died at a rate nearly double their percentage of the population (10.3% vs. 6.1%).[56] What is more surprising however is how many of those deaths were from combat or accidents. U.S. combat loses in the First World War amounted to 53,402 (45.84%) while losses to influenza, pneumonia, and other diseases numbered 63,114 (54.16%). Separating combat deaths from deaths due to various diseases within the honor rolls of Cornell, Yale, and Harvard produce a mean percentage of only 37.87 percent for collegiate deaths due to disease (Yale, 36.12%; Cornell, 37.87%; and Harvard, 37.39%). Other institutions have drastically varying degrees of disease related deaths. Brown

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[54] Charles Franklin Thwing, *The American Colleges and Universities in the Great War, 1914-1919* (New York, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 211.
[55] Parke Rexford Kolbe, *The Colleges in War Time and After; A Contemporary Account of the Effect of the War Upon Higher Education in America* (New York, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1919).
[56] Philander Priestley Claxton, *Report of the Commissioner of Education, Yr. 1916-17*, vol. Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 290; Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education*, vol. Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 682; Census estimates were found: https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/tables/.

contributed 1,974 men, with disease accounting for half of its forty-two fatalities; Dartmouth sent a similar contingent and recorded 112 deaths, forty-seven percent of which were due to disease; while Virginia A&M, by contrast, contributed more men than either, but of its twenty-six fallen only one died from disease. Numbers from Cornell, Harvard, and Yale are more stable in this regard, providing a similar number of men (13,449, 15,092, and 14,232 respectively) and possessing a similarly representative number of deaths (264, 371, and 227 respectively). From these meager numbers we might estimate that the collegiate death rate due to combat and accidents numbered approximately 62.13 percent compared to that of 45.84 percent of non-collegians. Despite wide-ranging outliers, totals drawn from the twenty-nine institutions that specify cause of death are surprisingly similar: only forty percent of 2,031 deaths resulted from disease, yielding a combined combat and accident mortality rate of roughly sixty percent. More surprising still is that combat troops only amounted to forty percent of the over four-point-four million men inducted into uniform during the World War.[57] It would not be unfounded to suggest that collegians often saw more frontline service than their peers, leading to higher percentages of combat related deaths. For a group Levine argues "planned and directed—not fought—the war," collegians died of combat related causes at a rate almost seventeen percent higher than non-collegians. Enrolling in the collegiate SATC might have enticed young men to avoid the draft, but for those already enrolled they had no intention of avoiding the conflict.

The Making – Shifting the Viewpoint

The preceding misrepresentations of higher education's Great War experience may also be attributed to the narrow focus of higher education's broader history. Long written as the story of collegiate administrators and their long shadows, the history of higher education has focused on narratives of intellectual development, institutional reorganization, and

[57] Keene, *Doughboys*, 39.

curricular governance traced over more than three centuries to explain how colleges vied to remain relevant in a continually evolving and modernizing America. The true soul of higher education—the students—often find themselves relegated to the background, treated as "given" variables rather than active historical participants. In Veysey's work, they are "by-passed;" in Thelin's survey, despite stating that student voices were "essential to the shared heritage and experience" of higher education's history, there is little direct quotation from student perspectives.[58] Choice selections of their words appear in chapters focused on their "fascinating but quite distinct universe," but, on the whole, they remain a faceless mass of silent, unnamed actors.[59]

This study attempts to rectify this by presenting a student-focused and student-driven narrative that examines the Collegiate Era (1880-1920) through the students' own words and actions, so to reinterpret the history around them and their place within it. Considering that history of higher education's officers has already been told by Gruber, the actions of the professoriat are only briefly examined in the dissertation's later chapters with relation to the SATC. This is a complementary work to Gruber's research: the flipside of the same coin. When put together the complex and broad history of higher education's First World War experience will become more complete. By shifting the focus from institutions and their officers to student life and culture, this study redefines our perception of students as historical actors in the historiography of American higher education. Archival sources are drawn from a wealth of personal letters, scrapbooks, memorabilia, and photographs from university collections across the nation. Examination of these sources, framed by student newspapers, alumni publications, and an expansive collection of speeches, letters, and official documents from collegiate administrators, seeks to restore the student voice to the narrative of higher

[58] Veysey, *Emergence*, ix; John R. Thelin, "California and the Colleges," *California Historical Quarterly* Vol. 56, no. No. 2 (Summer 1977): 145.
[59] Veysey, *Emergence*, ix.

education while presenting the First World War experience of student actors as the climax of collegiate ideas. The methodology is most similar to that of historian Helen Horowitz's *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (1987), a seminal work that brought the focus of higher education history to that of students and their imagined communities. Horowitz's work tracks almost two centuries of student life, culture, and ephemera to analyze the ways students viewed themselves, how they felt about their communities, and how they interacted with worlds outside and inside the college walls. Unlike collegiate histories before—and after—Horowitz put the students front and center in higher education's chronological history. By doing so she redefined our understanding of student life, how it is created and proliferated. Much like Horowitz's work, this study seeks to expand historians' understanding of the Collegiate Era and higher education's Great War experience by reframing the War through the student viewpoint.

As example of this reframing, students have long thought to be so absorbed by the collegiate lifestyle that they paid no attention to events occurring outside of the college gate. Shifting the focus to student writings from the period reveals that there was a remarkable interest in international events as well as domestic ones. A further examination of campus publications, club rosters, photographs, and print media (fliers and posters) reveals that students integrated this awareness into the official program of the collegiate lifestyle. At Harvard, for example, between 1905 to 1915, there arose on campus numerous clubs dedicated to political movements sweeping the country, such as the Women's Suffrage Club, the Single Tax Club, the Social Politics Club, and the Diplomatic Club. Throughout the period, students also developed clubs focused on more regional issues, such as Good Governance, Civics, and Sociology. Further interest in world events can be found in articles and adverts in student papers. The *Daily Princetonian* ran sections about the War in Europe almost daily, while advertisements for speeches and lectures on the War were commonplace

and well attended. Outside of official events and meetings, students discussed world events among themselves, in letters to their friends and families, and with their professors. Students looked forward to Monday nights when they would pile into the rooms of Harvard English professor Charles Townsend Copeland to hear—and discuss—news from both at home and abroad, with many of them lamenting not being able to attend while fighting overseas. Most important to this acknowledgement of student activity during the War are the letters of student soldiers, many of which have never been consulted before. Of significant note are the correspondence collections of President William H.P. Faunce of Brown University, Charles Townsen Copeland of Harvard, and Dean Thomas Clarke of the University of Illinois. Each of these men exchanged hundreds of letters with students over the course of the War and, thanks to their efforts, we have frank and honest accounts of the feelings and emotions of a generation of young men whose voices have yet to add to our historical understanding.

This is not a narrative of the colleges' most famous graduates, as collegiate histories have often become, but rather a history drawn from a diverse group of collegiate actors: students vying for scholarships and students un-anxious about money matters; students high in academics and students making gentlemen's Cs; students contrary to the collegiate lifestyle and students deeply committed to *doing something*. John Thelin's *A History of Higher Education* is a good example of historians focusing on big-ticket names while neglecting ordinary collegians. Based on the public service records of American presidents who graduated pre-1890 and post-1890, Thelin argues that the collegiate lifestyle had become over-engrossing, nepotistic, and decidedly patrician post-1890, thus producing lackluster graduates. Thelin calls on the records of Teddy Roosvelt, who fought to break up deadly football as fervently as he did monopolistic trusts, and Woodrow Wilson, whose attempts to recreate the post-War world at Versailles overshowed his earlier attempts to create a more progressive and academically focused Princeton, to illustrate the type of politically active

graduates pre-1890. These two men are then contrasted with the "lackluster, staid style" of Calvin Coolidge, who graduated from Amherst in 1895.[60] I find it rather unfitting to compare an entire generation of graduates based on the political records of three men who attained the nation's highest office; indeed, a man is many more years and experiences than his four years in undergrad. Coolidge himself is a perfect example. Recent research into his life has argued that the death of his son in 1924 played a larger role in his hands-off nature than assumed. Historian Robert E. Gilbert challenged the traditional notions of Coolidge's weakness and incompetence by arguing that the death of Calvin Jr. sent Coolidge into a major depressive episode from which he never recovered. "After the president lost his son," he argued, "the nation lost its president."[61] Such is a more likely reason for Coolidge's "staid" and "lackluster" character, rather than, as Thelin claims, his time at Amherst.

As is the case with many historians of higher education, Thelin's is a cursory examination of collegiate life. Prime example of the misunderstandings of student culture plaguing the historiography, Thelin uses Franklin Delano Roosevelt as an exception to his arguments, arguing that Roosevelt, who graduated from Harvard in 1912, was an "activist maverick" who "rejected the customary college life" and was thus immune from the lackluster and staid effects.[62] It is understandable that Thelin would think this, as the historiography of higher education has become obsessed with the clubman just as much as entering freshmen were. The social elite of the Collegiate Era, those who were elected to the college's most restricted social clubs, have come to be acknowledged as the only true participants of the collegiate lifestyle despite holding a minority share of campus activities. There were many different avenues to collegiate citizenship; Frank—as he was known at

[60] Thelin, *A History*, 191.
[61] Robert E. Gilbert, *The Tormented President: Calvin Coolidge, Death, and Clinical Depression*, Contributions in American History, Number 197 (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003), 170.
[62] Thelin, *A History*, 191.

Harvard—is an excellent example of this. Far from being an outcast or outlier, he was immersed in the collegiate lifestyle just as much, if not more, than those around him. He was captain of the freshman football squad and rowed in the third boat; was member of the Fly Club and Political Club; took keen interests in the Signet, Memorial, Social Service, and St. Paul's societies; and, though he was not elected to Harvard's most socially restricted Finishing Club, the Porcellian, he was elected to the Institute and the Dickey, influential and elite Finishing Clubs in their own right.

Of all of this, it was his dedication to the *Harvard Crimson* that truly signifies his immersion into the life of the college. Collegiate newspapers were the steadfast defenders and ardent perpetuators of the collegiate lifestyle.[63] FDR joined the *Crimson* as a freshman and had worked his way to Managing Editor by his final year, when he then chose to remain at Harvard for an extra year by taking graduate courses so that he could continue as the paper's President. As discussed in later chapters, becoming Editor or President of the collegiate paper was seen as *doing something* akin to becoming the football captain, the class president, or being elected to an elite Finishing Club. By further examining student writings and experiences, this dissertation attempts to make clearer the parameters of the collegiate lifestyle, showing that citizenship was not restricted to members of a singular elite Finishing Club like the Porcellian or a secret society like Bones, as argued by Thelin and Geiger, but was rather freely offered, through widespread and sundry channels, to students who *did something* for their *alma mater*.

A further historiographical limitation that my methodology attempts to combat is the prominence of a select group of colleges and universities that have monopolized the narrative. Historian Michael A. Grandillo complained in a paper presented to the Association

[63] Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 189.

for the Study of Higher Education in 1997, *The Local College Booster Movement in Nineteenth Century Ohio*, that Rudolph, Veysey, and Brubacher and Rudy—writers whose books have continued to serve as the primary texts in introductory classes—placed their emphasis too much on a small collection of elite, northeastern colleges and universities.[64] Almost thirty years later, the issue persists as historians continue to primarily rely on the same institutions in their studies of American higher education.[65] The Big Three (Harvard, Princeton, and Yale), while essential in the development of American higher education, are hardly good representations for the entire state of collegiate affairs across the nation. Enrollments were rising across the country. Between 1870 to 1900 enrollments had risen by 278% even if students as a percentage of the 18- to 24-year-old population only rose from one to two percent.[66] Higher education was also opening its doors to new classes, new perspectives, and new backgrounds, and the old, elite institutions of the northeast, to paraphrase education historian John Douglass, remained divorced from public efforts to create a system of mass education.[67] Indeed, in William Leslie's analysis of northeastern colleges in *Gentlemen and Scholars* (1992), a work most often footnoted in sections relating to collegiate life, two-thirds of Princeton, eighty per cent of Swarthmore and eighty percent of Bucknell students came from elite families in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.[68] The homogenous concentration of the studentships at these schools—primarily upper-class, white, Anglo-Saxon, protestants—has added to the oft-cited belief that the collegiate lifestyle was restricted to the sons of the nation's elites, completely dismissing western and southern

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[64] Michael A. Grandillo, "The Local College Booster Movement in Nineteenth Century Ohio" (ASHE Annual Meeting Paper, November 8, 1997), 1.
[65] Roger L. Geiger and Julie Ann Bubolz, "College As It Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 80–90.
[66] Students in California numbered 10% in 1910 and doubled to 20% in 1920. John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education : 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000); Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1993), 64.
[67] Douglass, *California Idea*, 5; Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 122.
[68] Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 205.

institutions, more heterogenous in their studentships, which practiced the same collegiate lifestyle. By examining the student cultures at the western institutions, one finds that the collegiate lifestyle was reproduced—at times more vigorously than in the east—as students sought to *do something* within the economic and social parameters of their university and region. Across the nation the student life at Yale was emulated in Ohio, Indiana, and California, only the class colors, the school shouts, and the organizational names were different.

Furthermore, the collegiate center of population was moving westward at the turn of the century. Trends of enrollment increases continued: 156,756 in 1890, 355,213 in 1910, and more than 441,000 students in 1917—approximately 3.4% of the population between 18 and 24.[69] When professional and normal schools are accounted for, this number jumps to 5.5% of the population.[70] When only accounting for men, the figure rises to 6.1%.[71] Many of these increases were made in the west where there existed an "unlimited number of higher educational institutions of very uneven character and quality" outside of the usual suspects.[72] In 1890 over 85% of public college and university students came to reside in the west and south rather than the northeast, with over 60% of them in western institutions.[73] In 1906, the four largest western colleges (Michigan, 4,521; Minnesota, 3,940; Illinois, 3,635; Wisconsin, 3,083) were only slightly trailing the growth of the four largest eastern colleges (Harvard,

[69] DeVane, *Higher Education*, 2, 15; John R. Thelin, "Cliometrics and the Colleges: The Campus Condition, 1880 to 1910," *Research in Higher Education* Vol. 21, no. No. 4 (1984): 425–37.
[70] This percentage is slightly skewed. As the Collegiate Era reached its peak in 1910 the age ranger of students had narrowed to between 18-21, giving us an unnecessary 3-years to account for non-traditional students that did not make up the great majority of students. Philander Priestley Claxton, *Report of the Commissioner of Education, Yr. 1916-17*, vol. Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 48; Geiger, *Higher Education*, 428.
[71] Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man, American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood 1890-1915* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 50.
[72] Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 31.
[73] The stale state of eastern education is telling when endowments are compared, at least for the 1880s and 90s. In 1890, Stanford's endowment (30-million) far exceeded that of Columbia's (5-million). Douglass, *California Idea*, 89.

5,283; Columbia, 4,755; Cornell, 3,871; and Yale, 3,477).[74] Indeed, the University of Illinois' growth is particularly astounding, just ten years earlier its enrollment was under 550. Responding to the rapid growth in 1905, Illinois President Edmund James proudly asserted of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin that the three institutions would "soon stand in friendly rivalry to perform the greatest service, and will equal and may surpass Harvard, Yale, and Columbia in number of students and probably in all the functions of a great university."[75] He was not mistaken. By 1910, the collegiate population had firmly entrenched in the west. Chicago, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois had outpaced their eastern sisters to between 4,000 and 5,500 students, and California and Wisconsin were already planning for enrollments exceeding 10,000.[76] Of the sixteen largest institutions in 1917, over half were western institutions.[77] It is no mistake that California, Michigan, and Wisconsin were founding members of the Association of American Universities in 1900, nor that they (along with Illinois and Minnesota) were included in Edwin Slosson's *Great American Universities* in 1910. Western institutions had taken the offerings of Harvard and Yale and reproduced it on mass scale for the average American while also pushing the boundaries to make higher education more accessible to applicants. Requirements were low, entrance exams served as more of a formality, and tuition, if not already free, was not prohibitive for students who would have to work their way through college. [78]

To avoid a narrative entirely focused on the eastern colleges, this dissertation surveyed as many individual institutions from different regions of the country as time and

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[74] "The Report of the President of Harvard University," *The Popular Science Monthly*, May 1906, 478.
[75] "The Installation of President James and the University of Illinois," *The Popular Science Monthly*, December 1905, 756.
[76] Edwin Emery Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 2005 Elibron Classics Reprint Edition (New York, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), x, 1; James Axtell, *Wisdom's Workshop: The Rise of the Modern University* (Princeton University: Princeton University Press, 2017), 297; Thelin, *A History*, 133.
[77] Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education*, Vol. 3:696.
[78] Thelin, *A History*, 97, 99.

treasure would allow to visit. My list of institutions surveyed fits nicely into groupings laid out by Marc Nemec in *Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds* (2006). They are as follows: Older Eastern Elite Universities (Harvard, Brown, Yale, Dartmouth, Amherst, Marietta), Newer Midwestern and Western State Institutions (Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, California, Iowa State), and Newer Private Institutions (Cornell, Stanford, University of Chicago). To these I add a fourth category: Sundry Southern Institutions (Clemson, Mississippi State, Texas A&M, Alabama, Virginia, Florida). Both Geiger and Nemec note that southern institutions lagged behind their northern and western counterparts in research and development, but their studentships just as eagerly pledged themselves to *doing something* as they did to Wilson's crusade. These institutions are also relevant for their military nature, often having their entire studentships in uniform long before the War or the Reserve Officers Training Corps. When taken as a whole, these institutions cover a wide diversity of regions, sizes, and traditions. Some effectively operated as military schools, some were founded with private money to broaden access to and study within higher education, some were rapidly growing in size and national importance, and some were bastions of wealth and patrician ideas. Many other colleges and universities are represented through items found in archives or from available secondary literature but do not have entire sections dedicated to their histories.

Due to constraints on time and length, I have not included Women's Colleges or Historically Black Colleges and Universities. This does not indicate that they played no part in the War, only that their service to the nation requires further research.

Women made up forty percent of total students in 1917.[79] Many of the largest state institutions were co-educational from their founding and the institutions that would later

[79] Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education*, Vol. 3:682.

make up the Ivy League (minus Cornell) had corresponding Women's Colleges known as the Seven Sisters. During the War, women found themselves similarly whipped up in War fever. The Red Cross trained women in nursing as well as gave courses in surgical dressings, civilian relief, accounting, and first aid. At the University of Arizona all women students were asked to form a Red Cross unit to help knit articles for troops overseas.[80] And at Smith College, women students pledged "voluntarily to conscript ourselves to one specialized form of work rather than to spread our energies over many fields."[81] There were also instances of women serving as doctors and nurses overseas, such as Marry Crawford and Jean H. Pattison. With a reduction in male students on campus, female students in some cases carried on the collegiate lifestyle, taking over the editorships of papers and forming the majority of sporting activities.

Segregated African American colleges also involved themselves during the War. By 1900, the total number of African Americans who had obtained bachelor's degrees stood at 1,304: 301 from seventy-three predominantly white institutions and 1,001 from thirty-one Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).[82] Historian Bobby Lovett, author of *America's Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (2015), offers us no discussion of the role of black students during the World War. It is not the case that HBCUs did not participate. On the contrary, over the course of this research, pictorial evidence that SATC detachments operated at the Tuskegee Institute and the Negro Agricultural and Technical College of Greensboro, North Carolina, came to light. It is also known that African Americans left their colleges upon America's entrance into the War just as their white counterparts. Henry T. McDonald, president of Storer College, kept in close contact with all 104 of that institution's

[80] Douglas D. Martin, *The Lamp in the Desert, the Story of the University of Arizona* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1960), 130–31.
[81] Smith College Monthly, June 1917, quoted in Capozzola, *Uncle Sam*, 91.
[82] Bobby L. Lovett, *America's Historically Black Colleges & Universities: A Narrative History from the Nineteenth Century into the Twenty-First Century* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2011), 64.

men in service.[83] African American higher education on par with that of white institutions was still a long way off, however, and the case of Storer College was most likely not the case everywhere. The U.S. Bureau of Education's 1917 bulletin, *Negro Education: A Study of Private and Higher Education*, stated that many of the 747 schools for African Americans were "pitiable shambles of poor buildings, [with] inadequate support, and low standards."[84] Fewer than 100 of them offered any collegiate level education. With a total enrollment of 1,338 in 1915, the Tuskegee Institute was one of the largest and most generously funded HBCU.[85] But, even then, it did not offer a collegiate degree until 1921. African American collegians were also restricted from the Plattsburg encampments and officer training camps, despite Tuskegee helping to organize a short-lived officer training camp in Des Moines, Iowa, for African Americans.[86] This history will, sadly, have to be explored at a later date, leaving another, more forgotten, group of students' war service in the archives.

The Making – Structural Potpourri

This dissertation has been separated into two parts covering higher education from the end of the American Civil War to the end of the First World War. Part One*, Doing Something, The Collegiate Era, 1880-1914*, argues that American colleges and universities were already distinctly martial spaces well before the First World War. During this period, students were immersed in a remarkably martial environment and found outlets to *do something*—for their college and their country—through mass organized sports, fraternities and secret societies, and a varied gambit of clubs and organizations. It lays the groundwork for part two by reconstructing the student experience and collegiate life within the colleges that would instill

[83] Harpers Ferry National Historic Park, "Storer College Students in World War I," *National Park Service*, October 26, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/storer-college-wwi.htm.
[84] The Bulletin was searched for this quote, but it was not found. Quoted in: Lovett, *America's Historically Black Colleges & Universities: A Narrative History from the Nineteenth Century into the Twenty-First Century*, 72.
[85] Ibid., 61.
[86] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 160–62.

in students the need to *do something.* Kennedy has written that the SATC turned American colleges into "a vast network of pre-induction centers;" in contrast, I argue that American higher education had been cultivating militaristic students long before 1917. At the American college and university circa 1880 to 1914, American boys could be the sports hero, the ruthless businessman, and the polished gentleman all at once: they could engage in skirmishes on the ice, enact strategy in student politics, and fight pitched battles on the college gridiron.

Chapter One introduces the collegiate lifestyle of the 1870s-1910s, laying the groundwork for my concept of *Doing Something*, the extreme dedication to one's collegiate environment and the push to prove oneself by bringing honor to the institution and making one's friends proud. Differing greatly in scope and size from the clerical colleges from which it evolved, the American post-bellum university thronged with an environment replicating, often more exaggeratedly, the intense competition that awaited students in outside society. The Collegiate Era ushered in a campus lifestyle that held the cult of athletics, class positions, and loyalty to *alma mater* in higher regard than the academic gown. One excelled for having done something that brought honor to the college, earning the respect of one's peers, rather than attaining high grades. I argue that the demands of the collegiate social life proved more pressing than that of the academic, leading to the formation of strong communal bonds in clubs, societies, and fraternities that would remain with students long after their graduation. The chapter concludes with an examination of the Class Rush, arguing that class warfare, derived from ante-bellum student rebellions, conditioned students for First World War battles.

Chapter Two examines the growth of football and its impact on collegiate populations. Here I argue that football was a warlike sport which demanded everything from players and spectators, taking over entire schools and subjugating academics. A violent incubator of martial spirit, fervent loyalty, athletic power, and coordinative teamsmanship, collegiate

football captured the life of the college and possessed students with a frenzy. Athletes came to view their own colleges as collegiate nations deserving of total devotion, even to death. It came to the high point at which national fame and international renown came to be based on the success of the college's elevens; an institution of higher education would not be great until its football team was great. Collegiate Era institutions were also the proving grounds for new ideals of manliness as the nation rapidly industrialized. Previous generations worried that students would be less manly than their progenitors who had fought in the Civil War, leading students to seek warlike ways to prove their manliness even if they had to create such opportunities themselves. The gridiron game offered college students the ability to enact war in a controlled arena through extremely violent methods as a means fashioning themselves into manly men. Despite deaths, administrators were just as fervent about the game as the students. When administrators did speak out against unrestrained violence, they did so not because it was deadly but because someone had cheated and thereby demeaned the effort to create good Christian men.

Chapter two has been influenced by John Pettegrew's *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America 1890-1920* (2007), an examination of the varied efforts of Americans to re-define manhood during the crisis of masculinity at the turn of the century. Pettegrew approaches his work through the lens of psychology and business rather than from higher education, but my *do something* thesis fits nicely within his arguments that football instilled in men qualities coveted by business. Pettegrew argued that collegiate football, for both player and spectator, produced "brutes in suites…organizational men, who, when the situation called for it, could also tap into the cultivated trait of predation."[87] By shifting Pettegrew's arguments, I argue that the loyalty cultivated in football—seen as useful to graduates going into corporate

[87] John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America 1890-1920*, Gender Relations in the American Experience (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 133.

business—was but part of a larger loyalty to one's university as preparation for loyalty to one's country.

In Part 2, *Martial Minds at War, Student Volunteerism and Enlistment, 1914-18*, I cover the war period in which students' intense loyalty to their *alma mater*—formed during the preceding 50-years—was co-opted and transmuted into a larger loyalty to the nation through service with humanitarian aid organizations, foreign armies, and the American armed forces. I argue that collegians—alumni and undergraduates—played a much larger role in defying American non-neutrality and influencing interventionism through overseas volunteerism than has heretofore been understood. Far from being the lackadaisical loafers, inattentive to events occurring outside of their ivy-covered college gates, that they are often presented as, students were acutely aware of world events and eagerly devoted their energy to pro-interventionist convictions. Three years in advance of America's declaration of war, hundreds of college students were already prominent actors over there; indeed, before the AEF arrived on the European continent, America's first organized combatants were college-men who volunteered in foreign armies and humanitarian aid organizations. I further argue that by April 1917 the American Government found in the *collegiate*—the students, alumni, faculty, and administrative staff of American colleges and universities—an ample population of citizens eager and ready for war. And, when war came to demand the unconditional cooperation of the nation, and its citizens, industries, and institutions were expected to devote the entirety of their efforts to absolute victory, the colleges used their prime position to fulfill the most pressing needs of the nation without reservation.

Chapter Three examines the largest American presence in Europe prior to the AEF's arrival: the Field Service of the American Ambulance. Catering to outspoken college students who were agitating for America's entrance into the war, this chapter argues that this non-neutral organization, which enlisted over 3,000 collegiate volunteers during its existence,

served as a major outlet for collegians to express their non-neutrality. At a time when Wilson had called for absolute neutrality, collegiate students dismissed such calls and put their lives on the line so that they might *do something* for humanity that would make their peers proud. While serving with the French, they wrote home in non-neutral terms to parents, friends, teachers, and fraternal organizations, painting a vivid first-hand account of the suffering and devastation they witnessed. The recipients quickly published excerpts in the national newspapers, took out full broadsides in well-read magazines, sent photographs to alumni periodicals, extolled the doings of the small-town college boy in hometown rags, and filled all manner of collegiate print news with the exploits of *alma mater*'s sons. The same gridiron and ice rink stars that American citizens had eagerly followed in the papers before the War became the unlikely correspondents who brought the War directly into the American consciousness while agitating for American intervention. Following the Dawes Group of Marietta College, this chapter examines the fervency with which students gave their time, treasure, and, for some, their lives for humanitarian aid efforts overseas.

Chapter Four enhances the collegiate aspect of the Field Service by discussing the decision of Edward Tinkham's Cornell Unit to abandon ambulance work in favor of—perceived—advancement to work more crucial to the war effort. Showcasing the engrained nature of the collegiate need to do something, I argue that A. Piatt Andrew, head of the Field Service, was able to manipulate collegians to take up munition transportation over humanitarian aid work by exploiting the Big Man personas of section leaders. Many students had volunteered with the FSAA to complete humanitarian aid work, but others had reasons often at odds with the crowd. Influenced by Horowitz's work on the distinctions between the college men, outsiders, and rebels of the Collegiate Era, I argue that all elements of collegiate society had mobilized themselves for pre-war volunteerism. Dos Pasos, Hemingway, and others who shunned the collegiate lifestyle while behind the ivy were also the ones to join

with football players and editors of collegiate newspapers side-by-side to drive ambulances. The chapter concludes with the transfer of the Field Service to the U.S. Army, examining the ways in which the military authorities discontinued more than three years' worth of lessons learned by the Field Service as they set out to create an independent and distinct American force.

Chapter Five returns to college sports and their effect on student enlistment and experience. Here I argue that the war-like spectacles on gridiron and ice profoundly impacted perception of the War. For students, alumni, and especially athletes, the War would manifest itself as a much larger football game, a continuation of the same fervent loyalties and quick adrenaline instincts they had cultivated in their collegiate years. For a generation of students continually questioning their own courage, wondering if they would be able to show the same bravery as the generations before them, their attempts to enact their own battles on gridiron and in the rink served as beneficial practice for the actual event. Student letters from the time are littered with sports terms and references to big games, collegiate rivalries, and familiar football songs. Furthermore, students saw the War as a grand adventure, a release from the dull humdrum of average everyday life. Adding to John Pettegrew's research on sports references in the AEF's *Stars and Stripes*, I further deepen the analysis on the collegiate aspect of comparing sport to war. While Hobey Baker is often used as the perfect example of student-soldier-athlete, this chapter digs deeper into Hobey's own feelings and anxieties of his wartime fame while also broadening the field to other collegiate specimens who felt pressure to prove themselves in war as they had proved themselves in athletic contests. Following Kennedy's argument that France allowed men to "give vent to dangerous impulses that must be suppressed in civil society," much like how the American West allowed for previous generations to live off the land while constantly on the move facing both hidden and known dangers, I argue that War was the climax of collegiate manhood. The War offered a

chance to prove oneself in an athletic arena much larger than the gridiron and to *do something* for an organization larger than the fraternity or the college team. Uniting the warlike environment of the college to the martial means of the nation, the First World War was a test of the collegiate idea, and, in the end, college students proved their mettle. With the selfless and heroic images of their fathers and grandfathers looming in their minds, the peer pressure of an urgent need to *do something*, and the martial temperament of the playing fields, students felt compelled to fight.

Already preaching the ideals of service and having set as its mission to instill the values of public service in its students, American higher education entered the First World War with unbridled enthusiasm for the American war effort.[88] Strong ideals of institutional devotion and loyalty had been essential in the formulation such fervent support among college students for the American war effort. In Chapter Six, I argue that a college "spirit" was responsible for this outpouring of student support and that college administrators and faculty were instrumental in keeping this spirit aroused in student populations on campuses and on the front lines. College officers co-opted the collegiate lifestyle's intense loyalty for *alma mater* to create a larger sense of loyalty for the nation as they framed the war as a battle for the college, for student traditions, and for the collegiate way of living.

In turn, students eagerly took to this framing, promising to uphold the institution's pride and honor on the battlefield. As Gruber has argued, the War made academics "men of action;" so too were these students breaking away from their own collegiate nations to become "men of action."[89] Just as the university seized upon the opportunity to demonstrate its value to society and usefulness to the government, the "quest for legitimacy" also seized the students who themselves where preoccupied with proving their worth by *doing*

[88] Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 5.
[89] Ibid., 44.

something.[90] The Big Men more so than most. Serving as morale builders and the embodiment of an institution's ideals, they were honored as collegiate heroes in death. To serve the nation was to serve the college; to die in the nation's service was to make the ultimate sacrifice for *alma mater*.

Chapter Seven examines the early preparedness movements targeted at college students for training a capable cadre of citizens knowledgeable in military science, arguing that the colleges had long been singled out as areas for strengthening military instruction. This section attempts to reframe Gruber and Levine's SATC-centered arguments by showing that colleges and universities had already established and expanded multiple outlets of military cooperation with the Federal Government before the creation of the SATC program. Describing the numerous campus-level problems that the SATC faced, this chapter culminates by challenging Levine's "resounding success" theory with first-hand accounts of its troubled implementation. Eagerly welcomed by administrators at both struggling and prosperous institutions, the program was not as eagerly celebrated when the War ended. While smaller colleges reported that the program, despite its burdensome bureaucracy and military hierarchy, had been a success, larger institutions considered the transition from classroom to cantonment an abject failure.

Conclusion – The Collegiate at War

"These few seniors happily present here to represent a class six times as large, the long honor-roll of undergraduates already in service, a fourth of the faculty absent in war work, the financial burdens and worries that the times exact," wrote President Sills, "these things attest in part what the war means to us."[91] It was five months before the SATC and Bowdoin had already been playing a major role in the American war effort. Over 500 other

[90] Ibid., 256–57.
[91] "Addresses," 15.

institutions were doing the same. Opening their campuses for war research, sending their faculty to Washington to write bulletins on war thrift and German aggression, and, most of all, giving their sons to the hell of a worldwide conflict that had dragged on for four years. Thousands of students had left their colleges behind, leaving them empty; thousands of alumni yielded their lives to the call of service, acting on the principles instilled in them during their undergraduate years. “Half of the heart of the College is now in France,” said Sills, “and the remaining half here beats in sympathy, —its thoughts largely over there.”[92] This is the story of that other half, their martial minds, the institutions and traditions that created them, and their journeys over here and *over there*.

[92] Ibid.

Chapter I: ***Doing Something, the Formation of Martial Manhood within the Collegiate Lifestyle***

The *Saturday Evening Post* of 28th October 1899 greeted its readers with a special "College Man's Number," an eye-catching red-print cover depicting a collegiate football player, complete with his leather pants, jerkin, and pigskin, arm-in-arm with a collegiate scholar, swallowed by his robes and burdened by a handful of books.[1] The cover material could not have been more deceiving, for the college of the early 20th Century found itself hardly so engrossed with academics to warrant putting a scholar on equal standing with a lineman on the cover of a national magazine; indeed, within the college walls, academic pursuits had been left to the "poops," "drips," and "overearnest in study," while the rest of the collegiate congregation made merry with the strenuous demands of the college's social arena.[2] Students, uninterested in flipping through books within the stale, stifling atmosphere of collegiate libraries, set out to recreate the entire college experience in their own image in the aftermath of the Civil War.[3] The resulting collegiate lifestyle was always in direct confrontation with the academic regime. Clubs, organizations, and athletic teams were famously detailed by Princeton President Woodrow Wilson as having been "so diverting—so important, if you will—[to] have swallowed up the circus," while the professors were left to "whistle for their audiences, discouraged and humiliated" within the main tent.[4] Entrance exams, academic requirements, and coursework were but the "price of admission" to the numerous "sideshows" of the circus.[5] The cult of athletics, class positions, and loyalty to *alma mater* were held higher regard than the academic gown. One excelled for having *done*

[1] "Cover Page," *The Saturday Evening Post*, October 28, 1899.
[2] Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 9.
[3] Abbott, "The Guild of Students," 619.
[4] Woodrow Wilson, "What Is College For?," *Scribner's Magazine*, November 1909.
[5] Ibid., 576.

something that brought honor to the college, whereby earing the respect of one's peers, rather than attaining high grades.

During the Collegiate Era, there was no term more ubiquitous than *do something*. An extreme dedication to one's collegiate institution emphasized by the pressure to prove one's self and make one's friends proud, *do something* produced a fervent passion bordering on fanaticism and monomania. From the moment a student stepped foot upon the campus they entered an intense "training ground for ruthless competition" as entering freshmen, staunch sophomores, and godly upperclassmen vied to do the most for *alma mater*.[6] The Collegiate Era campus, a place described by Yale graduate Henry Sidel Canby, Y'12, as "part cloister, part romance," contained an innumerable amount of fraternities, clubs, organizations, secret societies, varsity teams, student publications, vocal groups, brass bands, orchestras, and volunteer opportunities with which a student might have *done something*.[7] "Everything but scholarship was in my day an 'activity,' and called 'doing something for the college,'" wrote Canby, "[and] no one that I remember did anything that was regarded as doing, for its own sake…[as] the goal was prestige, social preferment, a senior society which would be a springboard to Success in Life."[8] Thus were the two tenets of the collegiate lifestyle: (1) scorning the directives of the academic establishment, and (2) doing all one could for the honor of the college to prove one's self a loyal and active individual. The former made the latter possible while the latter instilled in students an extreme sense of loyalty that would remain with them all their life.

At its very foundation, *do something* was the service of an individual student to the university as a collective, an obligatory duty to bring honor to one's *alma mater* in which

[6] Canby, *Alma Mater*, viii; Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 67.
[7] Canby, *Alma Mater*, viii; also see: Axtell, *Making of Princeton*, 238, 270.
[8] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 37–38.

students exercised their autonomy and initiative by choosing what areas of the collegiate lifestyle they engaged with to best serve it. Cries of "I'm doing this not for myself, but for the University" were all too common, while stories of collegians over-exerting themselves for their university, such as in Author Quinn's *The Last Five Yards*, a magazine serial covering the college years of a young football player risking life and limb for Pennsylvania, were grounded more in fact than in fiction.[9] Only through strenuosity would students have been deemed to have proven their loyalty to their collegiate nation and celebrated for having *done something*.[10]

Recent historians have contended that eligibility for citizenship within the collegiate nation was restricted to all but the most socially elite. By 1905, however, eligibility for citizenship in the collegiate nation had substantially broadened. In contrast with Gieger's and Thelin's interpretations, increasingly heterogeneous cohorts actively fought to restore a democratic spirit to the collegiate lifestyle, contesting the clubbable set's long-standing dominance over collegiate life so to fulfill their own desires to *do something*. Barred from membership in the elite clubs, these collegians—Horowitz terms them "rebels"—set out to broaden the collegiate lifestyle with originality and individualism.[11] They created their own clubs and organizations, won popular elections to positions of campus prestige, and re-defined the ways in which one *did something*. Harvard historian Samuel Morison has argued that "never was the college so exciting, or drunks so drunken, or the generous feelings of ardent youth so exalted," as they were in the lead up to the War, but these golden years of collegiate living were also years of profound change for the collegiate lifestyle.[12]

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[9] Author Hobson Quinn, "The Last Five Yards," *The Saturday Evening Post*, October 28, 1899.
[10] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 38.
[11] See Chapter 4 "The Rebels: Idol Breakers" in Horowitz, Campus Life, 82-97.
[12] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1936), 438.

It was in this context that the collegiate student developed an intense, almost fanatical loyalty for his college and his peers. The "class," or group of students one began their four-year foray into the collegiate lifestyle with, was cemented in violent transitions from outsider to collegian that took the form unregulated hazing exercises and outright warfare between classes. As Horowitz has written, the word *class* "carried with it connotations of shared experience and comradeship" which "marked the importance of the word and the strength of the bonds" created by it.[13] Indeed, the concept of the collegiate class, formed in the flames of intra-student violence, created bonds of comradeship akin to those formed between soldiers in the heat of battle.[14] It was an experience unique to the collegiate realm, for no other organization had the ability to foster such a strong loyalty and dedication between young American men and their classmates.[15] It was a martial and warlike existence. One had to continually fight for those around him to prove that he could be counted as a productive member of the class; one could not back out, to do so would risk ostracization and complete exclusion from college life.

Collegiate Era –"No, The Goal Was Prestige"

In 1912 the author Owen Johnson, Y'00, wrote what F. Scott Fitzgerald, P'17, considered the "textbook" of his collegiate generation. *Stover at Yale* tells the story of Dink Stover, a popular prep school graduate and star football player, and his four years at Yale University at the turn of the century. A collegiate romp, in many ways the historical fiction of Canby's *Alma Mater*, it is illustrative of the ardent push to *do something* occurring throughout American higher education circa 1900-1910. Stover's first day at Yale, a sight

[13] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York, New York: Knopf, 1987), 38.
[14] Arthur M. Cohen and Carrie B. Kisker, *The Shaping of American Higher Education; Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System*, 2nd ed., The Jossey-Bass Higher and Adult Education Series (San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass, 2010), 133; Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 45.
[15] Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 134.

replicated on hundreds of campuses, sees freshman scurrying across campus looking for the next frontpage scoop; society chaps, wearing the most fashionable top coats and strutting with decorative canes, groveling to upperclassmen on fraternity steps; athletes, riddled with anxiety as well as bruises, struggling to earn their keep with the squad or the crew; and business-minded students grinding to secure the management positions of sports teams, professional musical groups, campus publications, and all manner of student-based enterprise. Like Canby, who "accepted the college as I found it," all of Johnson's characters similarly "believed in its life and its spirit with a fanatic devotion."[16]

Reflecting on the demands of student life, a self-proclaimed aristocrat named Le Baron tells Johnston's Stover, "I say our colleges today are business colleges."[17] The joy of sport, playing for the love of the game, had been removed for "achieving a required result—success."[18] While those that were musically inclined, rather than meeting with fellow musicians "according to the whim of the moment," were expected to "get out and work" for the professional musical organizations of the college.[19] And, most strikingly, rather than being told to enjoy the moment of leisure, the company of varied people from varied backgrounds, the fleeting moments of spontaneity and freedom, Le Baron grumbles that students were told to "get out and work…work harder than the next man, who is going to try to outwork you." "You don't count," he stated, "everything for the college."[20] Le Baron's statement was not exaggeration. Thomas Arkle Clark, the Illinois Dean of Men, stated in 1915, "I know any number of fellows at the University of Illinois who belong to so many things that they have little time to give to the management and best interests of their fraternities."[21] In many cases

[16] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 25.
[17] Owen Johnson, *Stover at Yale* (New York, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company Publishers, 1912), 242–43.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 243.
[20] Ibid., 243–44.
[21] Thomas Arkle Clark, "Extra-Fraternity Organizations," *Banta's Greek Exchange*, March 1915, 137.

students were so absorbed in so many different clubs and fraternities that they hadn't enough time for all that they were a part of.

That the demands of collegiate social life were more persuasive than those of the academic is unquestionable, academics were at all times subservient to the student's social regime. Robert Benchley, H'12, reflecting on his time at Harvard, wrote that his college education was "no haphazard affair."[22] Indeed, Benchley's courses had been expertly selected with a "serious purpose" in mind: "no classes before eleven in the morning or after two-thirty in the afternoon, and nothing on Saturday."[23] An academically rigorous course, to be sure. Giving time to anything other than academic pursuits was the norm. Amherst alumnus Harry Taylor, AC'04, wrote to Alfred S. Romer, AC'17, that recitation and study were "occasional" in his day at Amherst. "When the college body was not building bonfires, the men dispersed to rest up for the next celebration," wrote Romer, "except for the time they gave to Dramatics, or Music, or Athletics, or Fussing, or Boozing."[24]

Such distractions were an integral part of the day-to-day of collegiate life; the necessary and requisite *education* which would teach lessons in loyalty, sociability, and ruthlessness. It was the beating heart of the collegiate community which Canby described as having "defined its own success, pursued it constantly, and was arrogantly indifferent to the ideals of others, asking its members for complete and whole-hearted allegiance."[25] Even to the point of neglecting one's own health. The sheer number of ticket stubs, event programs, and gala dinner menus filling the pages of student scrapbooks from the era showcase the ubiquity of extracurricular events.[26] One student had collected so many multi-colored athletic

[22] Robert Benchley, *Inside Benchley* (New York & London: Harper & Brothers, 1921), 84.
[23] Ibid., 85–86.
[24] Harry Taylor to Alfred S. Romer, February 7, 1917, Alfred Sherwood Romer (AC 1917) Papers, AC-ASC.
[25] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 33.
[26] Ross L. Hoag, "Ross L. Hoag Scrapbook," 1914, DRMC-CUL; Elmer J. Hoffman, "Elmer J. Hoffman Scrapbook," 1909, DRMC-CUL; Lee Rayburn, "Lee Rayburn Scrapbook," 1915, Student Affairs, Student

stubs that it leads one to wonder how he had any time to eat and sleep, let alone attend the home and away games of all the sports teams.

Unwavering dedication to social activities was not only endemic to northeastern studentships but was also deeply entrenched in the colleges of the far west and south.[27] "To an amazing degree," wrote Dr. Earnest, "the pattern set by Harvard, Yale, and Princeton after 1880 became that of colleges all over the country."[28] While each studentship might have thought of themselves as having their own exclusivity in manner, clothing, talk, feeling, and personality, "the differences," wrote Canby, "were unimportant when compared to the resemblances."[29] It is no surprise then that Stanford's student paper, the *Daily Palo Alto*, took an eastern lead by announcing to freshman at the beginning of the 1896-97 school year that every student "should try to give some of his time to University interests aside from his work on a regular course of study."[30] From the moment a young man set foot on the campus, he was expected to work for the institution in order to make his influence known and his presence felt, whereby showing his loyalty and devotion to his friends, to his class, and to his college. The student so absorbed in his work was "missing a very valuable part" of his education wrote the *Daily*, and, most importantly, was "failing to do his duty." Students needed to give "something of himself to add to the fair fame of his *alma mater*" to be considered as having *done something*.[31] This opinion was openly voiced by collegiate administrators as well. Amherst President George Harris, AC'1866, wrote that a student who

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Scrapbooks and Papers, UA-UoI; D. J. Finn, "D. J. Finn '21 Scrapbook," 1917, TAMU-CMLA; Kenneth Kade Prestridges, "Kenneth Kade Prestridges '17 Scrapbook," 1913, TAMU-CMLA; George Dock, "George Dock Jr. Dartmouth Scrapbook," 1912, DC-RSC; Frances Elizabeth Willard Searles, "Frances Elizabeth Willard Searles Scrapbook," 1914, DRMC-CUL; Charles G. Muller, "Charles G. Muller Scrapbook," 1915, DRMC-CUL.

[27] Geiger, *Higher Education*, 420.

[28] Earnest, *Academic Procession*, 204; Canby, *Alma Mater*, 24; Thelin, *A History*, 156; Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 143; Roberta J. Park, "From Football to Rugby-and Back, 1906-1919: The University of California-Stanford University Response to the 'Football Crisis of 1905,'" *Journal of Sport History* 11, no. 3 (Winter 1984): 11.

[29] Canby, *Alma Mater*, xi.

[30] "Every Person," *DPA*, September 18, 1896.

[31] Ibid.

"consider[ed] study and marks all of college life" was "misguided." The "idea Amherst man," Harris stated, was one who "does something and makes his influence felt among his fellows."[32]

Those that subjugated their lives to the collegiate lifestyle and managed to *do something* for *alma mater* were regarded as the Big Men. These were the students "the teacher most desires to get hold of and enlist in some enterprise of the mind," wrote Wilson, but had been "drawn off and monopolized by these necessary and engaging undergraduate undertakings."[33] They held captaincies on the athletic teams, the editorships of school papers, and the presidencies of societies, fraternities, and student governments; they set the pace of campus life, breathing their ideas and beliefs into entire generations of students. "There was an arrogant and enchanting irresponsibility in their behavior which was intoxicating," Canby recalled the first time he saw the Big Men, "I longed to get rid of my suitcase with its irrelevant books, and into a sweater which I saw to be obligatory—to dress like them, be like them."[34] Everyone loved and respected them, and everyone wanted to be friends with them. More importantly, their outlook and opinion on world events, due to their high social standing and the upmost respect paid to them by their peers, influenced the thinking of those around them.

Collegiate Era – Redefining Collegiate Citizenship

Historians have argued that citizenship within the collegiate nation was only granted to this small minority of leaders and club men known as the Big Men—understood to be the social elect of the most elite societies.[35] Each college offered their own fraternal flavor of exclusivity. Harvard had the luxurious "Gold Coast" residences and Princeton its wealthy

[32] Amherst President George Harris, quoted in Taylor to Romer, February 7, 1917.
[33] Wilson, "What Is College For?," 576.
[34] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 25.
[35] Thelin, *A History*, 192.

Eating Clubs. Some universities had literary societies, which Dean Clark described as clubs "quite exclusive," "not democratic," and which "controlled college politics with an absolute completeness."[36] Others had secret societies which pulled the puppet strings behind the scenes of collegiate life. Any number and name existed and all of them drew on mythical themes to create a pseudo-ancestry dating to antiquity: Scabbard and Blade, Sphinx Head, Wolf's Head, Egyptian, Arcus, Yoxan, Dragon Society, The Porcellian Club, and Skull and Bones, just to name a few. At many colleges, social societies controlled the access to campus-wide social prestige, dictating who could become a member through an "interlocking directorate" of freshman, sophomore, and junior clubs and organizations whose covert goal was to self-select the best and brightest for societal membership from the beginning.[37] At Harvard this system was organized into Waiting Clubs and Final Clubs. Upon arrival to campus freshmen went immediately into action to best showcase their talents, class loyalties, and social character. In 1906, the Institute of 1770 would choose 100 prospective members from the 700 freshmen on campus. From then on, the 100 members would be sorted into one of the Waiting Clubs in their sophomore year. Such an election would enable them to be invited to a Final Club, the apex of campus social prestige, in their junior or senior year.

These elite clubs took up rooms in palatial houses on hills overlooking campus; others inhabited unassuming manses down neatly maintained streets and collegiate ways; while the more secluded and mysterious selected elaborately designed tombs in the Egyptian style or rendezvous points hidden across campus. At Cornell, large and luxurious mansions molded after the gentleman's clubs of Boston and New York were constructed on the heights overlooking the campus. Over $1,500,000 ($50-million) was exhausted in the construction of the "greatest luxuriance and prolificity," with one group of 25-brothers living in a house

[36] Thomas Arkle Clark, "The Fraternity and Its Underclassmen," *Banta's Greek Exchange*, March 1914, 2.
[37] David Lamoreaux, "Stover at Yale and the Gridiron Metaphor," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1977): 331–32.

valued at over $75,000 ($2.5-million).[38] At Princeton, "Eating Clubs" on Prospect Street filled the void created by a ban on fraternities. The most renowned of the Eating Clubs was the Ivy, which solicited its members solely from the social elite of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. An extremely selective society, Ivy members only tapped those of the studentship deemed to have *done something* for the college, and, if members were not enthused with class prospects, they didn't tap prospective applicants. Such a dearth occurred in 1913, when the Ivy only tapped eight, leading Princeton students to protest that "even Jesus Christ took twelve."[39]

Though they might have been the most visible and lavish proponents of the collegiate lifestyle, citizenship was not restricted to this minority, and most collegiate organizations were not nearly as exclusive. In terms of fraternity enrollment, long seen as a "special college caste" and a legitimate avenue for *doing something* for one's institution, over 1,560 Greek letter fraternities enrolled a brother and sistership of more than 130,000 collegians, or slightly over one third of the undergraduate population in 1900.[40] Cornell had birthed the first African American fraternity in the United States while the University of Illinois offered over forty different fraternal entities catering to every budget and purpose.[41] In the absence of university-run housing, these entities offered students rooms, food, and social interaction at all price points. Thousands more were part of smaller clubs and societies; music groups and debate teams; football squads and rowing crews which held no "preclusions to exclusiveness"

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[38] "Here's A Good One---Cornell As Others See Us," newspaper clipping in Muller, "Charles G. Muller Scrapbook."
[39] Quoted in John Davies, *The Legend of Hobey Baker* (Boston, Mass: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), 60–61.
[40] Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise, Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Berg, 2001), 32; Snyder, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, 84; Henry D. Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs* (New York, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), 226.
[41] Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 403; Larzer Ziff, *The American 1890s; Life and Times of a Lost Generation* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 309; Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, 216–17.

and who's membership was considered active and loyal citizens of the collegiate nation.[42] Membership was also not mutually exclusive, and an editor of the *Daily Illini* might also play as a halfback for the college elevens during the season, claim membership to a literary society, play violin for the student orchestra, host smokers at his fraternity house, sit on a student governing board, or sing in a musical or act theatre production. Harvard historian Samuel Morison put it the most succinctly when he stated that "outside clubland" was "the real college life of the period."[43] There were many avenues to citizenship in the collegiate nation.

Arguments indicting the Collegiate Era as socially restricted arose from administrative discourse at the turn of the century suggesting that collegiate life had departed from its egalitarian roots. Historical examination has focused on administrations attempting to rein in elite communities—Wilson seeking to incorporate the Eating Clubs and Elliot attempting to diminish the Gold Coast—by moving the social life of the college into university-run dormitories. The clubbable set was able to stave off such attempts, leading to the assumption that they continued to hold their power. It was not a lasting power, however. By 1910, non-elite collegians had fought for membership to multiple campus societies and organizations. By writing for the student papers, magazines, or lampoons, rowing for the crews or leading the cheer sections, even creating their own popular clubs and organizations, these collegians were fighting to do what they thought right for their institutions (read: *do something*). Many came to command attention and respect, becoming the colleges' Big Men.

The efforts of John Reed, H'10, are indicative of the shift. Reed, a middle-class boy from the Pacific northwest, had not been elected to the Institute of 1770 despite great effort to prove himself his freshman year. He came to blame elite, northeastern snobbery when he also

[42] Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 131.
[43] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936*, 428.

did not obtain an editorship on the *Crimson* or a managerial position in the Varsity Crew the following year. Barred from entrance into the highest rungs of the collegiate social set, he set out to *do something* another way: by becoming an activities man.[44] During his last two years, Reed became part of no less than sixteen different clubs, organizations, athletic teams, and secret societies, founding at least two of them himself; by his graduation, he was serving as captain of the water polo team, manager of the glee club, and song-leader for the cheer squad, a highly respected position within the collegiate hierarchy in its own right.[45] By his own rebellious approach to *doing something*, Reed won admission to the prestigious Finishing Club Hasty Pudding as a senior, displacing socially elite classmates who had long expected election since their freshman year. Reed would continue in his collegiate rebellion after his graduation from Harvard, coming to scorn the intensely patriotic nature that *doing something* would develop during the World War with an outspoken and active objection to America's participation.[46]

Collegiate citizenship had not been exclusively restricted to whites, either. In 1903, an Argentinian student at Cornell named Modesto Quiroga, C'05, had gathered over one hundred foreign students and teachers from twenty-nine different countries together to celebrate their international backgrounds. The meeting was a success, and soon the students had drafted a constitution to perpetuate the meetings to further better their understanding of foreign cultures. They called themselves the Cosmopolitan Club due to their international character. Unbeknownst to Quiroga, a Japanese student at Wisconsin, Kiyoshi Kawakami, IS'03, had formed an International Club with the same intention of gathering international voices together. There were 2,673 foreign-born students studying in America's colleges in

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[44] See Chapter 4 "Harvard" in Robert Rosenstone, *Romantic Revolutionary: A Biography of John Reed* (New York, New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 36-59.
[45] Laura E. Hatt, "You Say You Want a Revolution," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 31, 2016, https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2016/3/31/john-reed-scrut/.
[46] Traxel, Crusader Nation, 272

1904, and, as news of Quiroga and Kawakami's clubs began to spread, they began to band together to form their own Cosmopolitan Clubs based on the Cornell model.[47] By 1905 there were Cosmopolitan Clubs at the Universities of Illinois, Michigan, and Chicago, and at Perdue, Ohio State, Iowa State A&M, and Louisiana State Universities.[48] These nine clubs formed an association in 1907 and, by 1917, the Cosmopolitan Club came to be a commonplace feature on campuses around the country.

Initially serving as gathering places for international student support, they took up the mission of breaking American intolerance by opening their doors to discussions on international affairs between foreign- and domestic-born students. At Michigan, they sent out lecturers to local libraries, churches, and courthouses to lecture about foreign cultures; at Missouri they spoke in country churches on foreign religions; at Illinois they held fundraisers for the victims of local mining accidents; and, as a national organization, they held benefits at local theaters to raise money for those affected by the First World War.[49] Contrary to their omission from the Collegiate Era's historiography, foreign students were present and eager actors on college campuses before the World War. Historian Allen J. Mikaelian argued that "foreign born experiences of exclusion and resentment were by no means consistent;" indeed, foreign students were treated with the same inconsistencies of social exclusion in the collegiate nation as poor- and, at times, elite-Americans.[50] Despite barriers to entry, foreign students fought to become active citizens of their collegiate nation alongside their white counterparts by playing basketball, joining fraternities, acting in student organizations,

[47] Molly J. Schwarz, "The Cosmopolitan Club Movement at the University of Iowa" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Iowa, 2024), 10; Allen J. Mikaelian, "'The Call of the Human': The Cosmopolitan Club Movement and the Early Twentieth-Century Internationalism" (Doctoral Thesis, American University, 2017), 73, 79.
[48] Mikaelian, "The Call," 2; Schwarz, "Cosmopolitan," 18.
[49] Mikaelian, "The Call," 85, 170–71.
[50] Ibid., 109.

editing papers and magazines, becoming members of secret societies, and even serving as yell leaders for sporting events.[51]

Cosmopolitan Clubs were highly popular organizations for foreign students as well as white Americans. Reed formed the Harvard Cosmopolitan Club with fifty-seven initial members in 1908—by his graduation in 1910, the Harvard club had grown to nearly six percent of the undergraduate population.[52] Historians of higher education make no mention of foreign students in their examinations of the Collegiate Era, nor do they discuss the Cosmopolitan Clubs or their prominent national presence. The existence of clubs like the Cosmopolitan show that the Collegiate Era was not one solely of extreme wealth, decadence, and whiteness. Indeed, Reed recalled that the Harvard of his day had "all sorts of strange characters, of every race and mind, poets, philosophers, cranks of every twist." "No matter what you were or what you did," he said, "at Harvard you could find your kind."[53] Other colleges had studentships with similarly mixed backgrounds at the turn of the century.

Rather than restricting entry to the sons of America's upper crust, colleges enrolled students who worked full-time and received much of their tuition payments back as financial aid alongside those who splurged on fancy suits and luxurious accommodation. Nearly half of the incoming freshman class at Harvard were the progeny of a middling immigrant class, over forty-one percent of them coming from public schooling backgrounds; by 1908, this proportion had increased to forty-five percent. In comparison, Yale stood at twenty-eight percent and Princeton at sixteen percent.[54] Quotas restricting admission, such as those for Jewish students, did not become commonplace until after the World War. The 1908 freshman

[51] Ibid.
[52] Hatt, "Revolution."
[53] Reed, quoted in Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936*, 434.
[54] Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (New York, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 13, 562.

class at Harvard was seven percent Jewish, nine percent Catholic, and included twenty-nine African American students and sixty international students.[55] Western institutions better reflected the broader American society than their eastern counterparts and were essential elements in the movement to make higher education more "democratic" for American citizens by enrolling students from a more diverse economic background. At the University of Michigan in 1902, for example, only thirty percent of students were the sons of businessmen compared to the more than sixty percent at Harvard, seventy-two percent at Yale, and eighty-four percent at Princeton who claimed patrician backgrounds.[56] To compare these statistics with modern compositions, more than sixty-six percent of Michigan and sixty-seven percent of Harvard students had come from the top twenty percent of U.S. earners in 2017 and 2024 respectively. The remaining percentages show a surprising diversity at Michigan at the turn of the century: twenty-two percent were the sons of farmers, seventeen percent from non-academic lay positions, five percent from mechanics and craftsmen, three percent from the clergy, and twenty percent from families with no fathers or who were unskilled laborers.[57]

Student expenditures showcase this heterogeneous composition well. In the words of Wesleyan President William A. Shanklin, expenditures in 1914 "depend[ed] on that invisible, but all-pervading influence which is called the college atmosphere."[58] The average amount spent on *pleasure* (club fees, social functions, and fraternity events) varied widely by income. Students at Yale in 1905 who reported spending under $500 a year for all expenses, normally those from lower income backgrounds and working to pay their way through college, budgeted $38 on average for pleasure; those spending between $1,000 to $2,000 a year,

[55] Ibid., 13, 45.
[56] Veysey, *Emergence*, 191; Karabel, *The Chosen*, 13, 45, 56.
[57] Veysey, *Emergence*, 283, 291–92.
[58] President William A. Shanklin quoted in "What A College Year Costs," *Literary Digest* Vol. 48, no. No. 5 (January 31, 1914): 207.

however, shelled out between $265 and $717 for social activities.[59] At Harvard, where the average necessary expenditure for 1914 tallied $400, President Lowell recommended an additional $300 to take part in the "various philanthropic, social, and athletic activities which are so important a part of the college life."[60] In perspective, a student was expected to spend as much on taking an active part in college life at Harvard as they would on tuition, fees, living expenses, and room and board. President Hibben suggested that social spending be "in proportion" to the official Princeton bill, which ranged from $500 to $800 for the majority of students.[61] And at Dartmouth, a school enrolling a larger number of self-supporting students, $200 was a greeted as a "generous surplus" for athletic and club activities.[62]

Students outside of the northeast did not spend nearly as much. In Land-Grant institutions, where tuition was free to state citizens and students were often the sons of middle-class farmers and shopkeepers on a budget, one finds that, rather than cutting fraternal costs to save money or being barred from membership due to their background, students still expended a considerable amount on fraternal and extra-fraternal organizations. At the University of Florida, a Land-Grant institution founded in 1906 and offering free tuition to Florida students, President Albert Murphree wrote the inquisitive father of a potential applicant that the average expenditure was $250 a year in 1916, this included $132 for board, $18 for fees, $15 for books, .25 to .50 cents a week for laundry, and the remaining given to travel, school, and living expenses.[63] Noting that fraternities "exercise a good [deal of] influence" over the campus, Murphree thought about $30 would have been sufficient for

[59] William B. Bailey, "Expenses of College Students," *The World To-Day; A Monthly Record of Human Progress*, April 1905.
[60] President Lawrence Lowell quoted in "What A College Year Costs," 207.
[61] President John Hibben quoted in ibid.
[62] Ibid., 207.
[63] Albert Alexander Murphree to T.W. Elarbee, September 29, 1916, UA-UoF; Albert Alexander Murphree to Sister. Esther Carlotta, June 13, 1916, UA-UoF.

enrollment.[64] Adjusted for inflation, the average student at the University of Florida paid $45 for dues and memberships, $45 for Y.M.C.A. contributions, and $874 for fraternity activities. Not expensive by any means for modern memberships and dues (which range from $5,400 to $12,000 a year at the University of Florida), a student worker in 1916, who could expect to earn $300 a year on odd jobs, expended around ten percent of his yearly earnings for club and fraternity fees.[65] This was a common situation; indeed, over one-third of fraternity brothers at the University of Wisconsin were self-supporting to pay for fraternity fees.[66]

Self-supporting students were far more numerous than not. Daniel Clark examined in *Creating the College Man* (2010) that national magazines frequently ran articles explaining the ways in which young men and women could work their way through college while still immersing themselves in the collegiate lifestyle.[67] Many books were also published, such as Calvin Dill Wilson's *Working One's Way Through College and University* (1912), which gave perspective students a detailed list of potential jobs and remuneration figures of those already working. These publications were not simply wishful thinking for perspective students who could not afford a collegiate education, they were guidebooks for a sizable number of collegians who were actively working their way through school. In 1912, over one-third of the Dartmouth studentry were self-supporting; more than eighteen percent of Columbia's 3,939 students had applied for jobs during the same term; and, of the 1,774 students at Stanford, the Registrar commented that "quite a number" were "entirely self-supporting."[68]

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[64] Murphree to Elarbee, September 29, 1916.
[65] United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, "War and Postwar Wages, Prices, and Hours, 1914-23 and 1939-44," *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics*, no. No. 852 (1946): 6.
[66] Geiger, *Higher Education*, 372.
[67] Clark, *Creating*, 56–57.
[68] Calvin Dill Wilson, *Working One's Way Through College and University* (Champaign, Illinois: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1912), 22–24.

As Morison has argued of Harvard, "men who worked their way through college were respected, and eligible," but they were also more numerous than has been given credit.

Collegiate Era – Student Violence and Organized Martiality: Rebellion and the Class Rush

Underlying the social trappings of the Collegiate Era existed an extremely violent existence in which all collegians played active parts. Following the Civil War, hair cutting, body painting, room destruction, ambushing, and outright abduction become the normal way of life for freshmen upon their arrival to campus in the 1870s.[69] At Harvard, sophomores frequently smashed the windows of new students, broke into their rooms and destroyed furniture, and even deposited them miles away from campus to find their way back at night.[70] One such abduction at Cornell lead to the death of a freshman after he and his two captors walked off a cliffside in the darkness. Fights were all too common. The students at the University of Michigan were known to engage in "hoodlumism" and "free fights" with fellow students and townsfolk.[71] A student brawl at Ann Arbor in late 1879 ended with the Michigan militia leading a bayonet charge while the police practiced "universal clubbing" on "small, inoffensive students."[72]

The early 1800s had been a hotly divisive and wantonly destructive time on American college campuses. Indeed, one historian described the period between the first colonial colleges and the Civil War as one of "constant warfare" between students and college officers.[73] Living under highly structured and oppressive administrative regimes that muffled

[69] Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 195–96.
[70] "Trouble at Harvard College," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 20, 1860.
[71] "College Gossip," *The Nassau Literary Magazine*, February 1880.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 50–56.

student independence and self-rule, studentships often resorted to armed revolt, homicidal violence, and institutional destruction to get their way.[74]

Numerous accounts of student revolt, destruction, and outright homicide prevailed in colleges throughout the east coast during the antebellum period. During a rebellion at William and Mary, students broke the windows in the campus chapel before breaking the windows of every professors' office; at the University of North Carolina, students stoned two professors before nearly horsewhipping the president to death over unpopular regulations; at Princeton, Nassau Hall was gutted by a fire set by rioting students; and at Yale, the students "bombed" a residence hall and then killed a professor attempting to breakup an ongoing fight between two students.[75]

Leon Jackson, writing on student revolts writ large in *The Rights of Man and the Rites of Youth*, gave evidence that these riots in the antebellum period and prior were not wholly the result of rancid food, poor accommodation, or lack of proper sanitary facilities, but due to the fact that the "conceptions of studenthood" held by college authorities were detached from the realities of student life.[76] Students occupied a liminal space between childhood and adulthood—something we now call youth—to which colleges could not cater. The result was a severely regimented existence *in loco parentis* that treated students more like young children or animals rather than young men—a system based on the submission and control of students' every waking hour.[77] Readings and lessons were assigned based on what faculty members thought best to teach rather than on student interest; students were expected to

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[74] David F. Allmendinger, "The Dangers of Ante-Bellum Student Life," *Journal of Social History* Vol. 7, no. No. 1 (Autumn 1973): 75–85.
[75] Steven J. Novak, *The Rights of Youth: American Colleges and Student Revolt, 1798-1815* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), 19, 101, 110; Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 25; Thelin, *A History*, 21.
[76] Leon Jackson, "The Rights of Man and the Rites of Youth," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 49.
[77] Geiger, *Higher Education*, 128–32.

attend multiple daily chapel services or face monetary fines; sports, at least in the way they would come to dominate the student mind and act as a release for pent-up energy in the Collegiate Era, were non-existent save for impromptu soccer games on the green; and any learning, if one might call it that, focused on repetition and memorization rather than unsupervised intellectual inquiry.[78]

The breakdown of this authoritarian regime following the Civil War brought with it the lessening of such anachronistic rules and regulations. Students were now free to establish clubs, involve themselves in a plethora of extracurricular activities, participate in athletics, and move about the college without strenuous oversight. Academic developments like the elective system, massive research libraries, and increased avenues for scientific research further gave outlet for student expression.[79]

Despite increased student independence and ascendency, student violence became more organized by the studentships. Upperclassmen had long hazed and played pranks on campus new-comers and, as the classes were already engaging in un-scheduled street battles, upperclassmen set out to make scuffles between the classes official. The result was the class rush. Known as "Bloody Monday" or "Bloody Friday," the class rush was an organized invasion in which the freshman class, armed with canes, bats, sticks, and other implements of war, would rush the campus and attempt to take it away from the sophomores by force.[80] It was primarily a brutish proving of manhood, a display of a class's martial instincts, and a cementer of comradery among classmen that had yet to be surpassed anywhere else.[81] The

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[78] Jackson, "The Rights of Man and the Rites of Youth," 67; Geiger and Bubolz, "College As It Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 81; Axtell, *Wisdom's Workshop*, 192–97.
[79] Paul H. Mattingly, *American Academic Cultures, A History of Higher Education* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 166–67.
[80] Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 42; John F. Marszalek, "The Class Rush-A Description," *Journal of Sport History* Vol. 17, no. No. 3 (Winter 1919): 366.
[81] Marszalek, "The Class Rush-A Description," 366; Malcolm Townsend, "A Cane Rush," in *The Book Of Athletics and Out-Of-Door Sports*, ed. Norman W. Bingham (Boston, Massachusetts: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1895), 226.

college administration often supported these violent interactions between the classes not only as a way of deflecting such violence from the faculty and staff but also for solidifying class loyalties to the university as a whole.[82]

These bloody scuffles between the classes emulated, in form and execution, the fierce hand-to-hand combat of the Civil War and, ironically, foreshadowed the personal combat of the trenches that many would later experience.[83] During the Yale rush of 1872, the freshman and sophomores marshalled on opposing sides of a campus field like line infantry. Ranks twenty-five across and four deep were fronted by the largest boys, and everyone was linked tightly together arm and arm. Silent, save for the thumping of footsteps, the two lines would begin a slow march towards each other, swaying as "one living mass," until they were but an armlength apart.[84] The anticipation and anxiety surely must have been growing with every step among the young men, for when they were right in each other's faces they leapt upon each other with a vicious intent. "What was a moment ago an orderly rank of marchers becomes a howling, hatless, dusty, struggling mob," wrote a reporter, "fragments of clothing bedeck the sward, and there are many coats without backs and no less backs without coats."[85] The Pennsylvanian sophomores in 1885 were not as somber. Instead of a funeral march they came running down the field, in a no less organized manner, and crashed into the freshmen who had managed to form something akin to a Victorian-era cavalry square. The result, wrote a *Harper's Young People* article highlighting college customs, was an "indistinguishable mass

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[82] E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood; Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, New York: Basic Books, 1993), 66; Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage, Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York, New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, n.d.), 58; Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 38, 42–44; Roberta J. Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900," in *Manliness and Morality; Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1987), 8.
[83] Simon J. Bronner, "The Rise and Fall-and Return-of the Class Rush: A Study of a Contested Tradition," *Western Folklore* Vol. 70, no. No. 1 (Winter 2011): 14.
[84] "The Annual Rush at Yale," *Iowa Algona Republican*, October 23, 1872.
[85] Ibid.

of arms, legs, hatless heads, and torn clothes, equal to the severest foot-ball scrimmage."[86] The *Outing* reported in 1889 that "an unlimited use of hands and fists," among other implements, was characteristic of rushes in the Collegiate Era.[87] And, as described by one onlooker, the classes would "plunge at each other like mad in hand-to-hand fight, and often an arm [was] broken or an eye knocked out."[88]

By the 1910s the Class Rush began to change in character, but not in intensity. Full-out campus invasions with canes, bats, and 2x4s began to be steadily replaced with more organized spats on the college gridiron that focused on capturing sacks filled with straw or flour, running with 6ft-diameter rubber "Push Balls," or seeing which class could get the most hands on a 40-gallon barrel of cider. Within these new "scraps" the fist became the most important weapon ahead of the occasional club or baton. The move from the center of campus to a familiar spot, the football field, added yet another degree of importance to the freshman class's frenzy to prove their worth and the sophomore class's determination to retain their honor. On the football field, the collegiate coliseum where student heroes were made, all the eyes of alma mater would be upon her youngest sons. It was the freshman's first chance at *doing something*.

The annual Push Ball Rush began at Penn State in 1909 as a substitute for the more rowdier Picture Scrap of years previous. The 1909 scrap still produced "many injuries" in fights "appearing to be an exact reproduction of the cider scrap," and future scraps kept up the same slugging, pushing, ripping, yanking, kicking, and dodging as previous rushes.[89] The 1908 Cider Scrap is worth note. It involved a 40-gallon barrel of cider, placed some 5ft off

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[86] Robert Bridges, "Old College Customs," *Harper's Young People* VIL, no. 314 (November 3, 1885): 11.
[87] J. Mott Hallowell, "American College Athletics I. Harvard University Part Two," *The Outing*, January 1889, 303.
[88] Sola, *An American Girl, and Her Four Years in a Boys' College* (New York, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1878), 51.
[89] "Push Ball," *PSC*, October 21, 1909; "Rules For Push Ball Scrap," *PSC*, September 26, 1912; "1914 Wins The Scrap," *PSC*, October 12, 1911.

the ground, sat in the center of a ring of students 40-feet out.[90] At the sound of a pistol all of the students—over 600 in 1908—would rush toward the barrel and for twenty minutes engage in "fighting" often "fast and furious" to place hands on the barrel, the class with the most hands on the barrel at the end being proclaimed the winner.[91] In 1913 Penn State students abandoned the Push Ball Rush for the Flour Rush, in which 600lbs of flour were placed into ten sacks for the sophomore class to rip/cut open.[92] Other colleges instituted similar games. At the University of Wisconsin, large sacks were stitched with the graduation year of the sophomore class and then watched over with students armed with small bats; at Michigan State University, the sophomore class wrapped their class flag around a tall tree and defended it from the freshmen; and at the University of Nebraska, wrestling and boxing matches, a marathon, and a "battle royale" made up the class scrap.[93] It doesn't take much of an imagination to guess the aftermath of such scuffles. Indeed, Amos Alonzo Stagg, football coach for the University of Chicago, wrote that these new games were a "campus roughhouse, in reality, rather than a game."[94] These new "scraps" tended to be just as dangerous as the football games drawing ire from the press and, more often than not, served as a means for students to further engage in fights outside of official contests.[95]

As a release of violent adolescent energies, a showing of strength and class loyalty, the class rush had lasting impacts on those that had participated. Elmer W. Linnard, UI'17, was awaiting deployment to the trenches in eastern France when he received a "Bunch up '17" card in late October 1918 from his college dean at Illinois. On the card was a photo of his class rush five years prior. "No other picture could have recalled as many associations or

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[90] "The Cider Scrap," *PSC*, October 22, 1908.
[91] "Sophomores Win Cider Scrap," *PSC*, October 29, 1908.
[92] "Pushball Game Abolished in Favor of Unique Contest," *CDS*, December 1, 1913.
[93] "Exchange News," *DI*, October 19, 1909.
[94] Amos Alonzo Stagg, *Touchdown!* (New York, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927), 21–22.
[95] Ryan Ross, "Battle of the Classes," *University of Illinois Alumni*, May 12, 2017, https://uiaa.org/2017/05/12/battle-of-the-classes/.

brought back as much of my four years at Illinois as this little picture of the class of 1917 bucking up for their first sacks-rush," he wrote Dean Clark.[96] Linnard had participated in the first sack rush at the University of Illinois in 1913. Replacing the Push Ball Rush, Illionis' sack rush was supposed to reduce the number of injuries resulting from the annual scrap. The fighting the first year was described by *The Daily Illini* as "terrific," however.[97] Sophomore and freshman had clashed in a great heap before spreading out to "yell, rip, tear and fight some more."[98] The worst of the battle occurred before the classes had even marshalled against each other on the football field as the sophomore class had combed the campus tying up freshmen and locking them in attics and cellars the night before.[99] Occurring out of the view of the official moderators, these pre-rush raids were common and extremely violent. A freshman raid at Columbia University in 1914, for instance, had ended with one sophomore having received a deep cut to his head and another was so badly beaten that he required the attendance of a surgeon.[100] When Linnard and what other classmates who had avoided the sophomore gangs took the field, they were severely outnumbered by the larger, more imposing upperclassmen. The resulting battle proved to be a foundational event for Linnard. In his own words, the class rush had prepared him for the strenuous demands of war. He wrote Dean Clark,

> We are ready to go up to the front now, and in a few days perhaps we will be on our way. When we face the German guns the first day I don't think I will be half as nervous or shaky about the knees as I was the morning just before the gun went off at the start of the rush.[101]

Linnard had been conditioned for the temperament of the trenches; his nerves tested in battle long before he faced the prospect of charging into a hail of machine gun bullets. In many

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[96] Elmer W. Linnard to Thomas Arkle Clark, November 3, 1918, UA-UoI.
[97] "Sack Rush Decided On For Freshmen-Sophomore Conflict," *DI*, October 29, 1914.
[98] "1917 Wins First Sack Contest 18-0," *DI*, November 16, 1913.
[99] Ibid.
[100] "Another Columbia Riot," *NYT*, April 30, 1914.
[101] Linnard to Clark, November 3, 1918.

ways Linnard had already made that charge before, albeit without the risk of death, when he rushed with his fellow classmates into the ranks of the sophomores. To a young man getting his first initiation into the collegiate lifestyle, however, the taunts and threats and war paint from upperclassmen might have suggested death was not altogether unlikely. At any rate, the experience instilled elements of courage, steadiness, and manliness into those that participated, readying them for similar warlike circumstances in the future.

These were also contests used to test a class's honor.[102] One couldn't "chicken out" or "play the pansy," lest their manhood and class loyalties be called into question at such a pivotal moment of their collegiate career. Fraternities had long practiced this same violent initiation as a means of turning their pledges into men. One man at Illinois told Dean Clark that a freshman pledge "is distinctly not a man," and that the fraternity "must take up the task of character shaping." "The so-called 'rough house,'" the student explained, "is a means of determining what a man possesses, whether he has a streak of 'yellow' or not, whether he has stamina."[103] Such violent forms of hazing had become a major problem at the turn of the century. Unlike Ernest Poole, P'02, who noted that in his first week at Princeton that he was "hazed to a frazzle," having to "make love to a horse's hind leg" and read the "tenderest passages" of Romeo and Juliet while perched on a gatepost, other students were running a great deal of personal harm.[104] In enduring their hazing and then throwing their loyalties in with those that subjected them to extreme violence, they had fought to join the ranks of the collegiate system.

Poole noted that having been dropped into a community of "callow youths" at Princeton, each one of the 300 "absorbed in getting acquainted, fitting in, making friends and

[102] Bridges, "Old College Customs," 11.
[103] Quoted in Thomas Arkle Clark, "Hores Play and Rough House at Initiations," *Banta's Greek Exchange*, July 1914, 316.
[104] Ernest Poole, *The Harbor* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1915), 50.

a place for himself," made him to struggle for a "foothold as hard as the rest."[105] From the moment he entered the collegiate arena, a freshman's past identity was swept away. He was no longer a boy from New York or Philadelphia; he became a Princeton or Yale Man and owed extreme loyalty to the same. James Naismith, the inventor of basketball, wrote in 1909 that the rush "fostered a class spirit which is a necessary predecessor of college spirit." [106] In other words, the freshman who would fight fervently and fiercely for his class (read: *do something* for his class) was the man who would make a "loyal collegian," a trustworthy and active member of the class who might even be *Big Man* material. [107] "Leaders came to the front naturally," wrote Naismith, when students "wanted deeds not words," and signaled out those freshmen who would later become the class presidents, team captains, and secret society members.[108] The freshman who showed no such class spirit, however, was not likely to be anything. He was seen as untrustworthy, unmanly, a boob, a grind, in short, un-collegiate. One's high level of class spirit, or lack thereof, went farther than the bounds of the college; indeed, it was seen as a direct indicator of one's national loyalties. The boy "who has not patriotism enough to stand up for his class will not be likely to stand up for his home, state, or country," wrote Robert Bridges, the editor of *Scribner's Magazine*, in *Harper's Young People*. [109] At stake was not only one's place in the collegiate hierarchy, but also one's place in the outside world. Would freshmen be seen as loyal contributors to the college class and thus fit for positions within and eventually without the collegiate space, or would they dash all hopes at being seen as a productive member of both societies?

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[105] Ibid.
[106] James Naismith, "Interclass Contests," *American Physical Education Review*, March 1909, 127.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid., 126–27.
[109] Bridges, "Old College Customs," 11.

Conclusion – Collegiate Loyalties Cemented

The collegiate lifestyle was an equally demanding and intense environment. Students were expected to *do something* to bring credit to *alma mater* and openly display a fervent loyalty to their organizations, their class, and their collegiate nation. Students threw themselves into the collegiate lifestyle without regard to personal health and well-being, making every effort to prove themselves worthy citizens of their collegiate nation. The Collegiate Era was also one of changing opportunities. Individualistic and heterogenous classes re-defined what it meant to be a citizen of the collegiate nation, organizing their own means of *doing something* outside of areas dominated by elite, clubbable men.

The class rush instilled in students a martial and warlike temperament. It was the freshman's first chance to *do something*, to prove to their fellow classmates that they could be relied upon when the class needed them most. That both the freshman and sophomores received ample support from their classmates during rushes is evidence of this. "I hereby pledge myself to go into the class scrap and fight until we win," wrote one sophomore before the 1915 scrap, "I will make an effort to drag out every other sophomore I see so that we may decimate the Frosh."[110] Only a few hundred strong when the Illinois boys began their march to the football field, their yelling, banging, and clanging echoing off the rock-cut buildings on campus in the pre-morning stillness, the freshman and sophomore classes had enlisted over 1,000 of their fellow classmates for the battle by the time they entered the gate. Two years before, the small throng of nervous newcomers stood beside one another ready to prove their worth and their right to call themselves Illinois men. "I will never forget how big those sophs looked," Linnard wrote, "with their faces covered with red paint—'blood' it looked like to me."[111] Blood it might not have been in the beginning, but it was by the end. Students fought

[110] "Sophs Plan Extermination Of Frosh In Class Scrap," *DI*, November 7, 1914.
[111] Linnard to Clark, November 3, 1918.

so fast and fiercely for their class that many were carried from the field limp from exhaustion while others had torn ligaments, heads split open, and others still were lying unconscious for hours following the battle.[112]

Such loyalty created during the Collegiate Era had been so intense that students proudly proclaimed that they would eagerly die for their colleges and class flags.[113] By 1917, some forty-five consecutive classes had undergone the same intense formulation on campuses throughout the country. Presidents would co-opt this intense loyalty for *alma mater* during the First World War, exploiting the collegiate need to *do something* by presenting service to the nation as an extension of service to the college. Collegians would have the chance to make the ultimate sacrifice in the defense of the collegiate lifestyle, their peers, and their *alma maters*.

[112] "Frosh Win Scrap By Score Of 11-8," *DI*, October 31, 1915.
[113] Wechsler, *Revolt on Campus*, 63.

Chapter II: ***Collegiate Ball – The Height of Collegiate Fanaticism, Endorsed Violence, and the Search for Collegiate Manhood***

To describe the game would have been a "waste of labor" wrote the Rutgers Targum of American football's first game; truly, it was a contest rather like a combination of "rugger, bearbaiting, and Indian massacre," bearing little resemblance to game that came to be played twenty years later.[1] Both Princeton and Rutgers fielded teams of over twenty-five players, the ball could only be moved by kicks or head bunts, and there were no uniforms, no pads, nor any helmets or protective headgear, save for the scarlet turbans worn by the Rutgers team.[2] No one could have predicted on that November day in 1869 that by the mid-1880s collegiate football would have grown from an unknown and disorganized field game into *the* national pastime.[3] Nor that the intense interests of students, alumni, and everyday citizens would entrench the game as the most prominent feature of the collegiate lifestyle and as the most visible and engaging symbol for the Collegiate Era.

There was a certain thrill about it—a "romance," as some historians have described it—that whipped up the American imagination.[4] Sport historian John Davies called it the "greatest spectacle since the Olympic games" for the American public; but, more akin to the Romans, Americans craved gladiatorial combat intensely and lavishly extoled bloody victors.[5] Rather than academic prowess, at the turn of the century the American index on which the public judged a college's standing came from the performance of its teams in

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[1] The Rutgers University Targum, November 1869, reproduced in Lost Century of Sports Collection, ed., *The Lost Century of American Football: Reports from the Birth of a Game* (Lost Century of Sports Collection, 2001), 25; John McCallum, *Ivy League Football Since 1872: The Games, Rituals, and Rivalries* (Scarborough House, Briarcliff Manor, New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1977), 27.
[2] Frank Francisco, *Evolution of the Game: A Chronicle of American Football* (Orlando, Florida: Frank Francisco, 2016), 5–6.
[3] John Rickards Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950*, Addison-Wesley Series in Social Significance of Sports (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1974), 124.
[4] For more on the "romance" of the Collegiate Era, see: Canby, *Alma Mater; The Gothic Age of the American College*, viii; and Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1638-1956*, 133.
[5] Davies, *Legend*, 26; Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 127; Arthur T. Hadley, "Wealth and Democracy in American Colleges," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, August 1906, 452.

intercollegiate contests: crew, baseball, hockey, track, and, most importantly, football.[6] The "apogee" accorded football "reached an intensity never since equaled," according to Frederick Rudolph, in which the sports-crazed madness hit a frantic high-point when everyday Americans thought "*the* purpose of an American college or university was to field a football team [original author's italics]."[7] Indeed, the general public knew colleges by their athletic records almost exclusively as fully three-fourths of all collegiate news centered on sporting.[8] In the north, the *New York Times* reported in 1894 that an institution's football standing was one of the "*fundamental features* of an up-to-date university education."[9] While further south, students picked their universities based on the prominence of their football teams—much to the annoyance of the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, the official organ of Methodism in Georgia, who complained that "the foot-ball college is the college now."[10]

The intensity of emotion which both spectator and player deployed on the gridiron surpassed even religion.[11] Sermons from prominent ministers were cut short on Thanksgiving Day year to year to accommodate gridiron games across the country—over 5,000 of them played with more than 120,000 players on Thanksgiving Day alone in 1896.[12] Even at Wheaton, one of the nation's most conservative Christian colleges, football victories came to overshadow moral betterment.[13] Collegiate administrators, deeply religious characters

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[6] DeVane, *Higher Education*, 18; Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950*, 124.
[7] Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 414; Rudolph, *A History*, 387; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America, A Cultural History*, Fourth Edition (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2018), 117; John Rickards Betts, "The Technological Revolution And The Rise Of Sport, 1850-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (September 1953): 231.
[8] Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, 230.
[9] "Yale Again Triumphant Defeats Harvard in the Great Football Game Battle 12 to 4," *NYT*, November 25, 1894.
[10] The Wesleyan Christian Advocate, 14 November 1894, quoted in Andrew Doyle, "Foolish and Useless Sport: The Southern Evangelical Crusade Against Intercollegiate Football," *Journal of Sport History* 24, no. 3 (Fall 1997): 323, 324.
[11] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 128.
[12] Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 108; Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950*, 124.
[13] Hunter M. Hampton, "Salvation on the Gridiron: Fundamentalism, Football, and Christian Manhood at Wheaton College, 1900-1949," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 39, no. 4 (2022): 426.

themselves, spread football's gospel across the nation. John Franklin Crowell, President of Trinity College (later Duke), set out to form a football team on the anti-sporting Methodist campus as soon as he arrived in 1887, and William Rainey Harper, notable Baptist educator and founding President of the University of Chicago, built his university with the intentional purpose of producing top rate football teams alongside top rate academics.[14] It came to the high point in which a college's very reputation relied on the strength of its football team's ability to achieve victory. Institutions, it was believed, would not be great unless their football team was great.

In the absence of professional football teams, college-age players became the nation's superstars. Their exploits filled the national papers, they traveled in special chartered trains, wore expensively tailored uniforms, held sway over the heartbeats of the campus, and some even became the subject of dime novels and magazine pieces.[15] At Princeton, being on the football team was "social currency" and entitled adulation; at the University of Chicago, the captain of the Maroon Football team, in addition being the most revered undergraduate on campus, was shown the University's reverence for the athlete-student by being awarded yearly the position of Convocation Marshall.[16] Even following the season's end, football elevens did not descend "to the level of ordinary students," according to the *Chicago Tribune*, but still retained the "distinctions shown to them to which the common 'grinder' cannot lay claim."[17] To the young men of the Collegiate Era, it is no great exaggeration to say that football was one of the most important elements of their collegiate experience. Even more so

[14] Doyle, "Foolish and Useless," 332–33.
[15] John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 10; "Columbia's Football Hero," *NYT*, December 7, 1902.
[16] Tim Rappleye, *Hobey Baker Upon Further Review, Exploring the Life and Death of a Hockey Immortal* (Traverse City, Michigan: Mission Point Press, 2018), 71; Robin Lester, *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago*, Sport and Society (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 54.
[17] "Chicago Eleven Is Popular," *CDT*, December 2, 1902.

for the players, whose successes and failures on the gridiron would determine how they would be perceived by employers and fellow collegians for the rest of their lives. If they proved themselves to be gridiron heroes, they remained so; if they failed to do their university justice, they carried that weight with them into the real world.

Furthermore, each sporting event was a massive undertaking. Tens of thousands of loyal fans flocked to the cathedrals of collegiate sport to watch America's future leaders enact collegiate warfare on the gridiron.[18] Collegiate football was an extremely violent affair that purposefully mimicked the hand-to-hand fighting of early wars. That students were exposed to such levels of unchecked violence hardened them into a tribal and warlike society. The martial sentiment was alive and well in songs and cheers set to war tunes and in the violent imitations of beheadings and frontier violence enacted at football rallies.

Such violence, to the point of murder, was a necessary and encouraged element in the making of virile and courageous men. Within the rapidly industrializing and urbanizing cities, the Victorian ideals of inner-moral strength were no longer enough to prevent over-civilization and emasculation. Men needed to embody energy and physical prowess as a means of strengthening their moral will. Sports, once seen as uncouth, could instill self-restraint, self-denial, teamsmanship, courage, and loyalty, traits deemed necessary for the success of the middle-class.[19] This new masculinity, which required American men to train their physical appearance rather than their inner-spirit, had to be "continually demonstrated," according to gender historian Michael Kimmel, "lest the man be undone by a perception of being too feminine."[20]

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[18] Rappleye, *Further Review*, 29.
[19] Steven A. Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no. 1 (1991): 10; Tom Dowling, *Coach: A Season with Lombardi* (New York, New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1970), 9.
[20] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 103.

In the absence of civil warfare or frontier violence, young men needed to perform a "moral equivalent of war."[21] Football allowed them to enact such warfare. That deaths were part of the process did not necessarily mean that the game was too violent, but rather that the opposing team might have utilized unsavory and ungentlemanly tactics to win. Proving one's manhood necessitated an element of putting one's life on the line, but not against rouges and scoundrels; football needed to be rough, but it needed to be a clean, fair, and man-making contest.

Collegiate Ball – Height of Collegiate Loyalty

Thanksgiving Day, the 25th of November 1916. Over 80,000 spectators packed the Yale Bowl to standing capacity. Rowdy and full of collegiate spirit, questions swirled not about American intervention the European War, but rather if Yale, after four years of disheartening defeats at the hands of Harvard, could turn back the crimson tide.[22] It would be the last major football game before America's declaration of War. Yale Coach Thomas Albert Dwight "Tad" Jones, Y'07, following the only loss in his four-year coaching career, had spent an entire year's worth of training dedicated solely to teamsmanship, pushing the Yale elevens in their dedication to the team, the student body, and the University.[23] Entering the locker room he must have felt the weight of the world on his shoulders, and he told the young men present as much. "Gentlemen," he said, "you are now going out to play football against Harvard. Never again in your life will you do something so important."[24] "It does sound

[21] Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 163; Rotundo, *American Manhood; Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 234; Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900," 9; Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity," 10.
[22] "Harvard Falls Before Fierce Rush Of Yale," *NYT*, November 26, 1916.
[23] "Yale's Victory Due To The Superior Fight Of The Team," *YDN*, November 27, 1916; "Yale Shows Great Power In 6-3 Victory Over Harvard," *YDN*, November 27, 1916; "Coaches Unite In Praising Team's Work In Harvard Game," *YDN*, November 27, 1916; C.R. Black, "'Great Part Of Team's Success Due To Tad Jones'-Capt. Black," *YDN*, November 27, 1916.
[24] Tad Jones, quoted in McCallum, *Ivy League Football*, xiv, 3.

silly," said Chester J. LaRoche, Y'21, Yale quarterback and later Chairman of the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame, "but all of us in that room knew what Tad meant…

> when he told us it was going to be the most important thing we'd ever do in our lives, he meant he was counting on our guts, determination, unrealized resources of spirit, never admitting defeat, and all the courage in us—courage beyond anything we had ever summed up before. Harvard had to be beaten. Corny, I suppose so, but none of us laughed. His message came through loud and clear: What kind of men were we going to be? Here was the test.[25]

As the visible symbols of the collegiate class's most coveted qualities, athletes were expected to continually display their manhood, their loyalty, and their dedication to *alma mater* so to serve as a respectable role for those within and without the collegiate nation. This meant giving one's all and not backing down in any circumstance. At colleges across the nation, athletes made it their "supreme business" to claim victory for *alma mater*, sacrificing physical and mental health to prove their loyalties.[26] The players, so focused on winning the game for their college, were, according to football commentator Alexander Johnson in 1887, "more than willing to strain every muscle to the breaking point rather than allow their rivals to outscore them."[27] Reports of students playing despite broken bones or risk of mortal injury abounded. Rules barred players who had left the game from returning to the field, so they played until they were so roughed-up that they could play no longer.[28] One student's loyalty to *alma mater* was so great that, after being warned that he could play in an upcoming football match only "at the imminent risk of his life," he played the game anyway, helping to win the championship for the team.[29] Far from apocryphal, stories like this were rooted in truth. One Joseph Reeves, USNA'84, had been informed in 1884 that another strike to his head would cause "instant insanity or death," leading him to purchase a bespoke football

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[25] Chet LaRoche, quoted in ibid., 75.
[26] Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 345; Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 48.
[27] Alexander Johnston, "The American Game of Football," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, October 1887, 894.
[28] Christopher C. Meyers, "'Unrelenting War on Football': The Death of Richard Von Gammon and the Attempt to Ban Football in Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 93, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 389.
[29] Paul van Dyke, "Athletics and Education," *The Outlook*, February 11, 1905, 392.

helmet from a local cobbler so that the Naval Academy Superintendent would allow him to continue playing.[30] The risk of life and limb was but only part of the game.

Other students persevered through broken bones, bloodstained bangs, and intense concussions to prove their allegiances. Morris Ely of Yale played the 1898 Harvard-Yale game with two broken ribs; Chicago's captain, Mark Catlin, played the championship game of 1905 with one rib broken and, in a 1904 game, was so "handicapped by injuries" that he "started in the Michigan game in such a crippled condition that he was unable to carry the ball."[31] The 1891 Army-Navy game saw Army left-tackle George Houle—and others—blinded by his own blood after he split his head open and declined to leave the field. Rough hits produced further insensibility.[32] Frank Hinkey went "fighting all the way" to the sidelines after a head-on collision forced him from the field "no longer able to think."[33] And Wyllys Terry, in a 1876 Yale match, was hit so hard that he became "manifestly 'out of his head.'" Unable to understand the commands or signals of the captain, Terry continued to play the game "desperately well" out of sheer force of habit—his teammates would point him in the right direction and whisper plays in his ears—but, when the game ended, he remained in the care of a physician for over twelve hours before regaining any sort of self-consciousness.[34] "They all limped," wrote prominent reporter Richard Harding Davis, "everybody limped [and] were only held together by yards of rubber bandages."[35] Such was the price for collegiate loyalty, however. "We were going to be men who put everything we had and more into an effort that was not only a test of skill, but also a test of heart and spirit," said

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[30] Thomas Wildenberg, *All the Factors of Victory* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2003), 23; Chris Hornung, "Who Invented the Football Helmet?," *Antique Football*, January 15, 2017, http://www.antiquefootball.com/who_invented_football_helmet.htm.
[31] Herbert Reed, "What Makes A Football Player?," *The Outing Magazine*, October 1913, 6; "Chicago Is Victor; Leads The West," *CDT*, December 1, 1905; "Captain Mark Catlin," *DM*, November 29, 1905.
[32] "Victory For West Point: The Military Cadets Defeat The Naval Boys," *NYT*, November 29, 1891.
[33] Reed, "What Makes A Football Player?," 5.
[34] "The First Yale-Harvard Rugby Game," *Boston Sunday Globe*, November 6, 1892.
[35] Richard Harding Davis, "A Day With The Yale Team," *Harper's Weekly*, November 18, 1893, 1110.

LaRoche.[36] It was simple, when the whistle blew, the men "went in to win the game or be carried away in the morgue wagon."[37]

Physical investment was backed by an intense emotional investment bordering on madness. Players would openly sob when taken— dragged, more often than not—off the field due to injuries or when the game was too far lost. When Georgia player Reynolds Tichenor, weighing a meager 116lbs, received two "raps" to the head and had to be removed, the "little player" did not want to yield the field and "broke down and wept" as he was led off.[38] Likewise, Charlie Brewer, after being knocked to the ground, "tried to rise, fell upon his knees, and then flat upon his face," was carried off the field crying with "mortification."[39] To be removed from the game, for whatever reason, was to miss out on a chance of proving oneself, but to lose the game, was to commit oneself to ridicule and failure. William D. Clark, Mich'05, made a grave blunder in pursuit of glory for team and university when he attempted to run a touchdown during the championship game between Michigan and Chicago in 1905. Clark was caught by Maroon Captain Mark Catilin, Chi'05, and driven back across the Michigan line for a two-point safety in the last five minutes of the game. Chicago's Maroons won the game by those two points, ending an undefeated season to become the Champions of the West—Michigan, on the other hand, had lost a football game for the first time in four years.[40] It would be a mistake that would haunt Clark until his eventual suicide.

Flowing his blunder, Clark "went sobbing to the sidelines" and "subsequently betrayed a hurt so deep to his pride that some vigilance was required during the evening to

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[36] Chester J. LaRoche, quoted in McCallum, *Ivy League Football*, xiv.
[37] "CHICAGO GOES DOWN HARD," *DPA*, January 9, 1895.
[38] "Georgia Falls Before Virginia," *The Atlanta Constitution*, October 31, 1897; John F. Stegeman, *The Ghosts of Herty Field: Early Days On A Southern Gridiron* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), 37.
[39] "Yale Is The Conqueror; Several Players Badly Injured," *The Sun*, November 25, 1894; "A Furious Game," *Lowell Daily Sun*, November 26, 1894.
[40] "CHAMPIONS OF THE WEST; MAROONS HUMBLE THE MAIZE AND BLUE," *DM*, December 4, 1905.

prevent his doing himself some violence."[41] Later that evening he told his friends, "I shall kill myself because I am in disgrace, I can't live and bear to look at anyone again."[42] It was reported on 2nd December that he had gone missing and it was "feared that he had committed suicide;" he had, however, only returned directly home following the game.[43] Newspapers claimed Clark had lost Michigan the game, but students in Ann Arbor held no ill will to Clark, at least publicly. "No one who witnessed the terrible grief and the agonizing self-reproach of 'Denny' Clark can have any feeling toward him except the sincerest sympathy and pity," wrote the *Michigan Daily*, "his mistake was caused by his great loyalty to Michigan and his overwhelming anxiety to see her win."[44] Clark's own shame was too great, and he transferred to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at the end of that year. He always thought of himself as the man that lost Michigan the Championship of the West, the reason for the University's disgrace. The loss continued to linger and in 1932, taking his "final play," he shot himself through the heart to set the score back in Michigan's favor.[45] The footballmen went on the field to win or be carried away in the morgue wagon.

For non-athletes, the ardent lay worshippers of the Collegiate Era's principal religion, football season was a mandatory cavalcade of prep rallies, practices, and games.[46] The *Daily Pennsylvanian* put it to the students in 1899 that it was "absolutely necessary that every loyal Pennsylvanian be present" at events to show—and voice—their support for the college elevens.[47] Indeed, the success or failure of a college's team on the gridiron rested partially on

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[41] "Chicago Is Victor; Leads The West."
[42] "Clark Heart Broken By Error," *CDT*, December 1, 1905.
[43] "Michigan Ready To Forgive Clark," *Chicago Inter Ocean*, December 2, 1905; "Wolverines Sorry For Clark," *CDT*, December 2, 1905.
[44] Glenn D. Bradley, "Calendar," *Michigan Daily*, December 5, 1905, Vol. XVI, No. 56.
[45] Robin Lester, "Michigan-Chicago 1905: The First Greatest Game of the Century," *Journal of Sport History* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 273.
[46] Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 414.
[47] "Football Demonstration To-Night," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, October 24, 1899, Vol. XVI, No. 21.

the involvement of the wider collegiate community.[48] "It is impossible for a team to fight their fiercest when the rooters are apathetic and unenthusiastic," wrote the *Michigan Daily*.[49] It was necessary that collegians, in a matter-of-fact way, cheered the teams onward to victory.[50] "Yale defeats" would never materialize without the "active support of the undergraduate body at every game," bemoaned the *Harvard Crimson*, and only student involvement would convince the Harvard elevens that they were "really fighting for Harvard."[51] Rather than simply serving as spectators, collegians were active elements in helping bring glory upon *alma mater*. As Professor W. B. Bailey assured a mass meeting of nearly one thousand Yale men, their participation at the games would not only give them the "satisfaction of winning" but also the "satisfaction of having actually helped to win."[52] Support on the collegiate homefront was essential in helping collegiate soldiers win their gridiron battles.

Essential to lending one's support was familiarizing oneself with college tunes. Each college had their own troupe of Yell Leaders comprised of the most energetic men on campus whose job it was to instruct and lead the undergraduate population in delivering the most encouraging cheers and yells. Yale placed such an importance on cheering that trains were hired to ferry undergraduates to daily cheer practice at Yale's football field, and mass meetings to practice college songs were held two to three times a week in advance of major

[48] "Mass Meeting Tonight," *YDN*, October 31, 1904; "The Ladies"; "Students Cheer Football Heroes; Enthusiasm at Palo Alto," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 26, 1896; "Mass Meeting Tonight - Large Attendance Desired," *YDN*, November 7, 1904; "Second Mass Meeting," *YDN*, November 4, 1904.
[49] Bradley, "Calendar."
[50] "CHICAGO GOES DOWN HARD."
[51] "Undergraduate Support Imperative," *HC*, November 22, 1916.
[52] "Mass Meeting," *YDN*, November 10, 1904.

games.[53] Even female students, though far removed (read: barred) from the act of playing the game, found themselves involved in this essential element of winning the game.[54]

Students learned their college songs and yells at highly intricate and staged campus rendezvous known as mass meetings. Much like community gatherings where the deeds of local soldiers were extolled, mass meetings were expansive logistical operations that brought together all elements of collegiate society for the purpose of celebrating *alma mater's* gridiron warriors. Entire campuses ground to a halt to accommodate them. A 1903 mass meeting at the University of Chicago crammed over forty-three percent of Chicago's student population into Leon Mandel Hall alongside Chicago's Military Band, the Men and Women's Glee Clubs, the University Choir, the Mandolin Club, six separate student councils, over five-hundred alumni from the Chicago Alumni Club, and the Varsity Football team. Far from being a student endeavor, speeches were given by six faculty members, coach Stagg, and President Harper.[55]

Furthermore, mass meetings helped to cultivate a martial spirit on the collegiate homefront. The pomp and ceremony of the gridiron was often steeped in reference to historical wars and absolute violence. The students at Stanford, for instance, routinely wrenched native American axes off the gymnasium walls and banged them on the floor to the rhythm of Civil and Revolutionary War tunes like "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again," "Marching Through Georgia," and "Yankee Doodle."[56] Violent acts were common. At a mass meeting in 1899, Stanford students produced a double blade axe and a gold and blue California effigy to match. To cheers from the gathered assembly, the mock California

[53] "Mass Meeting Tomorrow," *YDN*, November 8, 1904.
[54] "The Ladies," *DPA*, November 23, 1894.
[55] "A Great Football Mass Meeting In Leon Mandel Hall," *UR*, November 1903, 201–2; "A Chicago Reunion Tonight," *DM*, November 24, 1903; "Team Will Fight Its Best," *DM*, November 25, 1903.
[56] "Students Cheer Football Heroes; Enthusiasm at Palo Alto."

student was decapitated—this was later reenacted in front of the California spectators at the game. Such slights were not taken lightly, and violence often spilt out of the mass meetings and football fields and into the streets with the students marching in their nightshirts, wielding torches, and shouting their old battle cries.[57] Clemson cadets, armed with brass knuckles, bayonets, and swords, engaged themselves in a stand-off with a group of South Carolina students armed with clubs and pistols after one game. There might have been a massacre were it not for the South Carolina coach helping to stall until the police arrived.[58] Despite being eagerly ready to commit homicidal violence in defense of their institutions just moments before, the two sides humbly cheered each other when the standoff ended. Violence ran hot in collegiate veins, but so did good sportsmanship.

Collegiate Ball – Height of Collegiate Violence

Throughout the 1880s and 90s violence on the gridiron was open, well known, and widely reported; indeed, the *Outing* reported in 1894 that "dirty play" had been "so open and flagrant" that football-goers were "amazed and disgusted," and often left the field "declaring that football [was] more brutal then prize fighting."[59] John L. Sullivan, the heavyweight champion from 1882-92, agreed, remarking that, "Prizefighting doesn't compare in roughness or danger with football."[60] "Football," he said, "there's murder in that game."[61] An English critic echoed Sullivan, stating that, "in the old game you kicked the ball; in the Rugby game you kick a man if you cannot kick the ball; but in the modern American game you kick the ball if you cannot kick the man."[62] It was reported that the 1895 game between

[57] "Night Shirt Parade In Celebration Of Victory," *CW*, October 28, 1916, Vol. XXIV, No. 6; "Columbia's Football Hero."
[58] Watterson, *College Football*, 48.
[59] H.F. K., "The Needed Reform In Western Football," *Outing*, March 1894, 101.
[60] Bernard Corbett and Paul Simpson, "When Men Were Men and Football Was Brutal," *YAM*, December 2004; McCallum, *Ivy League Football*, 49.
[61] Corbett and Simpson, "When Men Were Men and Football Was Brutal"; McCallum, *Ivy League Football*, 49.
[62] D. B. St. John Roosa, "Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?," *The Forum*, January 1894, 638.

Chicago and the California Reliance Club saw Chicago's left-end hurled to the ground as the attacker "rushed in and landed with his knees on the fallen man's head…[and] struck him several times on the head with his fist and hammered him with his knees."[63] Newspapers, both collegiate and national, described endless accounts of such slugging, kneeing, biting, and kicking for the American reader.[64]

By the turn of the century, violence had increased to the point of all-out war on the gridiron.[65] "Already the process of transforming healthy and weighty young men into bruised and shattered skeletons has begun," wrote an editor for the *New York Times* at the beginning of the 1905 season, "every wind that brows from the east will bring the sound of cracking arms and also ribs."[66] Though a satirical piece, the author of the above was not far from the truth as brutality took center stage in the 1905-6 football season. The Harvard center was kicked repeatedly in the groin in the Harvard-Pennsylvania game; a Chicago half-back had been struck, full speed, "with knee and shoulder" and hurled a dozen feet away; Morse of Yale was disqualified for closed fist slugging and cheered by the Yale stands as he left the Harvard-Yale game; both Princeton and Columbia repeatedly attacked their adversary's opposing back "with fist in neck and jaw;" the Columbia-Wesleyan teams "engaged in the most disgraceful slugging exhibition ever seen on a football field;" and accusations circulated that a member of the Yale elevens had attempted to drown a Harvard player on a rain-soaked field.[67] Newspapers and magazines continued in this way, highlighting that football had become the most dangerous organized sport in America. As more than one football historian

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[63] "Beaten By Roughs; Hoodlum Tactics Practiced By The Californians," *Chicago Inter Ocean*, January 2, 1895; "Chicagoed By Oakland," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 2, 1895.
[64] "Won By Slugging," *UCW*, January 3, 1895; "Eight Bloomfield Players Injured," *NYT*, November 16, 1909; Roosa, "Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?," 638.
[65] Stegeman, *Herty Field*, 3–4.
[66] "Yale's Football Wrecks," *NYT*, October 1, 1893.
[67] Ronald A. Smith, "Harvard and Columbia and a Reconsideration of the 1905-06 Football Crisis," *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 3 (Winter 1981): 12; "Chicago Is Victor; Leads The West"; Caspar W. Whitney, "The View-Point," *The Outing Magazine*, December 1905, 490; Watterson, *College Football*, 12.

has stated, the game was "legalized warfare."[68] Football had undergone a degeneration from a rough man-making endeavor into a violent and dangerous undertaking.[69]

Violence, far from localized fistfights, pervaded the game's very being. "Every time a youth steps on the field to uphold the reputation of his college he assumes nearly the same risk that a soldier does on the battlefield," wrote the *New York Times*, "everyday one hears of broken heads, fractured skulls, broken necks, wrenched legs, dislocated shoulders, and many other accidents of a more or less serious nature."[70] The gridiron was the collegiate battlefield, complete with the dead and dying strewn about. Jack Ingersoll, quarterback for Dartmouth, noted that his coach told the team, "Remember, you're not out there to mess up the play—you're supposed to kill somebody."[71] They did just that. From 1900 to 1916, two-hundred and four students were "slain" in collegiate and high school football matches; twenty-one dead and over two-hundred injured in 1904 alone, and in 1905, after a particularly deadly season that resulted in the serious injury of one-hundred and fifty-nine and a "death harvest" of eighteen "gridiron warriors," the colleges were called upon by the public to "abolish or reform" the game.[72] Often overlooked, the 1909 season was much worse: thirty killed and over two-hundred injured.[73] Ten deaths occurred at the collegiate level—almost equal to the

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[68] Meyers, "Unrelenting War," 391; Harmon S. Graves, "The College Man's Game," *The Saturday Evening Post*, October 28, 1899; Ron Fimrite, "A Flame That Burned Too Brightly: Hobey Baker Found Little to Live for after Starring at Princeton," *Sports Illustrated*, August 20, 2014; Christopher P. Loss, *Between Citizens and the State, The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20TH Century* (Princeton, New Jersey; Oxford, Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2012), 47.
[69] Hallowell, "American College Athletics I. Harvard University Part Two," 308.
[70] "Change The Football Rules," *NYT*, December 2, 1893.
[71] Jack Ingersoll, quoted in McCallum, *Ivy League Football*, 29.
[72] "Football Year's Death Harvest," *Chicago Tribune*, November 26, 1905; "Dies From Football Injuries," *NYT*, December 8, 1905; John Hammond Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913," *Smithsonian Journal of History* 2, no. 3 (Fall 1967): 29; Hampton, "Salvation on the Gridiron: Fundamentalism, Football, and Christian Manhood at Wheaton College, 1900-1949," 428; Watterson, *College Football*, 401; Lester, *Stagg's University*, 74.
[73] "Stop The Mass Plays," *NYT*, November 16, 1909; Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913," 61; Watterson, *College Football*, 115.

cumulative number of deaths in the four years prior (14)—sending the future of the gridiron game once again into an uncertain future.[74]

At the heart of these gridiron deaths were the implementation of Mass Momentum plays to the game's ever-expanding roster of strategic tricks. Mass Momentum plays focused the full weight and speed of a team into the weakest part of the opposition's line. The most famous of these plays, the Flying Wedge, was described by John Heisman as "something wonderful to behold and terrible to stop;" it was "one of the most brutal plays" in football history.[75] Invented by an avid chess player and student of military tactics, Lorin F. Deland had never played football before—he had not even attended Harvard at the time—yet his mass plays would be used to deadly perfection throughout the 1890s and 00s.[76] "It was war," he said after seeing his first football game, "two armies were being hurled at each other, and I was in my element."[77]

Writers had continually mused on the comparisons between the gridiron game for collegiate students and the bloody means of proving national superiority for men. Walter Camp wrote that students at the military academies were "making a study of the art of war" such that there was "no sport known that in its very nature so mimics that art as the game of football." The tactics, strategies, formations, and continual attack and defense, argued Camp, were all "equal to the military commander and the football captain."[78] Similarly, football commentator Alexander Johnston stated in 1887 that those who understood the "full force of

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[74] Watterson, *College Football*, 401.
[75] Francisco, *Evolution*, 24; John Heisman, quoted in Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913," 50; Thomas G. Bergin, *THE GAME, The Harvard-Yale Football Rivalry, 1875-1983* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1984), 49–50.
[76] Bergin, *THE GAME*, 49; Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913," 49; Francisco, *Evolution*, 24; Watterson, *College Football*, 12–13; also see Scott A. McQuilkin and Ronald A. Smith, "The Rise and Fall of the Flying Wedge: Football's Most Controversial Play," *Journal of Sport History* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 57–64; "Proud Blue, It Waves Triumphant Over The Crimson," *Boston Sunday Globe*, November 20, 1892.
[77] "Flying Wedge; Art Of War As Applied To Foot Ball," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 24, 1892.
[78] Walter Camp, "Football of 1891," *Outing*, November 1891, 155.

the military nature of the American game of foot-ball" would have little difficulty in understanding the game.[79] The "miniature game of strategy," according to Johnston, could "best be comprehended" by comparing, strategizing, and enacting football as if it were actual warfare.[80] By thinking of the linemen as "football infantry," the quarterbacks as the quartermaster's department, halfbacks the cavalry, and fullbacks the artillery, students and observers began viewing the footballmen as soldiers for their institutions.[81] Armies bent on protecting *alma mater* from other collegiate invaders at any cost.

Deland's Flying Wedge was short-lived, however. The "gridiron kamikaze weapon" was banned the following year after a series of deaths from the sheer force of the rapid momentum play; other mass formations were gradually replaced by the forward pass following a pause in play in 1905.[82] Intended to break up collisions on the line of scrimmage, whereby reducing injuries from hand-to-hand combat, the decision to allow forward passes ended up "producing the hardest hits and most dangerous tackling."[83] According to Pettegrew, defensive backs were free to crash "a helmeted head and padded shoulders" into the ribs or back of an opponent attempting to catch the pass. By 1909, injuries and deaths mounted on the collegiate battlefield as many teams returned to the mass play tactics of "old" football.[84] Football had become too important to students, administrators, and the American public, however, and cries for cessation and reform went unheard.

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[79] Johnston, "The American Game of Football," 892.
[80] Ibid., 891.
[81] Ibid., 891–92.
[82] Walter Camp, "The Straight Road to an Open Game in Football," *The Outing Magazine*, December 1905; Watterson, *College Football*, 21.
[83] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 138.
[84] "Only Old Football Shown By Yale," *NYT*, November 15, 1909; "Is Football To Be Reformed Again?," *NYT*, November 14, 1909.

Collegiate Ball – Height of Collegiate Manhood

William Rainey Harper was what we would now call a child prodigy. Born to an Ohio shopkeeper in 1856, he entered his undergraduate studies at Muskingum College at the tender age of ten. Unable to undertake graduate studies at Yale until the age of seventeen, he had rushed the completion of his doctoral thesis by the age of eighteen, graduating with his PhD in 1875. He was barely thirty-five when he was appointed President of the fledgling University of Chicago, nothing but a bank account with ten-million Rockefeller-dollars, a meager board of trusties, and a vacant lot south-east of Chicago on the Midway. Harper, described as a "chubby little steam engine in pants," wanted to recreate the eastern university idea in the west and had no issue persuading men of means to fund his vision.[85] Due in part to Harper's leadership and an almost endless supply of blank checks from Rockefeller (whose donations reached over thirty-five million by the early 1900s), the University ballooned. Five years after opening, enrollments had reached a total of 1,815, they more than tripled to 6,400 by 1907, and, more importantly, by 1900 the University of Chicago accounted for fifty-five percent of all doctoral degrees awarded—the other forty-five percent being shared by only four schools: Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, and California.[86]

So great was Harper's ability to promote and advertise the University that J. Laurence Laughlin, head of the Political Economy Department at Chicago, claimed that Harper was the "P. T. Barnum of Higher Education" and the University of Chicago his "Greatest Show on Earth."[87] Harper had envisioned the University of Chicago as "the basis for all democratic progress," a "service for all mankind wherever mankind is, whether within scholastic walls or

[85] Milton Mayer, "Portrait of a Dangerous Man," *Harper's Magazine*, July 1, 1946, 60; Hal A. Lawson and Alan G. Ingham, "Conflicting Ideologies Concerning the University and Intercollegiate Athletics: Harper and Hutchins at Chicago, 1892-1940," *Journal of Sport History* 7, no. 3 (Winter 1980): 39.
[86] Lawson and Ingham, "Conflicting Ideologies Concerning the University and Intercollegiate Athletics: Harper and Hutchins at Chicago, 1892-1940"; Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 412; Thelin, *A History*, 119.
[87] Lawson and Ingham, "Conflicting Ideologies Concerning the University and Intercollegiate Athletics: Harper and Hutchins at Chicago, 1892-1940," 41.

without those walls and in the world at large."[88] From its inception, Harper was insistent that Chicago would have what it needed to be a "Great University." Well-stock libraries, laboratories filled the most up-to-date scientific apparatuses, an observatory, a graduate school, a university press, a two-year junior college, a robust summer school, and, especially, a winning football team.[89]

Central to Harper's vision was a major emphasis on college athletics, primarily intercollegiate football, and its ability to create "vigorous and unsullied manhood."[90] Harper believed athletics to be a "real and essential part of college education," a "vital part of the student life," and made sure that no expense was spared in crafting the foremost athletic department in the nation to form young American youth into manly citizens.[91] To oversee this development, Harper engaged the expertise of Amos Alonzo Stagg, a Yale graduate and YMCA football coach "wreathed with a halo of fame" from his time on the Yale baseball team and for his athletic missionary work. Stagg was a major proponent of muscular Christianity and moved with a "self-fulfilling moral imperative" to teach men on such ideals.[92] Harper and Stagg both were interested in forming young, adolescent boys into manly, courageous, and virtuous citizens through football. Stagg wrote that if one were to "win the athletics of any college for Christ" they would "have the strongest working element attainable in college life" for creating good Christian men.[93] By appointing Stagg as the first tenured athletic position in United States, Harper engrained Stagg's Christian-based athletics

[88] William Rainey Harper, *The Trend in Higher Education* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1905), 12, also 276-84.
[89] Thelin, *A History*, 121.
[90] William Rainey Harper, "The President's Statement," *UCW*, January 3, 1895, 1.
[91] William Rainey Harper, "The President's Statement On The Condition Of The University," *UR*, July 3, 1896; Harper, "The President's Statement."
[92] Tony Ladd and James Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the Development of American Sport* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: BridgePoint Books, 1999), 67.
[93] Stagg to family, 20 Jan. 1891, quoted in Lester, *Stagg's University*, 19.

into the University's founding values.[94] "Our profession is one of the noblest," wrote Stagg, "and perhaps the most far reaching in building up the manhood of our country."[95]

From the start Harper had his eyes set on athletic victory, hiring Stagg with the explicit job of forming winning football teams for Chicago.[96] "I am most heartily in favor of them," Harper wrote Stagg of intercollegiate athletics, "I want you to develop teams which we can send around the country to knock out all the colleges."[97] Stagg's appointment in 1891 was the first of its kind as no other university had placed such importance on athletics. His appointment by Harper made him the first athletic education department head with university-wide responsibilities and the first tenured coach of intercollegiate athletics in the nation.[98] Prior to Stagg, football teams were more often than not coached by the students themselves or alumni that had returned to impart their veteran knowledge; similarly, athletic directors were given no tenure or university responsibility as their employment status changed on a yearly basis. Stagg made clear to Harper that he would "not be hampered in [his] work in any way" and be "not compelled to explain for what purpose certain money is to be used."[99] So important were athletics to Harper's dream for the University of Chicago that he acquiesced, giving Stagg an almost limitless ability to develop and train victorious teams to represent and bring honor to Chicago.[100] Like Harper, Stagg was most interested in creating a team that would advertise the University in an age when children picked their college based on the strength of its football team. "If Chicago University places a team in the

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[94] Ladd and Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity*, 65; Lester, *Stagg's University*, 17–18.
[95] Stagg, *Touchdown!*, 301–2.
[96] Elizabeth Wallace, *The Unending Journey* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 1952), 80–81.
[97] William Rainey Harper quoted in Stagg's letter to family, 20 Jan 1891, quoted in Lester, *Stagg's University*, 19.
[98] Ibid., 17.
[99] Stagg to Harper, 24 March 1896, quoted in Erin A. McCarthy, "Making Men: The Life And Career of Amos Alonzo Stag, 1863-1933" (Dissertation, Loyola University Chicago, 1994), 198.
[100] Ladd and Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity*, 53.

field," wrote Stagg to President Harper, "it must be a winning team or one which will bring honor to the university."[101] It was clear, the University of Chicago would not be great until its football team was great.

After a successful tour of the far west in 1894, Chicago, barely three years old, had not only produced a winning team but had sent that team farther than any had yet traveled to play football. The University of Chicago was clearly on the road to greatness and soon began to win game after game. The Secretary of the University Trustees, Thomas Goodspeed, told Harper, "we'll have a college here soon if this keeps up."[102] His view was typical of the time, and the winning or losing of football games could be the difference between institutional success and failure. The *San Francisco Examiner* reported after the University of California's loss to Stanford in 1896 that, "this defeat by far is the most crushing that the State University has ever experienced, and proves conclusively either that the system of education is at fault or that the material to select from is inferior."[103] The loss had brought into question not only the University's capacity to teach, but also the mettle of the students it attracted. Conversely, Rufus Bernhard von KleinSmid, President of the University of Arizona, believed that his university's unprecedented 1915 victory over Pomona College was evidence of Arizona's rise to greatness in the wake of his efforts to expand the University under his "Greater Arizona" scheme. The students believed so, stating that the win "meant more to the University than any other event in its history."[104] Similarly, President John Crowell of Trinity College (later Duke University) stated in that the institution's football victories "carried the record of Trinity's prowess beyond state limits" enabling the institution to "enter upon a new

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[101] Amos Alonzo Stagg to William Rainey Harper, 8 March 1892, quoted in Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 117; also see: Lester, *Stagg's University*, 20.
[102] University of Chicago Secretary Goodspeed to President Harper, 9 October 1893, quoted in Lester, *Stagg's University*, 25.
[103] "California's Disaster," *San Francisco Examiner*, November 27, 1896.
[104] Martin, *Lamp in the Desert*, 115.

era of its enviable and honorable career."[105] For both administrators and students the success of the athletic teams bore institutional confidence and national prestige. Harper believed more fervently than most, making clear in his reports that the University had "encouraged athletic sports" from its inception and that it would "continue to encourage them [as] an important part of college and University life."[106] It came to be said that monetary gifts to the University were "celebrated like football victories, and football victories like the Second Coming" of Christ.[107] The three were almost always unquestionably linked. "Boys, Mr. Rockefeller has just announced a gift of $3,000,000 to the University," Harper exclaimed to the players during halftime of the 1895 Chicago-Wisconsin game. "The way you played in the first half leads me to wonder whether we really have the spirit of greatness and ambition," he put it plainly, "I wish you would make up your minds to win this game and show that we do have it."[108]

Collegiate administrators believed that football created admirable traits in players and spectators alike. "In dealing with this game, you are dealing with our national characteristics," wrote Edwin Alderman, President of the University of Virginia.[109] In Alderman's view, football taught students the use courage, self-denial, self-restraint, resoluteness, patience, attention, and loyalty, in creating a "distinct form of patriotic unselfishness."[110] Fellow presidents echoed the same.[111] David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford, admired the "rough, virile, unsparing, man contest" for teaching courage, self-

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[105] John Franklin Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College North Carolina 1887-1894* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939), 229–30.
[106] Harper, "The President's Statement."
[107] Mayer, "Portrait of a Dangerous Man," 60; Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 345.
[108] Stagg, *Touchdown!*, 203.
[109] President Alderman, quoted in John S. Watterson, "The Death of Archer Christian: College Presidents and the Reform of College Football," *Journal of Sport History* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 163.
[110] "Must Eliminate Peril of Death Otherwise Abandon All Football," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, November 17, 1909.
[111] "Northrop Defends Football," *CDT*, December 18, 1902; Francis A. Walker, "College Athletics," *HGM*, September 1893, 13.

control, and cooperation.[112] While James Angell, President of the University of Michigan, regarded football as a "valuable athletic game" that cultivated "temperate and regular habits of living" such as vigor, planning, perception, and the "subordination of the individual will to cooperation of the team."[113] These qualities were coveted by business interests and, as John Pettegrew has contended, football produced "brutes in suits…organizational men, who, when the situation called for it, could also tap into the cultivated trait of predation."[114] It was believed that the universities that produced winning teams were the same universities that imbued their students with qualities praised by American society. As historian Peter Sterns has argued, such aggressive and competitive behavior as cultivated in football was "instrumental in personal advancement."[115] If students were willing to fight for *alma mater* on the gridiron, then they would be willing to do the same for their future jobs, families, and nation.

Business was not the only entity which took interest in football, however. Both West Point and Annapolis already considered football "the most important sport" for developing the skills necessary for warfare by 1899, and such understanding circulated throughout the magazines and newspapers of time.[116] Magazines such as the *Outing* touted football as the "best physical training a boy [could] undergo" because it developed "manly and soldierly

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[112] David Starr Jordan, "Dr. Jordan Writes On Football," *DPA*, December 7, 1905.
[113] James Angell, "Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?," *The Forum*, January 1894, 647; Camp, "Football of 1891," 155.
[114] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 133.
[115] Peter N. Stearns, "Men, Boys and Anger in American Society, 1860-1940," in *Manliness and Morality; Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1987), 81; Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity," 5.
[116] Martin Gitlin, *Greatest College Football Rivalries of All Time: The Civil War, the Iron Bowl, and Other Memorable Matchups* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 57–59; Graves, "The College Man's Game"; Harper's Weekly Editors, "Football At West Point and Annapolis," *Harper's Weekly*, November 5, 1892; Johnston, "The American Game of Football," 894; Reed, "What Makes A Football Player?," 3.

qualities."[117] The *North American Review* titled these qualities the "military virtues."[118] A footballman, like his soldierly counterpart, had to exercise the virtues of coolness, pluck, daring, self-sacrifice, trustworthiness, and common sense.[119] "If these are not the qualities to be desired in the army and navy officers," wrote football commentator Caspar Whitney, "in what class of men are they more essential." [120] Would commands be granted to students who studied the game of tennis or baseball, or to one "who had gritted his teeth and ploughed through the opposing rusher line for a ten-yard game."[121]

Not all administrators were as fervently behind the game as Harper, however. Shailer Matthews, Dean of the University of Chicago's Divinity School, admonished the game, stating that "football today is a social obsession—a boy-killing, education-prostituting, gladiatorial sport. It teaches virility and courage, but so does war…[football] should not require the services of a physician, the maintenance of a hospital, and the celebration of funerals."[122] Harvard President Charles William Eliot, in his report for 1894-95, wrote that football "grows worse and worse as regards foul and violent play, and the number and gravity of injuries the players suffer…[the game is] unfit for college use."[123] President Harper was quick to strike back at President Eliot's attacks against football from his pulpit in Chicago. "If the world can afford to sacrifice the lives of men for commercial gain," he said, "it can much more easily afford to make similar sacrifices upon the altar of vigorous and unsullied manhood." [124] As the death toll began to rise around the country in 1905, few administrators

[117] Caspar W. Whitney, "The Athletic Development at West Point and Annapolis," *Harper's Weekly*, May 21, 1892, 496.
[118] J. William White and Horatio C. Wood, "Intercollegiate Football," *The North American Review*, January 1894, 102.
[119] Whitney, "The Athletic Development at West Point and Annapolis," 496.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Shailer Matthews, quoted in "Football Reform By Abolition," *The Nation*, November 30, 1905, 437–38.
[123] Charles Eliot, quoted in Watterson, *College Football*, 36, 45.
[124] Harper, "The President's Statement," 1.

moved to ban the game outright; if anything, calls funneled from across the country to Harvard where the ageing President Charles Elliot had been attempting to abolish the game since the 1870s. Eliot wrote early on that he believed it had become "the duty of the colleges, which have permitted these monstrous evils to grow up and to become intense, to purge themselves of such immoralities" surrounding football.[125] But even Eliot, the nation's "first citizen," wrote that college presidents "certainty cannot reform football, and I doubt if by themselves they can abolish it."[126]

A return to more concentrated play had "marked results on the cripple list" in November of 1909, with three high profile injuries and deaths occurring within weeks of one another: Edwin Wilson of the Naval Academy had been paralyzed, Eugene Byrne of West Point had been killed on 30th October in a pile up, and Archer Christian died as a result of a mass momentum play on 13th November.[127] Both the President and Vice-President were in attendance at the Army-Navy game in which Byrne died—both were also in attendance two weeks later at the Yale-Princeton game the day Christian was injured—prompting critics to declare that the national leaders were "not only signifying their approval, but advocating an earnest continuance" of the "brutal and useless game."[128] The *Cornell Sun* reported that fourteen others had died since the start of the 1909 season—two on the same day as Byrne—but that only Byrne's had "attracted [the] most attention."[129] Walter Camp would relay in 1910 that the 1909 season had "been responsible for more deaths on the gridiron than any

[125] "The Report of the President of Harvard University," 477.
[126] "Call For Conference; New York University Stands Ready To Give Up Game," *New-York Daily Tribune*, November 29, 1905.
[127] Walter Camp, "Football in 1909," *The Outing Magazine*, January 1910, 509; Watterson, "The Death of Archer Christian: College Presidents and the Reform of College Football," 149; "Harvard, 9; West Point, 0," *HC*, November 1, 1909.
[128] "Mr. Taft and Mr. Sherman Approved the Game by Their Presence," *NYT*, November 16, 1909.
[129] "Football," *The Cornell Daily Sun*, November 1, 1909, Vol. XXX, No. 30; "Cadet Eugene A. Byrne Dead," *The Daily Princetonian*, November 1, 1909, Vol. 34, No. 112.

other of which there is record."[130] Despite this, Presidents across the nation continued to promote the game. Cornell's President Schurman stated football was "too good a game to be eliminated," and President Judson—President Harper's replacement at the University of Chicago—wrote, "I don't anticipate that the recent fatalities, deplorable as they are, will have any marked effect in the immediate future on the game of football."[131] Even Woodrow Wilson, who had coached the Princeton elevens but was serving as the then Governor-elect of New Jersey, praised that "new rules [were] doing much to bring football to a high level as a sport, for its brutal features are being done away with and better elements retained."[132]

Strikingly, even for Eliot, deaths and injuries were "not the strongest argument against football."[133] The most pressing issues affecting football when the game came under nationwide scrutiny in 1905, rather than its roughness, were the continuing professionalism of the game, the moral decay of the game, and the commercialization of the game.[134] That "cheating and brutality are profitable is the main evil," Elliot wrote, "the main objection lies against moral quality." [135] "Football is and always will be a hard game," the *Outing* wrote in 1905, "not the roughness but the foulness of play is what does injury to the player and the game…the opportunity it affords vicious and cowardly brutes."[136] For many the issue was not that football was rough, but that the violence exited the realm of gentlemanly contests and entered the realm of vandals, rouges, and miscreants. President Jordan wrote that when

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[130] Camp, "Football in 1909," 514.
[131] "What As To The Future Of Football Game? Here Are The Opinions Of Leading College Men," *RTD*, November 15, 1909.
[132] Woodrow Wilson, Talk to the Football Team, 10 November 1910, quoted in Watterson, "The Death of Archer Christian: College Presidents and the Reform of College Football," 166; also see: Fred Eisenhammer and Eric B. Sondheimer, *College Football's Most Memorable Games, 1913 Through 1990: The Stories of 54 History-Making Contests* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1992).
[133] "Call For Conference; New York University Stands Ready To Give Up Game."
[134] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 136.
[135] President Eliot, quoted in "President Eliot on Football," *The Outlook*, February 11, 1905, 363; "Call For Conference; New York University Stands Ready To Give Up Game."
[136] Whitney, "The View-Point," 492.

football was played by gentlemen, it tended to strengthen the instincts of gentlemen.[137] Students, too, mused that the "highest conceivable benefit" was that the games demonstrated that "gentlemen never cease to be gentlemen in any emergency."[138] "When played properly," wrote Ethelbert Warfield, President of Lafayette College, "is a school of morals and manners."[139] When played dubiously, it imparted the elements of swindlers and cheats on those playing and watching. A team which had the unmitigated gall to cheat on the field suggested that they also took the liberty of cheating in the academic classroom. The character of an institution, its professors, and its students rested on the honorable manhood of their football players.[140] Thus, football needed to remain a game of gentlemen, wrote Elliot, "of men who value fairness and honor more than victory."[141] "Let football, therefore, be hard," cried the people, "but let us insist that it shall be clean."[142]

Questions surrounding the violence of football cut to the core of anxieties and worries over the changing nature of manhood at the turn of the century. Unlike their fathers, college-age men in the decades following the Civil War were faced with a grim reality: the window for becoming a self-made man following their graduation was rapidly closing. At the turn of the previous century over eighty percent of the American male population had been engaged in agriculture and four-out-of-every-five American men were self-employed; by 1880, however, that had drastically changed as the number of men involved in agriculture reduced to fifty percent and only one-out-of-every-three men were self-employed.[143] By 1900 it was evident that a life owning a farm or small shop was no longer possible in the monopolistic

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[137] Jordan, "Dr. Jordan Writes On Football."
[138] "From A Graduate's Window," *HGM*, March 1897, 341.
[139] Ethelbert Warfield, "Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?," *The Forum*, January 1894, 649.
[140] Jordan, "Dr. Jordan Writes On Football."
[141] "President Eliot on Football," 364.
[142] Whitney, "The View-Point," 492.
[143] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 71; Glenn Porter, "Industrialization and the Rise of Big Business," in *The Gilded Age: Perspectives on the Origins of Modern America*, ed. Charles W. Calhoun, Second (Landham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 14.

competition between major corporations run by a growing number of middle-class clerks.[144] The number of such clerical workers had increased from 756-thousand in 1870 to over 5.6-million in 1910.[145] Further complicating matters for college graduates, clerical positions no longer yielded paths to ownership, produced wages well below the self-made standard of success, and were scarcely more prestigious then menial occupations.[146] Men were once thought to be manly if they had ownership over their own shops, the ability to set their own work schedules, and the means to marshal their own labor pools, but, as men become ever more dependent on, to use Kemmel's term, "the regime of the time clock," the manhood that came with such autonomy and self-control quickly became less and less of an attainable goal for college graduates.[147]

Where once a young boy might have become successful (read: a man) through his own ingenuity, ruthlessness, and character, there now existed a pre-planned track for those wishing to achieve success. As Anthony Rotundo has described it, manhood now had a "ladder of ascent" in which one did not gain experience from failures but "met prerequisites" for employment.[148] Despite such a clear path to success existing for college-age men, "more and more of them found that the economic heights were already occupied," writes Peter G. Filene, "individual opportunity for the man on the make seemed to be a myth…a falsehood."[149] Previously ample opportunities became scarce as businessmen turned to the expansion and maintenance of their multifaceted empires rather than the creation of new

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[144] Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self, Gender Identities in Modern America*, Third (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 78.
[145] Jeffrey P. Hantover, "The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity," in *The American Man*, ed. Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), 290.
[146] Ibid., 289.
[147] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 72; Peter N. Stearns, *Be A Man! Males in Modern Society.* (New York, New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 1; Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 76.
[148] Rotundo, *American Manhood; Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 260.
[149] Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 77.

ones.[150] The prospect of languishing away as low-grade clerks following graduation loomed, and college-age men were faced with a crisis of character: the realization that self-made fortunes were becoming harder and harder to attain.[151] To make matters worse, the only viable exit for eastern men wishing to reclaim their manhood, the American Frontier, had already closed by 1900. According to masculinity historian Joe Dubbert, all that remained of the "Old West" was a "vivid set of images, recollections, and stereotypes against which men were to measure themselves in the future."[152] Once ample opportunities to exercise one's manhood had become nonexistent.

The American frontier had once provided a rough and de-civilized arena for reclaiming one's manhood in the 1870s and 80s.[153] Teddy Roosevelt, seen as *the* symbol of turn of the century masculinity, looked to nature as "brutal and primitive—a proving ground of manly prowess," a place where men could go to embody aspects of a lost primitive masculinity.[154] Civilization had become something to overcome and remove oneself from by "regeneration-through-regression," a process described by Richard Slotkin in which highly civilized men endured a "revivifying return to the life of an earlier stage [where] the demands of the historical moment foster the emergence and triumph of a distinctive biosocial 'character' or 'type.'"[155] The American story was laced with such types; pioneers, trail blazers, adventurers, American Indian fighters, and Seventh Calvary troopers filled with

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[150] Irvin Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches* (New York, New York: The Free Press, 1954), 107; Marsden, *The Soul*, 99; Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 5.
[151] Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization; A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 12–13; Osgerby, *Playboys*, 20–21; Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity," 16.
[152] Joe L Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979), 156.
[153] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 26.
[154] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 171, 176; Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 30; Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 131–33; also see: Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 69–93, 71, 73; Harvey Green, *Fit For America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society* (New York, New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 235–38.
[155] Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 38.

courage, pluck, and determination, remained fresh in the American conscious.[156] Their memory had been called upon during the Civil War as a means of expressing masculine tendencies, and they were being recalled again as a means of freeing young men from the over-civilization which had led to physical and cultural emasculation.[157]

Such a return to primal manhood was no longer possible in the American West, however. The Westward-Ho mentality of the previous generations had already been lived out by the late 1880s. By the turn of the century the bison were hunted to extinction, the native tribes rounded up and pacified on reservations, the great expanses tied eastward by rail and wire. The East had come West. According to Stearns, "soothsayers could not conceal the fact that the frontier had closed."[158] All that remained were chances to imitate earlier pioneers rather than an actual process of returning to the land.[159] Young men, unable to reclaim their primal instincts, needed somewhere else to release their primal urges.

For collegians, football offered an opportunity to prove one's manhood vigorously and violently in the absence of the traditional American means. What "will it do for us to be squeamish about a broken collar-bone," asked the *Outing*, "while the majority of our young men are receiving lasting benefits from athletics, which will insure us, as a nation, against physical degeneration?"[160] A similar article in the *New York Times* asked if it were "not better to train our youths in agility and courage, even at the remote risk of imperiling their lives, than to rear a race of courageless weaklings?" "The tendency of civilized life is toward debility and effeminacy," the writer stated, "all sports, to be interesting, must be spiced with a

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[156] Stearns, *Be A Man! Males in Modern Society.*, 51.
[157] Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 55; Michael McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter, Hockey's Rise from Sport to Spectacle* (Vancouver, British Columbia: Greystone Books, 2000), 26; Osgerby, *Playboys*, 22; Rotundo, *American Manhood; Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 228–29; see Chapter 5 in Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*.
[158] Stearns, *Be A Man! Males in Modern Society.*, 1; Wyllie, *Self-Made Man*, 109–10.
[159] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 23.
[160] Eugene L. Jr. Richards, "Foot-Ball in America," *The Outing*, April 1885, 63.

dash of danger."[161] Calls for football's eradication were chalked up to an "effeminate class" of persons antagonistic to the "spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice and hardy manhood" developed by football.[162] On the gridiron collegians could enact primitive violence in an arena that upheld such violence as necessary and requisite parts of one's education. Even the spectators, who were believed to benefit from viewing the martial contests, could combat effeminization by making a study of the game and cheering on the teams.

Football, and team sports more generally, provided the arena for instilling the manly qualities valued by society and "necessary in life's battle."[163] According to Anthony Rotundo, children were already living a violent existence before reaching their college years, engaging with their friends in elements of "casual hostility and sociable sadism" through wrestling, throwing rocks at one another "purely for sport," and group games that mocked real-life battles.[164] These actions, violent though they may seem, served as a form of strengthening bonds through pain and building a moral and youthful character.[165] This occurred even more so in collegiate contests. With the West closed and the prospect of a clerical lifestyle facing collegians following graduation, it is no wonder that football matches devolved into such brutality. "No right-thinking man, true to himself and seeking recognition from his peers," writes Dubbert, "could walk away from a fight."[166] In such a high stakes environment a young man could earn the reputation of a "sissy" if he did not fight back or shrunk from his duty to the college; such a hit to one's reputation would not only ostracize one from

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[161] "Advantages of Football," *NYT*, December 7, 1902.
[162] E.L. Richards, "Physical Education and Athletic Sports at Yale," *The Outing*, July 1885, 453; Ralph D. Paine, "The School and College World Aftermath of the Football Season," *The Outing Magazine*, December 1905, 499.
[163] "Advantages of Football"; W.R.C. Latson, "The Moral Effects of Athletics," *The Outing Magazine*, December 1906, 389; Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 15.
[164] Rotundo, *American Manhood; Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 35–36; Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York, New York: Atheneum, 1985), Chapter 2: Myth and Historical Memory.
[165] Rotundo, *American Manhood; Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 35, 225.
[166] Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 33.

collegiate life, but would also bring their manhood into question.[167] Participation in the unmitigated violence exercised in collegiate football matches, whether on the field or howling in the stands, was necessary for one's social and professional success.[168]

The effort to keep football rough was an effort to provide a substitute for war and frontier violence, not only was the game a substitute for war, but a remedy for a nation that had over-civilized and over feminized.[169] "A rough sport it must always be," wrote President Schurman, "a certain degree of roughness is no bad seasoning for the recreations of those who are conscious of superabundant physical energy."[170] On the gridiron young American men could regain their primitive masculinity. Where heading West once served as a means of "regeneration-through-regression," playing football allowed for a release of violent and non-civilized tendences.[171] The footballmen became primitive warriors and, though it had become a sport that created qualities coveted by society, it required players to channel the most "barbarian temperament."[172] The words used by James Hopper in the *Saturday Evening Post* to describe collegiate football men summarize well such a primitive regression. Footballmen were "tense" beings with "flashing eyes" and "a convulsive desire at once to weep and kill," manifested the pure "predatory instinct" of animals.[173] Frank Hinkey of Yale, though described as "pale of face…even actually fragile in appearance," was also described as "no common mortal," a man who "tore to pieces some of the most powerful interference the game has ever seen" and who "could tackle a road roller and stop it dead without disturbing a hair

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[167] Ibid.; Rotundo, *American Manhood; Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 235; Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 104; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 104.
[168] Francisco, *Evolution*, 22.
[169] McQuilkin and Smith, "The Rise and Fall of the Flying Wedge: Football's Most Controversial Play," 59.
[170] Jacob Gould Schurman, "Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?," *The Forum*, January 1894, 643.
[171] Thorstein Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), 261.
[172] "42,000 Enthusiasts Are Gay And Noisy," *NYT*, November 19, 1916, sec. Special to The New York Times; "Team Met At Station On Return From Florida," *The Crimson White*, October 28, 1916, Vol. XXIV, No. 6; Harmon S. Graves, "The College Man's Game," *The Saturday Evening Post*, October 28, 1899; Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, 378–79.
[173] James Hopper, "The Freshman," *The Saturday Evening Post*, September 30, 1911; Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, 378–79; Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 171.

of his Napoleonic bang."[174] Externally, players looked as heroes fighting among their eleven classmates in pitched battles on the gridiron; while internally, they had regained their primitive manhood and escaped the effeminate bounds of modern society.

Conclusion – Warlike and Martial Sport

Football was a martial, war-like, and man-making endeavor demanding of the most fervent loyalty and submission. The football spectacles that drew thousands from far-off destinations, swamping collegiate spaces with outsiders, were mock battles that mirrored the ways in which nations waged wars. The opening of the football season saw the marshalling of the collegiate army through the volunteering—and often impressment—of young collegians into physical training. The march to war followed the provocative 'othering' of far-off collegiate nations with martial mass meetings and torch-lit parades which brought together the entire citizenry in grand displays of loyalty. Then the "invasion." The arrival of "our boys" to the unfamiliar surroundings of the enemy nation with its strange buildings and heathen customs. The army's march to the "battlefield" on "foreign soil" with drumming bands, familiar war ballads, and oaths of loyalty to the collegiate nation left behind or the *alma mater* being gallantly defended. Flanking the field wave thousands of colorful flags wielded by the citizens of the two nations, each whooping and shouting in defiance. And then the battle. Two armies on a great crusade, draped in distinctive colors of their collegiate nation, clad in the armor of their trade, and ready to charge each other. Above it all, a feeling of unmatched unity with other collegiate citizens in the face of battle.[175] When the collegiate army, eleven veteran footballmen no older than twenty, reached the "battlefield," they fought

[174] Reed, "What Makes A Football Player?," 3; "Sprained Limbs; Foot Ball Players Reported To Be In Bad Shape," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 7, 1892.
[175] Wilbur C. Abbott, "The Guild of Students," *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 1921, 624; "Team Leaves for Chicago," *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, October 26, 1899, Vol. XVI, No. 23; "Cheering At The Game," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 23, 1909; "Escort to Team," *The Cornell Daily Sun*, November 22, 1904, Vol. XXV, No. 48; "Old Graduate Royally Welcomes Varsity Squad," *The Crimson White*, October 28, 1916, Vol. XXIV, No. 6.

brutally for ground in "advances," "assaults," or "raids" launched upon the enemy "lines" and engaged in full-scale "offensives" to push the enemy out of friendly "territory."[176] The concept of gaining "yards" would become a term all too familiar in 1917.

The militaristic air on campuses had only become more engrained as the years wore on. By 1910, one did not have to look hard, or far, for illusions to soldiers (students) doing their duty on the battlefield (collegiate gridiron). Indeed, rather than call for the outright abandonment of football after the death of Archer Christian, V'14, President Alderman instead proclaimed Christian to have died a hero in his gridiron pileup, a collegian who died doing his duty. In a statement following Christian's funeral, in which Alderman served as an honorary pallbearer, Alderman told the nation that Christian "in a very real sense…died doing his duty like a soldier on a battlefield." That had died "doing that duty with enthusiasm and self-forgetfulness and courage and eager pride," Alderman continued, made it "a noble way to die."[177] This connection between college students killed in gridiron games and young men killed in the service of their country laid groundwork for future administrators to frame national war service as service for *alma mater*. To die in the university's service was the ultimate means of *doing something*, a means of winning fame and glory into perpetuity. Students at the Virginia Military Institute wrote that Christian had the "spirit of a soldier who dies on the field of battle and finds it sweet to die for fatherland."[178] Like the epitaph on the memorials of Civil War dead throughout college campuses, the students at the VMI stated that the University of Virginia had "suffered the loss of one of her most promising sons who

[176] "Death Waits Amid Applauding Thousands For His Victim," *The Atlanta Constitution*, November 1, 1897; "First Test On Foreign Soil Brings A Victory," *The Crimson White*, October 28, 1916, Vol. XXIV, No. 6; Morris Bishop and Alison Mason Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), 414; also see: Joe L Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979), 171.
[177] "Must Eliminate Peril of Death Otherwise Abandon All Football."
[178] "Students Will Attend Funeral," *RTD*, November 16, 1909.

in the prime of life yielded up the last full measure of his devotion to his alma mater."[179] Archer Christian, according to the students at the VMI, had been "called upon to make the supreme sacrifice" out of his fervent loyalty and devotion to his institution. Christian, like all footballmen, was very much a soldier of his collegiate nation fighting in a war against other student-soldiers.

[179] Ibid.

Chapter III: The Collegiate Volunteers – The Field Service of the American Ambulance

Three years before the arrival of an American army to the European continent, America's first combatants were young collegians. Filled with a patriotic spirit to help French and Belgian plight, they embarked for Europe determined to engage their services at the outbreak of war. Some were already in Paris, and so enlisted with the French Foreign Legion; while others, watching the War engulf Europe from their collegiate cloister, slipped over the Canadian border to volunteer with the British Commonwealth.[1] Others still, took their fight to the virgin skies, braving the Atlantic crossing to lend their mechanical talents and fearless nature to the Escadrille Américaine. These early volunteers included men like Victor Chaplain, H'13, Norman Prince, H'08, and Alan Seeger, H'10—figures who have become famous for their romantic and idealized depictions of the War. Such individuals have come to dominate the history of America's First World War, however, leaving unexamined the histories of thousands of other collegians who served alongside them. Collegians such as William Thaw, Y'15, who departed Yale during his senior year to "take a part" in the "greatest and probably last war in history," went for action and adventure, while men like Richard Hall, DC'15, and Edward Tinkham, C'16, left their studies to serve as ambulanciers alongside scores of other collegiate volunteers.[2] Indeed, the largest concentration of collegians were to be found serving with the Field Service of the American Ambulance (FSAA), an organization considered to be the "most considerable organized representation" which the United States had in Europe during the neutral period (1914-1917).[3]

Established in 1915 by Abram Piatt Andrew, P'93-H'00, the Field Service endeavored to put the daunting task of transporting thousands of wounded Allied soldiers

[1] Morse, *Vanguard*, 5.
[2] William Thaw to Parents, 30 August 1914, in ibid., 15.
[3] The American Field Service, ed., *History of the American Field Service in France, "Friends of France," 1914-1917*, vol. 1 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1920), 4.

from the front lines to field hospitals entirely in the hands of collegiate ambulanciers. Preferring those with mechanical skills and a decent command of the French language, or, at the least, those with a heightened capacity to learn it, "it was obvious that young college men formed the most available class for this service," wrote Edwin W. Morse, author of *The Vanguard of the American Volunteers* (1919).[4] Driving ambulances required leisure, monetary security, and heightened intelligence, and collegians compromised the unique group who fit those needs: they were not tied down, could suspend their studies, had cash—or could obtain financial backing—and were broadly educated. Over 3,000 collegiate specimens with ties to over 120 different institutions embarked for service with the FSAA, over two percent of the male undergraduate population. Representing their colleges in groups as large as one hundred and as small as a single man, the Field Service of the American Ambulance enabled full-scale collegiate volunteerism unlike the individual acts of enlistment undertaken by men like Seeger or Thaw. At the end of 1915, the Service fielded four sections of twenty ambulances each.[5] By the arrival of the American Army in September 1917, the Service had expanded to one section for each division of the French army on the line, including with French troops in Greece, Serbia, and Albania.[6]

On the homefront, *the collegiate* funded the project graciously, purchasing ambulances and sponsoring costs for their units. Of the first ambulances overseas, seventeen were funded by alumni donations and student collections from Yale (12) and Harvard (5).[7] Hundreds of thousands more would be expended throughout the War to further student

[4] Morse, *Vanguard*, 131.
[5] A. Piatt Andrew, "The Genesis of the American Ambulance Service with the French Army, 1915-1917," *The Military Surgeon: Journal of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States*, October 1925, 366.
[6] Ibid., 367.
[7] Ibid., 158; The War Records Committee, *Brown University in the War; A Report of the War Records Committee* (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 1919), 10; "32 Cornellians Join First Ambulance Unit," *CDS*, April 2, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 128; "Cornell Ambulance Unit Sails For France Today; 33 Will Drive Machines," *CDS*, April 14, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 133.

volunteerism overseas. For the alumni, donating was a means by which to honor the college; for administrators, it was a means by which to gain national renown in the competition against fellow institutions to provide the greatest amount of assistance to humanitarian causes.

Students came from many different backgrounds and, rather than being solely the sons of the rich, the majority were middle-class Americans from cities and colleges throughout the United States.[8] Franklin D. W. Glazier, Y'04, described Section Sixteen as composed entirely of collegians "from half a dozen universities and twice that number of colleges and schools" who all embodied the same growing "idealistic spirit" of humanitarianism.[9] Such was the composition of the Field Service's sections that most were referred to simply by their collegiate origination (i.e. the "Cornell Section" or the "Penn Squad") rather than their official number.[10] The students, though diverse in economic background, were cut from the same ideological cloth. Jerome Preston, H'19, wrote that groups of young collegians from around the country were "all really the same crowd."[11] These early volunteers were the Big Men, the campus personalities, the embodiment of the collegiate system they were a part of. Ambulanciers, like their collegiate peers, were young, popular, involved, and intent on *doing something*.

For *the collegiate*, War became a college endeavor. Collegiate ambulanciers wrote home in a flood of letters frank, non-neutral, and agitating for intervention. Published in

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[8] "War Depletes Dartmouth; Two-Thirds of Student Body at the Front or in Training," *NYT*, June 2, 1917; "Cornell-Ithaca Section Sails for France," *CAN*, April 19, 1917, 327; "For the Ambulance Service Contributions of Money from Cornell Alumni Are Still Coming In," *CAN*, April 26, 1917, 343.
[9] The American Field Service, ed., *History of the American Field Service in France, "Friends of France," 1914-1917*, vol. 2 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1920), 139–40.
[10] William Yorke Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank"* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 32.
[11] Jerome Preston, quoted in Adam Goodheart, "We Remember World War I," *Harvard Magazine*, December 1993, 54.

newspapers and national magazines, these letters, together with publicity films and slide shows, helped shift American sentiment in favor of intervention. Despite their influence in rallying public support for intervention, historians have largely neglected their contribution to that change. More than any other group, the experiences of collegiate volunteers constitute a central element of America's neutral-period experience. Student exposure to the War came primarily from publicized correspondence from their friends in the Service and first-hand through speeches given by fellow collegians of their time 'over there.' In response to the proliferation of unfiltered accounts of the War, students undertook massive fundraising campaigns to support Ambulance as not only a means of advancing their *alma mater's* standing but also as a way of furthering the cause of intervention. Long before Colonel Charles Stanton, marching to the tomb of the Marquis de Lafayette, cried, "Lafayette, we are here!", thousands of young Americans and their sponsors were already giving their time, their energies, their treasure, and their blood in the War to End all Wars.

The FSAA – Andrew's Service

"I have been turning things over in my mind lately and have about decided that I must go over to France."[12]

A.P. Andrew, 10th December 1914

Abram Piatt Andrew was quite out of place among the young men traveling to Europe at the outbreak of the War. Already in his late forties upon his arrival to Paris on 30th December 1914, he had run the gauntlet of American academia and GOP politics for the preceding twenty years, having served as the director of the US Mint (1909-10) and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (1910-12) before an unsuccessful bid for congress in 1912 left him without much of a purpose. Despite his age, Andrew was of—and in—the collegiate space. Described as a man of "experience and culture" (read: socially elite academic), he received

[12] 3 December 1914, in A. Piatt Andrew, *Letters Written Home From France in the First Half of 1915* (Privately Printed, 1916), 1.

his bachelor's degree from Princeton ('93), his masters ('95) and doctorate ('00) from Harvard, and served as a Harvard assistant professor of economics from 1900-09.[13] Andrew was deeply familiar with the collegiate nation's need to *do something*; indeed, his reasons for departing for France on a whim at the end of 1914 were rooted in *doing something* to help the beleaguered nations of the Allied cause. "The possibility of being some service in the midst of so much distress," he wrote his parents on 3rd December 1914, was "above all the chance to do the little all that one can for France."[14] In many ways, his reasoning touched on the spirits haunting an entire generation of students. Fears of missing the last opportunity for great adventure mingled with the worry of not having a chance to prove one's manhood and courage under fire and the potential social shame if one did not take the opportunity to do what they could for humanity. For Andrew, this was the opportunity to do those things which he never had the chance to do while cloistered in the college halls. Writing to his old friend and Harvard alum, Robert Baccon, H'80, the American Ambassador to France, Andrew stated, "I am relying upon you to find me a job…I do not care what it is as long as I can be of service."[15] Within a year's time, Andrew, and the Service he would create, would be of more help to France than either man could have predicted.

The genesis of the FSAA began with a small contingent of ambulances ferrying wounded French soldiers from Paris train stations and marshalling points outside the city to the American Military Hospital of Neuilly (AMH). Founded on 9th August 1914 through the personal munificence of well-to-do American embassy women and members of the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris, the AMH was but one of many humanitarian hospitals set up around Paris throughout the early fall of 1914 to accommodate the flow of French wounded

[13] Morse, *Vanguard*, 129.
[14] 3 December 1914, in Andrew, *Letters*, 1.
[15] Andrew, quoted in James Brown Scott, *Robert Bacon Life and Letters* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923), 213.

from the battlelines.[16] The Hospital, then under the leadership of Ambassador Bacon and Mrs. Anne Vanderbilt, had laid empty for most of its early existence due to a lack of transportation facilities available for brining wounded men from the front to the hospital. Edward Toland, P'08, who left his banking job for Paris when war broke, wrote that "fully half" of the French wounded were left lying on the battlefields for three, four, even five days without food or water.[17] Moving these men to adequate facilities became paramount for the AMH. Through the personal funding of Mrs. Vanderbilt and her contacts at the Ford Motor Company's French assembly plant, the hospital purchased ten Ford chassis for ambulance operations.[18] This small section commenced transferring wounded French soldiers from the encroaching front around Paris and back to the hospital at Neuilly. By Andrew's arrival to Paris, the AMH had increased its ambulance corps to twenty-six cars across the front: ten with the Indian Army Corps on the British line, six helping to relieve hospitals in the Amiens, and a further ten at hospitals in Beauvais.[19]

Out of this initial grouping of ten ambulances grew several smaller organizations aimed at collecting French and British wounded left to die on the roadsides.[20] Described by Morse as "the foremost figure among the scores of American university men" who "gave their services to the ambulance corps," Richard Norton, H'92, had begun organizing his own ambulance corps in London upon the War's start.[21] Much like Andrew, Norton was of the collegiate. Born into the highest rungs of Boston society—his father a world-renown

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[16] Arthur C. Kimber, Patrick Gregory, and Elizabeth Nurser, *An American on the Western Front: The First World War Letters of Arthur Clifford Kimber, 1917-18* (Gloucestershire, United Kingdom: The History Press, 2016), 117; other sources note the date of acquisition as the 12th or the 14th rather than the 9th; Arlen J Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers: The Story of American Ambulance Drivers in the Great War* (New York, New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996), 4.
[17] Edward Dale Toland, *The Aftermath of Battle: With the Red Cross in France* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 48–49.
[18] Scott, *Robert Bacon Life and Letters*, 212; Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 4.
[19] Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 40–41.
[20] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:18.
[21] Morse, *Vanguard*, 115.

professor of art history at Harvard and his mother of Boston Brahmin blood—Norton received his undergraduate degree from Harvard in 1892 and spent the following twenty years in numerous academic positions and engaged in archeological field work in North Africa.[22] Heading immediately for Paris following the War's commencement, Norton, like many Americans looking to help, was funneled to the AMH. He was shocked to find that large numbers of wounded had perished or been disabled after having been left on the battlefields.[23] Unable to organize anything in Paris, Norton headed for London where collegiate contacts received him with open arms at the Harvard Club. Three weeks later, he returned to France with a group of "several graduates of the American universities" in a mix-bag of personally owned Rolls-Royce, Cadillac, and Ford cars to *do something* about the lack of ambulances.[24]

The first to realize the potential of a milieu well suited for the need of men with means, leisure time, and their own automobiles, Norton began immediately leveraging his Harvard connections to promote his venture among college-aged men. "The American universities are well represented," he stated to potential volunteers who were on the fence, and made note that the collegiate atmosphere prevailed among the volunteers by listing the names of volunteer drivers and their associated institutions to signal his venture as a means to fulfill the collegiate's demand to *do something*.[25] By October 1914, Norton's Corps had ten ambulances, all drivers being "recent graduates of American colleges."[26] Norton world continue to expand his ambulances to form the Anglo-American Corps in 1915.[27] Under pressure from the Red Cross to retain neutrality, Norton combined his formation with others

[22] Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 21.
[23] "Richard Norton's Work," *BET*, December 8, 1914.
[24] Ibid.
[25] John Hall Jones, "Ambulances Needed," *NYT*, October 25, 1914; "Richard Norton's Work"; James F. Muirhead, "Richard Norton's Ambulance," *The Nation*, December 16, 1915.
[26] Morse, *Vanguard*, 115.
[27] Muirhead, "Richard Norton's Ambulance," 710.

to form the Norton-Harjes Service in 1916. By late 1917 the N-HS fielded some 600 collegiate ambulanciers in 300 ambulances.[28]

Norton's efforts to create viable means of volunteer ambulancing were well known to Andrew on his arrival at the AMH, but he was unaware of just how intimate he would become with the nature of the service. Honoring Andrew's request to find him a job, Ambassador Baccon gave Andrew a position driving one of the Hospital's ambulances. Anderw had no driver's license and had never driven a car before, let alone a Ford ambulance, and so he had to learn on the fly. After a few weeks' service near Dunkirk, Bacon, sensing that Andrew's talents could better be used elsewhere, promoted Andrew to fill a new role of Inspector General of the American Ambulance Field Service. In the early days of the War, ambulance work focused solely on ferrying wounded men from train stations and rendezvous-points far behind the lines to hospitals in major cities. A dull and repetitive existence, drivers were led to find other, unsavory ways to break the monotony. Norton wrote that Americans working as ambulance drivers under the AMH were "very disobliging," owing to their tendency for drink, and that the English military could not make rules to govern them because "they are Americans."[29] There is no sign that Norton's men were any better, however. Ingham Baker, AC'19, wrote his parents that N-HS sections were "pretty wild," leaving the local people "a little distrustful" of any American volunteers.[30]

Disrespect and rowdiness plagued the ambulance. Baccon hoped that Andrew could rectify the situation in his new position, but so called "jitney work" was not what Andrew, or the young, energetic college men, had come to France to do. "This work, however useful it

[28] Richard V.N. Ginn, *The History of the U.S. Army Medical Service Corps* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Surgeon General and Center of Military History United States Army, 2008), 38–39; Kimber, Gregory, and Nurser, *An American*, 118.
[29] Richard Norton, quoted in Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 42.
[30] Ingham Baker to Parents, October 1, 1917, AC-ASC.

may have been," wrote Andrew, "was not of a character to appeal to enthusiastic and ardent young Americans, who were physically able and morally eager to share more of the war's hardships and dangers."[31] Nevertheless, American college men, citizens of a neutral nation, inhabited a bureaucratic grey area. Though eager and willing to help the French cause, it would have hardly been prudent to let ambulance drivers from a nation formally unwilling to openly provide aid circulate freely among the French lines without being able to enforce military regulations and restrictions.[32] As foreign nationals, American college volunteers were not subject to French enlistment, French military court-martial, or, indeed, to French military authority.[33]

Unsatisfied with such a status quo, Andrew ventured to the Grande Quartiers General in Chantilly. Andrew's time in the collegiate sphere gained him many friends from across Europe who would play major roles in the Great War. The most considerable and influential among them being André Tardieu, a guest lecturer of political economy at Harvard, and Gabriel Puaux, a friend from Andrew's German studies at Jena in 1898.[34] By a happy stroke of luck, both Tardieu and Puaux were serving on the General Staff of Marshal Joseph Joffre, the French Commander-in-Chief, at Chantilly when Andrew requested an audience in March 1915. The men were well connected and managed to introduce Andrew to Captain Joseph Doumenc, chief advisor to Marshal Joffre on matters of transportation, later Director of the French Automobile Service. Doumenc was at first skeptical of sending young Americans so close to the front lines but was persuaded by Andrew and agreed to a trial period sending him without delay to Vittel, the headquarters of Commandant de Montravel. "At first I thought he had come to find out what kind of work these units might do," wrote de Montravel, "but I

[31] Andrew, "Genesis," 364.
[32] Ibid.; Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 43.
[33] Andrew, "Genesis," 365.
[34] Andrew Gray, "The American Field Service," *American Heritage*, December 1974.

soon grasped that his visit had an entirely different purpose."[35] Andrew confided his "deepest desire" for the AMH: that college students might "serve at the front…[and] look danger squarely in the face."[36] In short, to prove their manhood by putting their lives in danger for others.

De Montravel agreed to the trial and Section Z went to work. "They are all college men," wrote Andrew, "the future of our service depends upon them, and I told them so.'"[37] The college men, under the command of Richard Lawrence, H'02, did not disappoint, making quite the spectacle to attending French officers. Every morning at 6AM the men would have their Ford ambulances "punctiliously" lined up and polished, their radiators and fuel tanks filled, windshields washed and canvas stowed, each ambulancier standing at attention next to his car with his foot on the engine crank. When the French officer of the day arrived for inspection, at a signal from Lawrence, the ambulancemen would stomp on their cranks and ten cars would roar to life simultaneously. The reports to Vittle and thence to Chantilly were "ecstatic."[38] Andrew's Section Z was in the field no longer than two weeks before de Montravel wrote Andrew to send another "right away."[39] Section Y was outfitted from an existing section and dispatched the 20th of April 1915. In under four months Andrew had gone from having never driven an automobile to organizing and dispatching American ambulance units directly to the French front.

Andrew returned to Chantilly two months later to discuss French military restrictions barring foreign nationals from serving near the front lines without enlisting in the French

[35] De Montravel, quoted in ibid.
[36] De Montravel, quoted in ibid.
[37] 3 April 1915, letter, in Andrew, *Letters*, 77.
[38] R.H.S, "Current Illustrated Well Received," *HC*, January 24, 1916; Dallas McGrew, "Work of the American Ambulance," *NYT*, October 17, 1915.
[39] 23 April 1915, letter, in Andrew, *Letters*, 90.

Army.[40] Andrew advanced that, unlike Norton and the British Red Cross, the volunteers of the Field Service were not neutral volunteers and had made no such claims to the same.[41] "Our service was organized for the purpose of helping France," wrote Andrew to advertisers in the States, "we have preferred not to be affiliated with an organization which inevitably also has agencies in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey—the enemies of France!"[42] There were no places in the Field Service for collegians with dual allegiances, and anyone disloyal to the Allied cause would not be admitted.[43] On 15th April 1915 the French military relented, opening the front to Andrew's ambulance units as well as those of Norton and others. By Andrew's shrewd politicking, the American Ambulance gained what they had been pleading for since late 1914: incorporation of their ambulance services within the French Army, under the direct command of the French General Headquarters.[44] With it came the lifting of sanctions keeping volunteers from driving their cars near the frontlines, putting American college students in direct control of the flow of wounded French soldiers from *poste de secours* (dressing/first aid stations) to hospitals out of reach of the German artillery. Following Norton's earlier example, Andrew began work almost immediately on advertisement, sending promotional materials to American colleges and universities, private clubs and organizations, and munificent friends across America.

The FSAA – Dangerous and Dirty Work for Intervention

A trickle throughout the War's early years, the FSAA rapidly grew following Andrew's success at Chantilly. With the help of the American Fund for French Wounded, the FSAA was able to utilize hundreds of AFFW committees across the United States to recruit

[40] Andrew, "Genesis," 23.
[41] A. Piatt Andrew, "For Love of France," *The Outlook*, December 27, 1916, 924.
[42] Ibid., 923.
[43] Ibid., 924.
[44] Andrew, "Genesis," 366.

new members and disseminate information.[45] In addition, the FSAA operated its own committees in over one hundred cities, student boards at thirty-three universities, and major recruitment offices in Boston, New York, and Chicago.[46] To supplement this flood of advertisement, Andrew arranged for newsreels and magic lantern slides of the Field Service to be shown at colleges across the country alongside speeches by former volunteer ambulanciers to help drive collegiate recruitment.[47]

The volunteers proved to be the best means of advertisement for the FSAA. The American public was hungry for first-hand accounts of the war in Europe, but news reports were highly doctored and thinly veiled propaganda pieces focused on victory rather than the gritty particulars. Official war correspondents were heavily censored by the French and British governments and kept on tight leashes. Volunteer Ambulanciers, however, were in the midst of the action and not subject to the same censorship regulations due to their neutral status. Who better to give the American public the raw and the unfiltered than the gleaming collegiate stars they had read about so frequently in the papers? For many Americans their first un-censored accounts of the War came from these collegians writing of their experiences while volunteering. Within these accounts they spared no gruesome detail and freely stated their beliefs and pleas for American intervention.

Many collegians had initially departed in 1915 and 1916 with romantic and sentimental notions of combat and the duties they would perform as drivers, a result of gleaming reports from early volunteers. While both Andrew and Norton published their personal accounts of trials and tribulations as a means of garnering attraction for their

[45] Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 52.
[46] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:44; "To Enlist In Ambulance Field Service," *HC*, January 15, 1917.
[47] "$1,800 Subscribed to Joint Ambulance Unit," *CDS*, March 20, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 117; "Cornell-Ithaca Section of American Ambulance In Organization Tonight," *CDS*, March 19, 1917, Vol. 37, No. 116.

services, they had failed to impart on prospective drivers the savage and gory side of the work. Indeed, students often wrote to their parents that by joining the volunteer ambulance service they would be free from any danger. Harry Frantz, S'18, wrote his parents that "there is no great danger connected with the work [and] I can't think of any good arguments against going."[48] Similarly, Edward Hargrave Pattinson, C'19, joked to his parents, "I am not running any more danger than I am in going to college—perhaps not as much."[49] The truth of the matter being that ambulanciers encountered just as much danger as their counterparts serving in the trenches, and it was not long before unsanitized accounts of ambulancing began filtering back from Europe. The scenes of indiscriminate destruction and wanton devastation that greeted these collegiate volunteers at the front were, as one collegian put it, from "a hell far beyond the most sulfuric dreams of Dante."[50]

While a war of flesh, that is, of bodies both animal and man, thrown at each other in a desperate and useless defiance, the First World War was one of technological advancement unlike any the world had yet seen. Never had man fashioned and created of their own imaginations such effective ways of killing other men. While not exposed directly to the belt-fed and water-cooled machine guns capable of firing 600-rounds a minute, ambulanciers were not spared the devastating effects of the artillery. While frontline troops could duck and cover in shelters dug far beneath the earth, drivers skirted mud-filled holes along the roads, dodging the remnants of shells already fallen and praying for relief from shells falling around them. Big. Small. The size of tree trunks. The size of apples. Whizzing. Floating. Whistling. Pounding the earth in a continual dull and thump for over four years. One ambulancier

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[48] Harry Warner Frantz to Folks, "15 April 1917," April 15, 1917, Harry Warner Frantz Papers, DRMC-CUL.
[49] E. H. Pattison to Parents, 2 July 1917, in Martin W. Sampson, ed., *Camion Letters from American College Men, Volunteer Drivers of the American Field Service in France, 1917* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1918), 24.
[50] Russell T. Fry to Copey, 29 August 1918, in "Papers of Charles Townsend Copeland, 1862-1960" (Letterbook of War Letters, 3 Vols., 1919 1915), Vol 3, Pt. 2, 31-4, HUA.

described the artillery as "hell let loose and running wild."[51] Shells were the ambulancier's worst enemy.

It is estimated that over 1.7-billion artillery shells were slung overhead during the War, leaving to this day a pock-marked swath of Europe from the channel in the west to the Alps in the east. The barrages were continuous, lasting for hours and sometimes days on end. "We have been under shellfire most all of the time," wrote Coleman Clark, Y'18, noting that it was "no fun at all."[52] It is challenging to comprehend just how intense the shelling became as the War dragged on. To say that the British fired 1.5-million shells in the first seven days of the Battle of the Somme is one thing; to say that the Germans, in the first eight hours of the Battle of Verdun, lobbed some two million of them into French forts —80,000 of those shells landing in the Bois des Caures, an area only 500 by 1000 yards square—is another matter altogether.[53] Still further incomprehensible is the fact that during the first five hours of Operation Michael the Germans fired 3.5 million shells.[54] More than 11,500-shells a minute; 200 a second for 18,000 seconds.[55]

Christian Gross, I'17, noted in his diary that the sound of the shells came in "as tho hell had broken loose right in your face."[56] "You look straight down the road so as not to see the other incoming shells explode and throw up the flame and dirt," wrote Gross of his daily drive, "you trust to luck and hold yourself tense so the engine won't die on you, for to get out

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[51] Edward Coyle, *Ambulancing on the French Front* (New York: Britton Publishing Company, 1918), 77.
[52] Coleman Clark, Diary Entry, 26 and 28 June 1916, in Coleman Tileston Clark and Salter Storrs Clark, *Soldier Letters of Coleman Tileston Clark and Salter Storrs Clark Jr.: Their Stories in Extracts from Their Letters and Diaries* (New York: L. Middleditch Co., 1919), 27–28.
[53] John Keegan, *The First World War* (London: The Bodley Head, 1999), 302; Ginn, *Medical Service*, 37.
[54] Allan Mallinson, *Fight to the Finish, First World War-Month by Month* (London: Bantam Books, 2018), 321.
[55] CWGC, "Operation Michael: How Imperial Germany Tried to Win World War One (and How It Failed)," *CWGC*, accessed January 29, 2025, https://www.cwgc.org/our-work/blog/operation-michael-how-imperial-germany-tried-to-win-world-war-one-and-how-it-failed/.
[56] Christian Gross, "An Ambulance Driver's Fire Baptism," *The Literary Digest*, September 29, 1917, 54; The Junior Class of the University of Illinois, *The 1918 Illio* (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1917), 58.

and crank here would be death—from fright if not by iron."[57] Clark's daily commute was no less daunting, writing his mother that there was no "more terrible sensation than to be driving along, already very tense and on edge, and then to hear that ungodly shriek."[58] If stuck in a barrage, the only thing an ambulance man could do was to "keep right on," stopping or having to get out of the car made you a sitting duck.[59] The chances one got hit while driving were little better, being entirely a matter of luck, and Clark seemed luckier than most. On 26th June 1916 Clark noted in his diary that he had come upon a pile of horses in the night, the remnants of a shell finding its target. "Once something black loomed up, and I stopped short," Clark wrote,

> I got out, and it was a pile of dead horses, four of them, with a live one, a fifth, at the bottom and shrieking. In the corner was a heap—a dead man. All that remained of the wagon was two broken wheels and a little broken wood. [60]

"We have been awfully lucky," considered Clark, "I was about 15 minutes behind the accident."[61] His luck held out. Two days later he noted he had missed yet another run-in with death. "Poor Barb got his, night before last," he wrote home, "I passed by it about 10 minutes after it had happened."[62] Goerge Dock, DC'16, wrote to his father a few days later that William Barber, Oberlin'20, had been fatally wounded in the accident. All ambulanciers seemed to share some of the same luck, however. "At first he was expected not to survive," Dock wrote in surprise the following week, "but he will."[63] Nevertheless, Barber's was not the only ambulance damaged that June. Dock noted that four ambulances in Section 1 had been "smashed up" and that two in Section 8 were "pretty well plastered" in roadside

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[57] Gross, "An Ambulance Driver's Fire Baptism," 54.
[58] Coleman Clark, Diary Entry, 28 June 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 28.
[59] Coleman Clark, Diary Entry, 28 June 1916, in ibid.
[60] Coleman Clark, Diary Entry, 26 June 1916, in ibid., 27–28.
[61] Coleman Clark, Diary Entry, 26 June 1916, in ibid.
[62] Coleman Clark, Diary Entry, 28 June 1916, in ibid., 28–29.
[63] George Dock to Bill Dock, "7 July 1916," July 7, 1916, DC-RSC.

shelling.[64] "We have been very lucky," he wrote of his own unit, "but all of us realize that several among our number are likely to be bumped off any day."[65]

Such was the life of collegiate ambulanciers at the front, continually dodging death from above. "Can you blame our ambulanciers for wanting to be aviators," asked Arthur C. Kimber, S'18, "there is no chance of being mangled; you either live or die…and you are buried whole, not in parts."[66] The effects were truly devastating. Wherever a shell landed it brought with it death and utter destruction. It is estimated that over seventy-five percent of battlefield deaths and casualties came from artillery shells alone.[67] Coleman, rushing to the site of a recent bombardment, described that in only twenty minutes two-hundred soldiers were killed "dead as door-nails" and that a further thousand were "out of the war" with serious wounds ranging from "a torn open chest or abdomen to a hand mangled or a piece of iron in the head which will kill when it is taken out at the hospital."[68] William Stevenson, Penn'99, described the mushy and mud-caked roads around the forts at Verdun as "frightful." "Dead horses lie around for days and also bits of human beings—for when a shell lands near someone the pieces are never all gathered," he wrote of the war-torn landscape, "I saw a boot lying on the way…I picked it up to throw it out of the road and found a rotten leg still in it!"[69] Many wrote similarly about the horrors of Verdun to family members in the States. After a few weeks at Verdun, Clark wrote that his car was "beginning to smell awful." "Since we've been at Verdun, the misery of the war just grates on you more and more," he confided to his

[64] George Dock to Bill Dock, "1 July 1916," July 1, 1916, DC-RSC.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Arthur Kimber to Mother, 17 June 1917, in Kimber, Gregory, and Nurser, *An American*, 164.
[67] Denis Winter, *Death's Men, Soldiers of the Great War* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 205–6.
[68] Gross, "An Ambulance Driver's Fire Baptism," 54.
[69] 8 August 1917, Journal Entry in Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* 122; "The Harvest of the Night," *Harper's Magazine*, May 1917, 807.

mother.[70] A similar letter to the *Harvard Illustrated* described the air at Verdun as "heavy with the mingled stench of filth, blood, and iodine."[71]

Stories like these fill the accounts of collegiate ambulance men, giving testimony to the dangers they faced daily. In contrast to the romanticized writings of Alan Seeger, which have come to typify volunteer accounts from the neutral period, collegiate ambulanciers wrote with no such idealization of the War. Amid a sea of sentimentalized and censored portrayals, their correspondence offered frank and graphic testimonies to the horrors which modern warfare had unleased upon Europe. That collegiate organs reprinted these letters so readily, attests to their popularity and broad circulation among collegians.

There was no dearth of information for the public, either. Ambulanciers wrote home of their war experiences in a flood of non-neutral letters, magazine articles, and even full books, that called on their American brethren to shed their neutrality and join the fight or, at the very least, push for intervention. Stevenson was attuned to the power of their letters, stating that the writings of fellow ambulanciers, "daily increased the subtle influence that was gradually strengthening the love of France among the generous young manhood of America, and through the young manhood, among all who were connected with it."[72] The recipients—family members, friends, collegiate and fraternal organizations—published excerpts in national newspapers, took out full broadsides in well-read magazines, sent photographs to alumni periodicals, extolled the doings of the small-town boy in hometown rags, and filled all manner of collegiate print news with the exploits of *alma mater's* sons. While touring the United States in 1917, the British novelist Coningsby Dawson wrote that stories of "sacrificial courage" shown by volunteer ambulancemen ("pioneers" as he called them), had

[70] Coleman Clark, Diary Entry, 26 June 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 28.
[71] Melvin F. Talbot, "Diary of an American Ambulance Driver in France," *HI*, January 1916, 129.
[72] Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* xix.

"travelled to every State in the Union" where "their example had stirred, shamed and educated the nation" on the events in Europe.[73] One could not walk about an American campus, or read the national newspapers and magazines, without glancing some piece of publicity about the ambulanciers and their work overseas.

Collegians were leading the charge of American interventionism. "Scorning neutrality and regarding it as the refuge of the unintelligent," wrote Morse, they were resolved to demonstrate that some Americans grasped the far-reaching political and moral implications of the Great War.[74] "The drivers in the American Field Ambulance Service," spoke President Stills at his inauguration, were off to show France "that chivalry was not dead in America, and carried to the gallant and hard-pressed French people the sympathy of the United States that was never neutral."[75] Indeed, Edward R. Byrd, Wis'18, stressed that he wished the American people back home would realize just how much France and Belgium needed American aid. It was a war of absolute destruction, and people were suffering under a barbarous invasion. "America is absurdly ignorant of the part she is expected to play in this great war," wrote Byrd, "it is a tremendous and grim thing, and the sooner America realizes it, the better."[76] "I wish the people in America could realize how much France needs men and supplies," wrote another after enduring the hell that was Verdun.[77] These were but two of the thousands who attempted to spur their fellow classmates to their humanitarian duty through letters and speeches.[78]

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[73] Coningsby Dawson, *Out To Win: The Story of America in France* (New York, New York: John Lane Company, 1918), 59.
[74] Morse, *Vanguard*, 6.
[75] Kenneth Charles Morton Sills, Inaugural Address, in "Addresses," 14.
[76] H. Byrd, undated letter, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 38–39.
[77] Edward Tinkham to Parents, 14 June 1917, in ibid., 41.
[78] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:8.

The FSAA – An "Ernest and Sincere Desire" to Serve

Edward Isley Tinkham, C'17, entered Cornell in 1912 to study forestry. A stout man, he competed on the varsity track and cross country teams, and found popularity as a member of the Helios Society and Cornell's military fraternity, Seal and Serpent.[79] In the middle of his senior year, he petitioned and obtained a leave of absence from Cornell to volunteer for a nine-month tour with the Field Service, during which he was awarded the French Croix de Guerre for "untiring devotion and coolness in transporting wounded under fire" in the region of "Dead Man's Hill" at Verdun in 1916.[80] When he returned to campus in early 1917, clad in his medal-draped uniform, his fame quickly spread among the studentry. Until that point, Tinkham was the only ambulancier Cornell counted in the Service, and interest in the FSAA amounted to the meagre $1,000 that twenty-two alumni had raised to outfit his ambulance. In an article titled "Cornell Lags Behind," the *Cornell Daily Sun* admonished students that it was a "fact" that Cornell had "done less than other large universities."[81] Tinkham was determined to change that. Indeed, the *Cornell Alumni News* reported that students had been "stimulated" not long after his return.[82] It is easy to see why, a professor that knew Tinkham recalled that he was "endowed with a personality which made young men instantly accept his leadership" and returned from France "filled with an intense enthusiasm" for the FSAA.[83] Tinkham was one of the many collegians that popular national magazines like *Munsey's*

[79] Cornell University, *Military Records of Cornell University in the World War* (Cornell University, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1930), 123.
[80] "Cornell Unit Will Go to France; Volunteers for the American Ambulance Field Service Organizing Here," *CAN*, March 15, 1917, 268.
[81] "Cornell Lags Behind in Ambulance Service Work," *CDS*, April 16, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 134.
[82] "Cornell Unit Will Go to France; Volunteers for the American Ambulance Field Service Organizing Here," 268.
[83] Cornell University, *Military Records*, 124; A wonderful five-part series on Tinkham can be found on the Roads to the Great War website, and other than what was available in the Cornell archives, this is all that is published on Tinkham and his role with Cornell. James Patton, "Remembering a Veteran: Edward I. Tinkham (5-Part Series)," Periodical, *Roads to the Great War*, (September 27, 2014), http://roadstothegreatwar-ww1.blogspot.com/2014/09/remembering-veteran-edward-i-tinkham.html; "Edward Ilsley Tinkham CU'16, Alumni Record," 1919, DRMC-CUL; "Cornell University Military Science and ROTC Records 1890-2002, Edward Isley Tinkham," 2002, DRMC-CUL.

reported as having returned from the Field Service with "characters fortified" and a "larger and clearer vision" on the war overseas.[84]

On their return, students like Tinkham moved swiftly to organize collegiate contingents to take back to France. Recalling the "compelling persuasiveness" with which Tinkham spoke to a meeting of the Cornell Forestry Club, Professor Ralph S. Hosmer, Head of Cornell's Department of Forestry, stated that "no one who saw or heard Tinkham that evening [could] ever forget the occasion."[85] Hosmer wrote of the young Cornellian, "standing tall and straight in his uniform, with his decoration flashing in the firelight," as a "true Sir Galahad."[86] He was the physical embodiment of a chivalric knight on a mighty crusade for humanity, and his energy and spirit made "everyone love and respect him" for it.[87] Tinkham worked quickly to convince undergraduates to form a Cornell Section; by April, thirty-five Cornellians joined with hundreds more on the same crusade which Tinkham had embarked upon just six months earlier.

Students had been arriving to Paris in twos and threes in 1915, but, with increased campus recruiting efforts, they began coming in waves by March 1917. An early vanguard of seventy-five collegians (principally Cornell (35) and eleven other schools ranging from Stanford to Hobart) arrived in Paris in late April, closely followed by five more sections of similar size arriving throughout the following weeks.[88] The officers at 21 rue Raynouard were told to expect numbers to rise beyond 200 students per week throughout the summer.[89] One

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[84] Perley Poore Sheehan, "In Memory of Lafayette," *Munsey's Magazine*, November 1916, 196.
[85] Ralph Sheldon Hosmer, *Forestry at Cornell* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1950), 33.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Cornell University, *Military Records*, 123; "Cornell Ambulance Unit Sails For France Today; 33 Will Drive Machines," *CDS*, April 14, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 133.
[88] "Princeton Will Send Three Units," *HC*, May 15, 1917; "American College Men Have Arrived At Paris," 28 April 1917, in Beman Gates Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook" (Scrapbook, 1918 1917), TAMU-CMLA; "Princeton Will Send Three Units."
[89] "Another American Unit Sent to the Front in France," *NYT*, May 30, 1917.

of the largest detachments, 280 students, departed New York on 26th May 1917.[90] Principally composed of larger sections from the Ivys, Chicago, and Illinois, this group was joined with "quite a bunch from other schools who were unattached" and a twenty-three man unit from Marietta College, Ohio, known as the Dawes Group.

Under the command of Beman Gates Dawes Jr, MC'17, nicknamed "Robin" to his friends, the Dawes Group was rapidly formed at the beginning of May after Dawes was turned down from the Army "on account of both arches broken & in bad shape."[91] Dawes was another of those overachieving collegiate students—a junior playing drums in the Marietta band, a member of the YMCA, Business Manager for the Players' Club—and he had jumped at the chance to commission that April.[92] His family history had long been sprinkled with heroes: his grandfather, Brigadier General Rufus R. Dawes, had fought with the Iron Brigade at Fredericksburg, Antietam, and Gettysburg; his four-times-great grandfather, William Dawes, had rode with Paul Revere; and, more recently, his uncle Charles Gates had become a lieutenant colonel in the US Army Engineers (a close friend of General Pershing's, Charles Gates would later head the General Purchasing Board for the AEF).[93] Such a past weighed heavy on Robin, as did the feelings of his friends. Benjamin H. Putnum, MC'18, the 6th lineal descendant of Gen. Israel Putnum of Bunker Hill fame and close friend of Robin's, was more than vocal of his intense opinions on the duties of young men. "Any person of military age and possessing the required physical conditions who

[90] W. B. Sibley, quoted in The Gallipolis Tribune, 26 May 1917, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."
[91] Bertie Dawes, "Bertie Dawes Journal: 1917-1919" (Journal, Columbus, Ohio, 1919 1917), 5, The Dawes Arboretum Collection, Columbus Metropolitan Library.
[92] The Junior Class of Marietta College, *The Mariettana 1917* (Marietta, Ohio: MC-SC, 1917).
[93] For Charles Gates' story, see: Edward A. Goedeken, "A Banker at War: The World War I Experiences of Charles Gates Dawes," *Illinois Historical Journal*, no. 3 (Autumn 1985): 195–206.

doesn't get into this thing and stay in until it is all over," said Putnum, "isn't fit to be called a man."[94] With such pressures, Robin was expected to give his service one way or another.

Dawes joined his father in New York three weeks after America's declaration of war. Reeling from his rejection by the Army yet still animated by an intense commitment to national service, he was determined to reach France by any means. Although he possessed only a "very vague knowledge" of the FSAA, he understood that its medical examinations were less stringent and therefore sought out the Service's New York office.[95] His mother wrote in her diary that "even [her] blood thrilled" thinking of the "Great Adventure" that the promotional materials he brought home outlined. After consulting with his father, Dawes contrived to organize a Marietta College unit. Out of 186 undergraduates, sixty-five vied for twenty-three coveted positions.[96] Similar exuberance was reported in colleges across the nation. Students, both those fit for service and those unable to join the armed forces due to eye or feet issues, rushed to fill limited spots in their collegiate units in hope of getting to Europe as soon as possible. By late May, over 125 students had organized five separate ambulance units at Stanford, while roughly thirty students a week were departing for France in units organized by Harvard.[97] Interest far outnumbered the available positions. At Dartmouth, dozens of students were left on the waitlist after an initial unit of twenty-four filled within three days of its announcement.[98] A second unit with twenty-two positions had been organized four days later to accommodate them, but the overflow continued growing.[99] Collegians were set on entering the Service by any means necessary, however. One Yale

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[94] Benjamin H. Putnam to Father, 16 August 1917, in un-named newspaper, 23 September 1917, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."
[95] Dawes, "Bertie Dawes Journal: 1917-1919," 5.
[96] Ibid., 5–7.
[97] "Five Ambulance Units Soon In France," *DPA*, May 21, 1917; "Thirty Members of the University Sail With Ambulance Unit Today," *HC*, May 19, 1917; "Ambulance Men Meet In Grays," *HC*, April 3, 1917.
[98] "Twenty-Five Students Enlist in French Ambulance Service," *TD*, April 16, 1917, No. 70; "First Ambulance Corps of 22 Men Is Complete," *TD*, April 19, 1917, No. 71.
[99] "Second Dartmouth Unit Announced as Complete," *TD*, April 23, 1917, No. 73.

graduate, L. Engle Hartridge, Y'10, went as far to write the President of the University of Florida to express his "earnest and sincere desire" to join the UF Unit when he was unable to secure a spot in a Yale one.[100]

Applications for the service were made directly to the head offices of the FSAA either in person or through a campus intermediary. The application which circulated Dartmouth in April 1917 required recommendations from the Headmaster, the President, or two members of the faculty and, if the student was under twenty-one, permission from his parents. The pre-1917 application required three additional references from "men of standing" as a means of "testifying to their character and unquestioned loyalty to the allied causse."[101] Vaccinations, an American driver's license, simple knowledge of the Ford ambulance, copies of birth certificates, passport photos, and letters of authorization could be gathered later.[102] That students were able to quickly gather the necessary recommendations within twenty-four hours—and that recommenders were willing to write them just as fast—is a testament to the eagerness with which both student and administrator threw themselves into the endeavor. The FSAA empowered collegiate administrators to channel students' deep desire to *do something* into immediate service in Europe, presenting the work as humanitarian service that brought glory to the world, the nation, and *alma mater*.[103] "It's a fine thing to do," Yale Dean Frederick Jones told Coleman Clark, "[I] would not discourage anyone contemplating doing it."[104] To this line, administrators around the nation gave their wholehearted support in the raising of collegiate ambulance units.

[100] L. Engle Hartridge to Albert Alexander Murphree, May 28, 1917, UA-UoF.
[101] Andrew, "Genesis," 365.
[102] "First Ambulance Corps of 22 Men Is Complete."
[103] "Ambulance Men Meet In Grays."
[104] Coleman Clark to Mother, Thursday March 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 12.

Notable in the 1917 application was the added provision that applicants be vouched for by six "reliable men" from which one needed to be prominent in either Boston or New York.[105] On the West Coast, this section of the application was absent. Frantz wrote that he only needed to secure a "to whom it may concern" letter voicing his parents' approval of him joining the Stanford Unit; while not a character reference, he insisted it would "be an advantage" for him to submit one.[106] It might be assumed that collegians from that section of the country might have been asked to solicit recommendations from reliable men of Los Angeles, San Francisco, or one of the other major cities. In any case, it was clear that the Field Service was eager to vet the social stature and involvedness of their applicants before granting approval. Lists from any one of the many sections formally organized by colleges read like a who's who of campus life: class presidents, football managers, literary society and fraternity types, star athletes, paper editors, glee club and band members, and all manner of the *involved*.[107] Of the forty Dartmouth students bound for France with the Third Contingent in June 1917, all of them could have been considered involved and of the highest rungs of collegiate and national society. Picking three at random: Stanley B. Jones, DC'18, son of the Vice President of the National Park Bank, served as class secretary for three years and held the Dartmouth tennis championship; Lewis C. Pounds, DC'18, son of Brooklyn Borough President Lewis H. Pounds, was member of several literary societies and Psi Upsilon; and Paul Miner, DC'18, son of local New Hannover lawyer George Miner, was president of his class and had "won success in athletics."[108] These were the sons of the patrician class acting on the noblesse oblige of their family's social station, making good on the expectation to fight for humanity and against barbarism.

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[105] "Twenty-Five Students Enlist in French Ambulance Service."
[106] Frantz to Folks, "15 April 1917."
[107] "War Depletes Dartmouth; Two-Thirds of Student Body at the Front or in Training."
[108] Ibid.

While the American Field Service did attract the sons of the rich, the majority of ambulanciers were either self-funded or received sponsorships.[109] It was expected in the beginning that early applicants would have the ability to self-finance, as much as possible, the $300-400 needed for their six-month tour of service. This expectation changed as more applications began coming from students who required some form of financial assistance. By 1917 a fund had been established to help pay student expenses. Local alumni and interest groups also stepped in to provide support. According to Frantz, the "wealthy Frenchmen of San Francisco" had been "expected to contribute a considerable part" of the $500 that western students needed to raise.[110] The Cornell Ambulance Committee undertook the unique step of asking fraternities to either outfit one of their own members or raise money to support a non-fraternal applicant.[111] For those that did not receive scholarships, the cost of outfitting themselves for six-months was no mean feat. Presented with a loss of $300 to $400, Clark wrote his mother that it would be hard for him to "make that up."[112] Frantz told his parents that his longing to join was hampered by his "ability to raise enough cash to settle my debts and contribute something toward my expenses."[113] Despite taking up a job in a local Ford repair shop, in part to learn more about the innerworkings of Fords while making money to fund his passage, Frantz still wrote home that "the financial grade is a stiff one."[114] Many of the ambulanciers felt the same pressures. Of Cornell's initial thirty-five-man unit, eight were "unable to pay their expenses" and received a scholarship, while the other twenty-seven had

[109] Ibid.
[110] Frantz to Folks, "15 April 1917."
[111] "Subscription Committee Will Organize Tonight," *CDS*, March 21, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 118.
[112] Coleman Clark to Mother, March 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 11.
[113] Frantz to Folks, "15 April 1917."
[114] Harry Warner Frantz to Folks, "5 May 1917," May 5, 1917, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Cornell University.

worked to pay the $350 from their savings.[115] They were not all lavishly wealthy, and they most certainly did not own their own cars.

Like most competitive activities under the auspices of the administration during the Collegiate Era, the number of students entering war-related work became a source of pride and friendly competition for institutions. To free-up undergraduates for overseas service, institutions granted individual leaves of absence or, when the War demanded more collegiate men, drafted special war resolutions to excuse entire class years for service. At the end of March 1917, the Cornell Faculty passed a list of War Time Resolutions to expedite the graduation of seniors and graduate students in good standing who planned or had already enrolled in the Army or Navy. This set of Resolutions also granted a "leave of absence without prejudice" to *any* student in good standing "who may become members of the American Ambulance Field Service on duty in Europe," completely relieving undergraduates of any hindrance on the University's part to join the FSAA.[116]

Following the resolution's passage, President Jacob Gould Schurman, dispatched letters to fellow presidents across the Northeast, making known Cornell's support for the FSAA and encouraging other universities to implement similar commitments. In his letter to Princeton president John Grier Hibben, Schurman hoped his counterpart would "find it possible to pass some such resolution on our behalf."[117] Hibben had met the previous month with Tinkham and learned of the "generous interest" and support that Cornell was providing in marshalling a unit on campus. Taking Cornell's lead, Princeton spared no time in passing a similar set of resolutions. Three Princeton units were organized by May with another three

[115] "Cornell-Ithaca Section Sails for France," 327; "For the Ambulance Service Contributions of Money from Cornell Alumni Are Still Coming In," 343; K. McKenzie, "American Ambulance Field Service," Letter, (1917), UA-UoI.
[116] "Faculty Recommends Privileges For Volunteers In Case Of War," *CDS*, March 19, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 125.
[117] Jacob Gould Schurman to John Grier Hibben, April 5, 1917, PUA-MML.

the following month.[118] So great was the University's wish to field FSAA units that Princeton's administration allowed entering freshmen to submit applications before they had stepped foot on campus. August A. Rubel, P'21, was the first person to matriculate in the class of 1921 when the Registrar's window opened at 9AM on 25th September 1917. He wanted to join the FSAA as a Princeton student and the administration acquiesced. Having signed his paperwork, Rubel hurried to the treasurer's office to pay his tuition before hurrying off to catch the 9:33AM train to New York, where he boarded a ship for France that afternoon.[119] His total time on campus, thirty-minutes. A Princeton man, indeed.

Not to be outdone, the Harvard Faculty passed their own resolutions. Already in possession of 533 graduates on some form of volunteer service in Europe by April 1917, Harvard's resolutions allowed them to further dominate university-sanctioned volunteerism during the War.[120] FSAA organizers were attuned to these collegiate rivalries, and exploited them by setting schools in competition with one another over who could most generously support, equip, and maintain collegiate ambulanciers. George R. Young, Chief Recruiting Officer at the Boston FSAA headquarters, regularly sent summaries of interventionist actions taken by colleges in support of the FASS to presidents throughout the region. Making sure to note to that Cornell, Princeton, and Harvard had already granted "special privileges" to students organizing ambulance units, Young requested that President Alexander Meiklejohn show similar patriotism at Amherst by doing the same. The Secretary of War "assures us of highest sympathy and approval of Government," wrote Young—Amherst would have to support its FSAA men or be seen lacking in both patriotic and collegiate spirit.[121]

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[118] "73 Princeton Men To Go In Ambulance Corps," *The Daily Princetonian*, May 10, 1917, Vol. 39, No. 153; "Princeton Will Send Three Units"; "Expect Two Other Ambulance Units," *The Daily Princetonian*, May 14, 1917, Vol. 39, No. 156.
[119] "Title Page," *PAW*, October 10, 1917.
[120] Morse, *Vanguard*, 7.
[121] George R. Young to Meiklejohn, Telegram, (June 1917), Dean of the College of Records (Dean George D. Olds), AC-ASC.

While the FSAA relied on the colleges for volunteers, the Service also relied heavily on the munificence of collegiate spaces to outfit cars and men. As one would expect, the amount of donations received the same competitive treatment. FSAA fundraisers drew in considerable sums from businessmen for the purchase of ambulances—a two-night gala fundraiser in Cleveland accumulated over $85,000—while long term endowments were solicited from alumni groups, collegiate administrations, and grassroot student movements.[122] The FSAA became another outlet for alumni to show their collegiate loyalties, and anything from wristwatches to full-size ambulances were generously donated to ensure the college's boys were well equipped. Ingham Baker wrote his mother that he was proud of the "strong spirit" which the Amherst College alumni had shown in voting to give the surplus remaining from endowing an ambulance to help pay Baker and his fellow students' expenses.[123] The alumni also raised $200 (~$5,000AFI) on the spot to give the men "good wrist watches."[124] Darthmouth College did similarly, gifting silver wrist watches to forty-four of the College's ambulance men, each engraved with their individual name and the word "Dartmouth."[125] Support for the Marietta College Unit came almost extensively from Dawes's father, Congressman B.G. Dawes Sr., President of the Pure Oil Company and 1880 Marietta College alum. Robin had initially received no support from Marietta's President, George Wheeler Hinman, in organizing and publicizing the unit. According to Robin's mother, who scribbled in the margins of her diary that Hinman was "Pro-German!," the president "resented & disapproved of the whole idea & would not even discuss it with Gates."[126] Dawes's father, in absence of Marietta's official support, purchased twenty Ford chassis, an auxiliary repair car,

[122] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:45.
[123] Ingham Baker to Parents, June 8, 1917, AC-ASC.
[124] Ibid.
[125] "Dinner for Ambulance Men," *DAM*, June 1917, 358–59.
[126] Dawes, "Bertie Dawes Journal: 1917-1919," 7.

and all the necessary accouterments for the Marietta Unit—over $30,000 ($701,000 AFI) worth of equipment.[127]

Students and professors also pitched in their own hard-earned cash to help support their friends overseas. Dartmouth collegians donated $2,000 for their first ambulance unit in May of 1915; throughout the same year, Brown students donated $3,500 for the purchase of two ambulances.[128] By 1917 those numbers had exploded. The students at the University of Illinois helped to raise over $10,000 for their first FSAA unit sent to France, and receipts in excess of $16,000 were collected at Cornell for ambulances, items of kit, and sponsorships.[129] Where collegians once canvased their classmates for gymnasium and football bleacher donations, they now did the same for cars, watches, sheepskins, and driving goggles. Fundraising events and charity balls organized by students only further engendered interventionist sentiments on campuses—every dollar spent on the Field Service was a further indictment of students' intense feelings on the policy of neutrality.

Conclusion – Bound for France

On the 26th of May, the Marietta Unit boarded the *Rochambeau* with other FSAA units for France. W.B. Sibley, father of Hiram E. Sibley, MC'13, went to watch as the ship left the harbor. "Along with Marietta and Yale college yells, cheers, and shouts," he wrote, "every high place on the boat seemed to be occupied by college men, the most of them vociferous." [130] Meanwhile in France, down bombed out roads and up steep and muddy hills, there rattled along hundreds of young American men, the overwhelmingly collegiate response

[127] Ibid., 4–5.
[128] "College News. Dartmouth Ambulance Corps," *DAM*, May 1915, 266; Morse, *Vanguard*, 158; The War Records Committee, *Brown*, 10.
[129] The University of Illinois, "Report of the War Committee of the University of Illinois 1917-18," *UoIB* XV, no. 49 (August 5, 1918): 3; "Get $3750 For Ambulance Fund," *DI*, April 29, 1917; "32 Cornellians Join First Ambulance Unit"; "Cornell Ambulance Unit Sails For France Today; 33 Will Drive Machines."
[130] W. B. Sibley, quoted in The Gallipolis Tribune, 26 May 1917, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."

to cries of help from the Allied cause.[131] They came from schools all over the county, from all walks of collegiate life; whether ivy league purebred, middle-western farm yokel, or small-town football star of the American south, no collegiate, student or alumnus, was turned away. Eighteen of them were American Rhodes Scholars; over twenty were still in high school.[132] Throughout the War more than two percent of the male undergraduate population would see service with the American Ambulance.[133]

There was scarcely a battle that members of the AFS did not participate and hardly a place along the line that they did not go with their Fords. In 1916, there were only 264 collegiate ambulanciers attached to the FSAA. Out of forty-eight represented institutions, Harvard men numbered the most (89) with Princeton (31) and Yale (30) following behind. By 1917, collegiate numbers had increased due to Andrew's wide-ranging publicity and student eagerness spurred by the American declaration of war. Out of over 1,850 collegians, due in no small part to administrative encouragement, Harvard counted more than 300 of them, followed by Yale (183), Princeton (176), Stanford (125), and Cornell (91).[134] The FSAA was truly a collegiate endeavor; indeed, over twelve percent of Marietta College, eleven percent of Princeton, and seven percent of Amherst undergraduates drove ambulances for the FSAA during the War.

Student ambulanciers were a highly visible and active element of American intervention, yet their history has been overlooked by historians. This band of collegians drew wide-ranging support and popular sentiment throughout the nation from students,

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[131] *With the American Field Service in France*, Second (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916).
[132] Morse, *Vanguard*, 133.
[133] FSAA, *Roster*.
[134] The American Field Service, ed., *History of the American Field Service in France, "Friends of France," 1914-1917*, vol. 3 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1920), 440; Morse, *Vanguard*, 132; FSAA, *Roster*; also see The War Records Committee, *Brown*, 10; "Cornell Lags Behind in Ambulance Service Work."

administrators, alumni, and private citizens. Rather than the loose collection of collegians that have received mention, the FSAA operated as an efficient and effective outlet for non-neutral student volunteerism and as a clearinghouse for interventionist donations. Their letters and public appearances only helped to cement the FSAA as the most successful American volunteer mission overseas as no other ambulance or volunteer group surpassed it in organization, size, and proximity to the battlelines. Furthermore, the writings of collegiate ambulanciers present us with a another, much larger volume of interventionist literature from which to draw from alongside the more famous accounts from Alan Seeger.

The Field Service was an immense American effort aimed at promoting intervention, and ambulanciers came from all sections of the country as fervent proponents for and actors in that intervention. Their exploits and writings spread wide, impacting fellow collegians and community members back home to join the fight. The Dawes group had expected to count themselves among those many hundred collegians doing the same, but they arrived to Paris on 7th June 1917 in the midst of utter confusion.[135] "We are considerably muddled up in our arrangements," Dawes wrote his father the day they arrived, "Mr. Andrew can't get any bodies built for all of the Fords which we have sent over."[136] The procurement of ambulance bodies in Paris, once an easy task for the Field Service, had ground to a sudden and abrupt halt in April 1917 when the French government commandeered the car factory producing ambulance bodies for munitions work.[137] Up until that point, college groups, if they had purchased cars with funding from their colleges and donors, arrived in France with bare Ford chassis already fitted with engines and transmissions, the vehicles having ambulance bodies

[135] "23 Ohioans Here On Way To France," The New York Sun, no date, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."
[136] Dawes to Father, 7 June 1917, in "Military Archives of Lt. Beman Gates Dawes" (Letters, College Station, Texas, 1918), TAMU-CMLA.
[137] Ellis Sibley, letter to father in "Marietta Boy Tells of His Experiences in Paris" in un-named newspaper, 9 June 1917, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."

manufactured and installed on to the bare chassis on arrival.[138] The closure of the body manufacturing factory had led to two major issues: (1) large groups of idle college-age boys stranded in Paris for three or four weeks, and (2) a cessation of the FSAA's ability to keep pace with the demand for new ambulance sections.[139]

To make matters increasingly worse, news of the closure had never been relayed by AFS offices to college administrators organizing and outfitting their respective units, at least officially. The entire operation was "frightfully disorganized" according to William Bingham, H'16, who wrote that students were enlisting "in such great numbers" that they had "caught these people [the Ambulance] before they were ready."[140] The resulting chaos, as observed by Ingham Baker was just as "unsettled" in Paris as it was "in the New York and Boston offices."[141] The flood of applications and donations following America's declaration of war from college students clogged official channels, leaving colleges and universities in the dark and dispatching units to France unawares of the body shortage. A collection of over forty "college ambulance units," rendezvousing in Allentown, Pennsylvania, before crossing together, knew not of the body shortage.[142] The Dawes Group had not been informed before their departure in May. And a Yale detachment, certainly ill-advised in their purchase of sixty ambulance chassis prior to their embarkation, found on their arrival that they were useless. "The Yale men have paid for sixty ambulances," wrote Dawes, "and they have no chance of

[138] "Marietta College Men In Dayton To See Service On French Front," in un-named and un-dated newspaper excerpt, in ibid.
[139] Ellis Sibley, letter to father in "Marietta Boy Tells of His Experiences in Paris" in un-named newspaper, 9 June 1917, in ibid.
[140] William "Bill" Bingham to Copey, 17 June 1917, in "Papers," vol. 1.
[141] Ingham Baker to Parents, June 20, 1917, Ingham C. Baker Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, AC-ASC.
[142] "First Iowa Unit Leaves," *The Daily Gate City*, June 4, 1917, Vol. 124, No. 131; "Easterners Proud of Iowa Unit, First Unit From West," *The Daily Nonpareil*, June 22, 1917.

getting them, so Mr. Andrew says."[143] By 13th June, some 150 to 200 Ford chassis sat waiting for bodies at 21 Rue Raynouard.[144] The Dawes Group, and many others, were grounded.

[143] Dawes to Father, 7 June 1917, in "Dawes Military."
[144] Lew Howell to Mother, June 13, 1917, Office of the President, Administration of Ernest Martin Hopkins, DC-RSC.

Chapter IV: The Collegiate Volunteers – The American Field Service

Two months before Dawes and his Marietta group found themselves grounded in Paris, a group of thirty-five Cornell students under the command of Cornell senior Edward Tinkham steamed out of New York Harbor bound for Europe. The little crew, hastily organized and eager to see action, would find themselves in a similar situation upon their arrival to Paris when their plans to drive ambulances became sidelined not by the dearth of car bodies, but by the changing character of the European war.

America was a belligerent, and members of the Field Service of the American Ambulance were no longer neutral actors in the World War. Though they never truly were neutral actors—as Andrew saw it—the time for the FSAA to expand its involvement with a more direct role in the fighting had come. On 6th April 1917, Commandant Joseph Doumenc, now Director of the French Automobile Service, phoned Andrew "immediately after" news that America had entered the war reached his office, requesting that the Field Service provide volunteers to serve as transport drivers for munitions and supplies, of which there was a severe deficiency in the realm of some seven-thousand drivers.[1] In Doumenc's own words, France was "so seriously deficient" in drivers "that it was necessary to increase, at any price, our means of transport."[2] Having worked thoroughly with Andrew on the deployment of ambulances, the Field Service presented an almost seemingly endless supply of young college graduates from which to fill empty seats in transport convoys. [3] Andrew, having his greatest wish fall directly into his hands, heartily agreed to the proposed *Réserve Mallet*. The *New York Times* reported on 8th May that plans were in the works for the Camion Section to

[1] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 3:7; Appréciation Sur Les Services Rendus Par Le Personnel De La Reserve Mallet, Commandant Doumenc, December 1918, in The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920.
[2] Joseph Edouard Aimé Doumenc, December 1918, quoted in The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 3:5.
[3] Ibid., 3:5.

become "one of the most important branches" of FSAA operations, with hopes that Andrew's collegians would eventually be given "entire charge of the brining up of supplies for the reserves at the front."[4]

The process of enlisting collegians to become Camion drivers would prove to be difficult. The hierarchy of the collegiate lifestyle allowed Andrew to exploit Big Man personas to funnel collegiate ambulanciers into the new Camion service, work that they had not volunteered for or would have otherwise. Students, torn between continuing their humanitarian mission even if it meant waiting to get to the front or serving France in what was presented as her greatest need by driving supply trucks, looked to their collegiate leaders for advice on how best to serve France, their nation, and, ultimately, their college. Those that bent to collegiate peer pressure were not long to regret their decision to join the Camions and began looking for more combat-oriented means of *doing something* almost immediately, while those that remained behind to continue their mission of ambulance work—a once adequate means of *doing something*—were branded as slackers.

The FSAA had come to play such a vital role in the transportation of French wounded and supplies that the U.S. Army would move to assimilate the Service into the AEF in September 1917. Andrew turned over the keys lock, stock, and barrel, but the U.S. Army had much to learn. Over three years' worth of learning and adapting would be thrown out as military authorities reformulated the service to fit the expectations and regulations of an independent American Army. Many ambulanciers would refuse enlistments in the Army Ambulance Corps due to a loss of independence and looked for commissions elsewhere. For collegiate ambulanciers, the grade to finding commissions in other branches was steep. Many would find out that having spent six or more months on the front lines would amount to

[4] "Transport In France In American Hands; Ambulance Men to Form New Service, and Some Will Train for Officers," *NYT*, May 8, 1917.

nothing in the eyes of Army recruiters who held preference for collegians who had attended Officer Training Camps. To add insult to injury, the preferred collegians, though supposedly having more military experience than ambulanciers, knew little more than basic drill. In the end, both the experience and knowledge of ambulanciers would be disregarded in the U.S. Army's efforts to exert its independence and individuality on the battlelines.

The Camions – America's First Combatants

In the opening months of the War, students were not deaf to the humanitarian crisis occurring in the wake of the War's destruction. Collegians began volunteering for humanitarian aid projects in Europe as early as October 1914, when American Rhodes Scholars at Oxford were approached by Herbert Hoover, then leader of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB), to help distribute food in occupied Belgium.[5] State-side, collegians were hosting galas and sports fundraisers to purchase food for the Commission; the student-nation, hungry to show its dedication to *doing something*, donated in excess. The CRB never had more than 100 volunteers in the field, however, and was unable to accommodate large numbers of students wishing to go abroad. It was not until the FSAA was established that collegians had an outlet for those wishing to help France in a more hands-on manner. Students were mixed into the fold by direct invitation to join the Ambulance in addition to helping to support it with cash and goodwill. William Stevenson noted that his classmates were "fired with enthusiasm" solely by the example of fellow students in the AFS and "enlisted in the hope of doing as well."[6]

Edward Tinkham had wasted no time organizing a Cornell ambulance unit upon his return to campus in early 1917. The humanitarian element of the work was well represented at an interesting meeting at Baily Hall on 19th March 1917. Over 1,800 students and

[5] Traxel, *Crusader Nation*, 143.
[6] Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* xix.

community members packed Cornell's largest venue to hear FSAA men speak about their experiences and screen films of ambulanciers in action. A Cornell unit was slated to leave in late June, but Tinkham had his thirty-five volunteers within the week. On 14th April, just eight days following America's declaration of war, the Cornell Unit embarked for Europe on the same ship that would later take the Dawes group.[7] In Paris, the war must have seemed far away.[8] Edward Hargrave Pattison, C'19, wrote home that they were fed "much better than at college" with "more than enough of every kind of food."[9] His classmate, James Lee Rothwell, C'18, echoed his point, writing that the task of exploring Paris was "no small or unpleasant job."[10] The few days' rest taken by the Cornell section allowed them a moment to adjust to their new surroundings, but also time to consider Andrew's new plans. Having approached Tinkham on 5th May to pitch the Camion, Andrew asked if the Cornell section would consider being the first to transport ammunition and supplies rather than drive ambulances. In essence, Andrew offered the Cornellians the chance to become the first official American combatants on the Western Front.[11]

It was no coincidence that Tinkham's Cornell section had been asked. Not only were they the first organized group to arrive following America's declaration of war, but, at Tinkham's insistence, the Cornell section arrived in France not with Ford chassis but with Pierce Arrow R-5 five-ton trucks.[12] On a mechanical level, Tinkham knew firsthand the

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[7] "Volunteers," *CAN*, March 22, 1917, 277; "$1,600 Subscribed to Joint Ambulance Unit," *CDS*, March 20, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 117; "Cornell-Ithaca Section Sails for France," *CAN*, April 19, 1917, 326–27.
[8] "Cornell Men Carry the American Flag to the French Front," *CAN*, May 31, 1917, 400; Cornell University, *Military Records of Cornell University in the World War* (Cornell University, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1930), 123; "Cornell Ambulance Unit Sails For France Today; 33 Will Drive Machines," *CDS*, April 14, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, No. 133; E. H. Pattison, 25 April 1917, letter, in Martin W. Sampson, ed., *Camion Letters from American College Men, Volunteer Drivers of the American Field Service in France, 1917* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1918), 3.
[9] E. H. Pattison to Parents, 29 April 1917, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 5.
[10] J. L. Rothwell to Parents, 6 May 1917, in ibid., 31.
[11] E. H. Pattison to Parents, 10 May 1917, in ibid., 7; R. A. Browning to Parents, 10 June 1917, in ibid., 72; Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 426.
[12] Part II: AFS Volunteer, Camion Driver, Naval Aviator, in Patton, "Remembering."

damaged caused to smaller cars on the battlefields. "Poor old Alice!" he wrote about his ambulance on 3rd July 1916 while serving in Verdun, "A wrecked car in so short a time!"[13] A fellow driver, Coleman Clark, wrote a month prior to Tinkham that his Model T gave him enough trouble to "drive a mechanic mad" while in Verdun. The car had developed a leaky radiator, transmission chatters, oil leaks, had no breaks, no headlights, no seats, and 3 bad tires. "I sit on the gas tank," Clark wrote his mother, "and the whole thing rattles to beat the band."[14] The Ford Model T, for all that the plucky car was worth, struggled to hold up to the continual demands of the battlefield without constant upkeep. Tinkham's push for a sturdier vehicle was a sensible move; practically speaking, the five-ton trucks cost roughly four times that of a Ford chassis but offered unparalleled flexibility and reliability. Tinkham's advocacy was likely anticipatory rather than purely technical. Being the only organized American group in France equipped with heavy-duty trucks would have conferred a distinct advantage over larger collegiate units.

The Cornellians agreed to form the Camion, and on 7th May 1917 Andrew publicly announced that Field Service of the American Ambulance had secured permission to begin carrying ammunition to the front lines and rebranded the organization as the American Field Service (AFS).[15] The following day Tinkham, his assistant Lieutenant Rees T. Scully, P'8, and a fifty-man mixed-contingent from Cornell and other colleges, marched to the Paris railyard for immediate departure to the front. Sixteen days later they would be the first Americans to carry the Stars and Strips to the battlefield when they arrived at the Anise front on 24th May 1917.[16] Hundreds more would follow in the Cornellians' footsteps by joining the

[13] En Repos After Verdun, Edward I. Tinkham, 3 July 1916, letter, in The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:338–40.
[14] Coleman Clark to Mother, 1 June 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 19.
[15] "Transport In France In American Hands; Ambulance Men to Form New Service, and Some Will Train for Officers."
[16] "Cornell Boys First at Front With Stars and Stripes," *The New York Herald*, May 26, 1917; "Cornell Men Carry the American Flag to the French Front"; "Paris Crowds Cheer Our Battle Flag; Fifty American Field

Camion throughout the summer of 1917, gallantly helping to relieve the great plight of the French Army. At least, that is the official story. The praise and pomp for the Camions fill the annals of the AFS Archives and the formidable three volume *History of the American Field Service*. The unofficial story, as told by the letters of collegiate students, reveals a different set of events transpiring during the final six months of the AFS. Rather than eagerly joining the Camions, Andrew had to exploit the popularity of collegiate Big Men and the atmosphere of *doing something* to manipulate collegians to fill the ranks of a section they would not have volunteered for otherwise.

The Camions – Usurpation of the Collegiate Hierarchy

Cornell's decision to join the Camions was not without opposition. Camion work was dirty, dingy, and centered around carrying wood, food, and other supplies to the rear lines rather than carrying munitions directly to the front. "College boys will not volunteer in the states to drive trucks in convoy," Bertram F. Wilcox, C'17, wrote when he was informed that the Cornell Unit would change its original purpose, "it is about the lowest and most mechanical sort of work imaginable."[17] Furthermore, any extra work dedicated to transporting crates of shells and bullets was entirely contrary to the humanitarian purpose that collegiate units had been sponsored for. Andrew had been pushing to expand the services of the FSAA into a more direct military role since it had split from the AMH, however. French army regulations had not stopped him, neither would the sensibilities of collegiate volunteers.

Having spent much time and energy in organizing sponsorships for ambulanciers and donations for ambulances, to depart for France with the intention of doing humanitarian aid

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Service Men Start for the Front as Munition Carriers," *NYT*, May 10, 1917; "Off for the Front in France," *CAN*, May 17, 1917, 379; "First Americans Go To Front As Troops; Led by Capt. Tinkham; Many Cornell Students," *NYT*, May 26, 1917; "Our First Combatant Corps.," *NYT*, May 26, 1917; The New York Times Company, *The New York Times Current History: The European War*, vol. XII, The European War (Times Square, New York: The New York Times Company, 1917), 10.

[17] Bertrum F. Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 13, 1917, DRMC-CUL.

work only to then make the switch to carrying implements of war on arrival might not have sat well with sponsors back in the States. At any rate, it certainly did not sit well with some of the men who went over. To Wilcox, the transfer of collegiate volunteers from ambulances to Camions seemed an "extremely illogical development for the service," one that departed from the FSAA's original call for volunteers.[18] The change in the Service's nature would prove to be a point of contention not only for the Cornell men, but every other group that arrived at 21 Rue Raynouard that summer. Hundreds of volunteers would find themselves in a state of uncertainty. "It would be a great relief to me to if I could personally explain the proposed change to the men who gave me money to come over here," wrote one Cornell man, "I sincerely hope that in case you do not favor my action, that you will refrain from too severe a criticism." [19] As noted by Cornell Professor Martin Sampson, who knew many of the Cornell men personally, some students "obtained from the contributors permission to transfer" while others, "accepting war conditions as the supreme law," accepted the transfer to the Camion "assuming that their action would be approved."[20] Rothwell stated that he had to use his own judgment, believing that "the other Cornell men at home would endorse my action in getting into the transport service." [21] The Cornell Unit's decision to make the change was not as emphatic as has been presented but was rather an answer given great thought in regard to how best the decision might allow them to *do something* for France and for their colleges.

Grabbed by the zeitgeist or empowered by other collegians pushing to *do something*, rendering humanitarian aid underlined many of the reasons for going. *Harper's Magazine* wrote in May 1917 that the ambulance men, the "very pick and flower of American life," had

[18] Ibid.
[19] J. L. Rothwell, 6 May 1917, letter, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 32–33.
[20] Ibid., viii.
[21] J. L. Rothwell to Parents, 6 May 1917, in ibid., 33.

put aside their own lives "to help France in her hour of need."[22] Volunteers such as Reginald Noel Sullivan, SantaClara'10, went to experience the deprivation and suffering brought about by the war firsthand while doing what he could to help. "I remember wanting to taste the hardship prisoners and soldiers endured and my wish has been granted," wrote Sullivan to his mother. "I have often thought of my complaints against the meals at college…I have learned much since then."[23] Others were just happy to lend their services. "I am glad I am going to see War & France & help serve Humanity & Justice," wrote William G. Rice, Jr., H'16, a month before the end of his first year at Harvard Law.[24] Similarly, Melvin F. Talbot, H'16, wrote, "it is a love of France, a nation bound to us by ties of tradition and doubly endeared today by her heroic example of bravery [that leads us] to aid in the work of mercy."[25] Ambulancier George Dock, DC'16, was not convinced, however. "This work-in-behalf-of-humanity bunk sounds very altruistic and pretty," he wrote home, "but not a great step cleaning up the hostiles."[26] His own view of the FSAA had turned sour as later contingents of college men came over seeking adventure and danger, leaving Dock convinced that anyone not actively fighting the Germans was not doing his part to help France, himself included. "He is not helping France to the value of the money his guardians spend on the trip over," he fumed in response to a letter accusing him of glory hunting, "he is not repaying La Patrie for the blood spilt by Lafayette nor the money lost by Rochambeau, and it is utter poppycock for Americans to yap around in this vein."[27]

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[22] "The Harvest of the Night," 810.
[23] Sullivan to "Dearest Everyone," 27 August 1917, letter in Reginald Nöel Sullivan, *"Somewhere in France": Personal Letters of Reginald Nöel Sullivan, S.S.U. 65 of the American Ambulance Field Service* (San Francisco, California: Privately Printed, 1917), 6.
[24] William Rice to Mother, 14 May 1916, in William Gorham Rice, "With the Ambulance Service in France: The Wartime Letters of William Gorham Rice, Jr," ed. George Brown, *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* Vol. 64, no. 4 (Summer 1981): 278.
[25] Talbot, "Diary of an American Ambulance Driver in France," 127.
[26] George Dock to Parents, "19 November 1916," November 19, 1916, DC-RSC.
[27] George Dock to Pa and Ma, "10 December 1916," December 10, 1916, DC-RSC.

Dock's anger was primarily aimed at groups of collegians arriving in France either with no absolute dedication to the cause—those that had just followed the crowd—or those that had come over in search of adventure, danger, or to make a name for themselves by doing some little bit of good and then "leave[ing] when the bad weather starts."[28] There were those students, swirled-up in the collegiate necessity of *doing something*, that went without any good personal reasons for doing so because it was simply what everyone else was doing. Edward R. Coyle found himself saying to one of his friends over dinner in New York City following work one evening, "Well, I think I'll go and help France; she was always good to us."[29] Coyle had no intention of going overseas before he sat down for dinner but was rather caught on by the spur of the moment while speaking about the War. "My voice sounded strange to my own ears as I said this," he wrote, "I felt as if I had jumped off the Brooklyn Bridge."[30] By the end of the evening, one of Coyle's friends had offered to help him pay for his effects and, a few days later, his friends presented him with a fully outfitted ambulance. Asking other Americans why they joined as his ship departed New York, Coyle wrote that "in no instance did any of them give a solid reason right off the reel." "Damifino," was the answer given by a young Philadelphian, summing up the reasoning of most of the students on the boat. "Same here," wrote Coyle, "his answer is mine."[31]

Other groups of volunteer ambulanciers were less bashful in their decision to drive simply because it offered them the thrill of adventure. Of course aviation was always an option, and many students went into aviation, but flying necessitated a working knowledge of an aircraft and often came with a laundry list of associated dangers; to drive ambulances, volunteers only needed a rudimentary understanding of automobiles and their workings to get

[28] Ibid.
[29] Coyle, *Ambulancing on the French Front*, 17.
[30] Ibid., 18.
[31] Ibid., 19–20.

close to the battlelines, and, while not as dangerous as flying, still carried a non-zero chance of death or dismemberment. When Coyle wrote in the opening to his 1918 book *Ambulancing on the French Front*, a memoir of his nine months with the Field Service (Jan.-Sept. 1917), "if you like excitement I'd say take a steamer for France—and join the Ambulance Corps," slews of young college students had already headed similar advice.[32] One, John M. Grierson, remembered learning how to drive on his first outing to the front, bouncing through craters along the way and dodging falling shells. By the time he had reached the *poste de secours* he had become proficient in the pedal work and was "rather excited" for the shell-laden return trip at 2AM without lights.[33]

For collegiate drivers, late night drives down bombed out roads without headlights and dodging falling shells were filled with a certain thrill of danger. Malcolm Cowley, H'19, influential American author and literary critic, wrote later that the war created a "thirst for abstract danger" in young college men of the age, especially for writers. The danger existent in driving ambulances "revivified" subjects "soiled by many hands and robbed of meaning," making it "possible to write once more about love, adventure, death."[34] With such famous writers as John Dos Pasos, Ernest Hemingway, Julian Green, William Seabrook, and Edward Estlin Cummings (e. e. cummings), among others, having served as volunteer ambulance drivers while college students, it is no wonder that Cowley termed the Field Service "college-extension courses for a generation of writers."[35] Danger gave their stories new life. Harry Frantz, S'18, seemed to agree. While shuffling papers as budding reporter at Stanford, he wrote his parents that the Field Service was "a splendid opportunity" to "further develop my

[32] Ibid., 15.
[33] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 2:76.
[34] Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920's* (New York: The Viking Press, 1951), 42.
[35] Ibid., 38; also see: Charles A. Fenton, "Ambulance Drivers in France and Italy: 1914-1918," *American Quarterly* Vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter 1951): 326; other writers included: Slater Brown, Harry Crosby, John Howard Lawson, Sidney Howard, Louis Bromfield, Robert Hillyer, and Dashiell Hammett.

talent for future literary work," giving the same reasoning for wanting to go.[36] Another of those collegiate writers, John Dos Passos, H'16, had famously found himself obsessed with the feeling of danger that he experienced while with the Norton-Harjes Section. He described it as a "curious hankering after danger that takes hold of me." While other ambulanciers dreaded bombardments, Dos Passos wrote that "when one shell comes I want another, nearer, nearer, I constantly feel the need of the drunken excitement of a good bombardment." "I want to throw the dice at every turn with the old roisterer Death," he wrote in his diary, "though it all I feel more alive than ever before—I have never lived yet."[37] This feeling of never having lived was echoed by many. One Harvard graduate, after experiencing six months with the Field Service, told Andrew, "I doubt when the war is over I shall ever be happy."[38]

Camion work, however, did not attain the same humanitarian goals nor offer the same dangers as ambulancing. Andrew, himself a product of the collegiate lifestyle, therefore sought to manipulate the minds collegians by employing the Big Man stature and reputations of unit leaders to promote a falsified humanitarian and adventurous appeal. Tinkham, upon his return to Cornell in 1917, easily recruited those around him through his persuasive demeanor, his collegiate popularity, and the fervency with which he made his call to assist the French people after his experiences at Verdun. Andrew was adamant that the Camions were the most necessary service that the Cornell men could give to France (a leverage on humanitarian purposes) and that they offered a much better chance for adventure closer to the lines (a leverage on those looking for adventure). If Tinkham spoke of the Camions with the same zeal, then his men would follow his lead without question. With a respect matching their confidence in his judgment, the unit acknowledged Tinkham as its leader and deferred to

[36] Frantz to Folks, "15 April 1917."
[37] John Dos Passos, *One Man's Initiation: 1917, A Novel* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), 22.
[38] Andrew, "For Love of France," 930.

his "whatever he says goes" persona.[39] "No one could be more devoted to our welfare," one of them wrote, "and there is something about the quiet way he handles the things and looks after us that makes everyone love and respect him."[40] Others were simply "very glad" to be with him on the streets of Paris, his Croix de Guerre marking him as "no coward" and a guardian figure for young men feeling "conspicuous" without a uniform.[41] His prior experiences with the FSAA in Verdun led the group to "place great reliance on Tinkham's judgement;"[42] indeed, so much so that those confronted with anxieties about the Camion looked to Tinkham for advice on what they should do.[43] Nothing within Tinkham's own letters, or those of Andrew, give us any insight on what was discussed between the two men, but Wilcox writes that Tinkham was "rather forced in the matter by the office."[44] He left a meeting with Andrew resolved to join the Camion, and his decision held great influence over the decisions of his comrades. Rothwell wrote home that Tinkham was "going to convert the unit for which he worked so hard into this new transport service" and, because it was Tinkham who was doing it, "nearly every Cornell man [was] going into it."[45] Andrew's exploitation of Tinkham's Big Man status had paid off.

On 6th May, forty-four collegians (33 Cornell and 11 others) threw their lot with the new service. A "gilt-edged speech" from Andrew and Tinkham the night before—which Wilcox was not present for but noted had managed to sway the minds of the entire Cornell Unit—had played on the collegiate's intense desire to *do something*. Andrew told them that

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[39] Cornell University, *Military Records*, 123.
[40] James W. D. Seymour, ed., *Memorial Volume of the American Field Service in France, "Friends of France," 1914-1917* (Boston, Massachusetts: American Field Service, 1921), 239; Cornell University, *Military Records*, 123.
[41] Bertrum F. Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 3, 1917, DRMC-CUL; Bertrum F. Wilcox to Dearest Mother, April 23, 1917, DRMC-CUL.
[42] J. L. Rothwell to Parents, 6 May 1917, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 33.
[43] J. L. Rothwell to Parents, 6 May 1917, in ibid., 32–33.
[44] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 13, 1917.
[45] J. L. Rothwell to Parents, 6 May 1917, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 32–33; also reprinted in "Cornell Men Carry the American Flag to the French Front," 400.

the Camion offered collegians the most direct opportunity to fulfill their humanitarian duty and prove themselves not shirkers to their peers.[46] Pattison described the affair as a "lightning decision," but one he thought he "chose right" in.[47] "I think it's up to us to go where we can help most," he wrote home, "and it would be very hard to refuse our services when the French say they need us."[48] Other Cornell men were more patriotic about their decision. Robert Abraham Browning, C'17, stated that the whole affair showed that American manhood meant what it had meant in '76 and '12 and '61: "honor and peace and humanity even though the price be war."[49] The irony of the switch from hauling wounded men to hauling shells and bullets seemed lost on him when he stated definitely to his mother that they were "fighting against war—not for it."[50] Rothwell was a tad more cynical than his classmates. "Had I followed my own personal desires I would have refused to leave the ambulance," he wrote, "seeing the tremendous sacrifice going on about me…I feel that any sacrifice of personal desires that I make is infinitely trivial."[51] The Cornellians were well acquainted with personal sacrifice, giving their all to the team called *alma mater*, and, in many ways, their decision to deny themselves their own desires was but a showing of their collegiate loyalties.

Wilcox noted that his friends went off "feeling as they did that they were making a great personal sacrifice for the French Government."[52] "If I could have felt that way," he wrote, "it would have been very much pleasanter than staying behind and being thought of as a slacker."[53] By presenting the Camion as a great and necessary opportunity to help France,

[46] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 13, 1917.
[47] E. H. Pattison to Parents, 10 May 1917, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 7.
[48] E. H. Pattison to Parents, 10 May 1917, in ibid.
[49] R. A. Browning to Parents, 6 May 1917, in ibid., 69.
[50] R. A. Browning to Parents, 6 May 1917, in ibid.
[51] J. L. Rothwell to Parents, 6 May 1917, in ibid., 33–34.
[52] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 13, 1917.
[53] Ibid.

Andrew swayed Tinkham and exploited his Big Man persona to manipulate other collegians to join the Camions, framing those who did not join as shirking their duty. As for Tinkham, whose "hand was forced by the authorities," Wilcox had "never saw a man lead a new venture so glumly."[54]

Following his success with the Cornell Unit, Wilcox wrote that Andrew began undertaking "tremendous efforts" at 21 Rue Raynouard to shift incoming collegiate units into Camion service by framing the Camion as a service most desperately needed by the French.[55] Two months later, members of the Dawes Group, keenly aware of what the Cornell section had done, found themselves in a similar position. "It appears that we are needed very badly in the camions," Dawes wrote, attempting to persuade the principal donor, his father, on 7th June 1917.[56] Despite them believing "no doubt but that we are needed more for Camion," the group did not immediately join.[57] "We are not going to do so at once because we fear our unit would divide," wrote Ellis Sibley on 9th June, "several fellows [are] holding out for ambulance."[58] Where Tinkham was pushed to join the Camion against his own wishes—leaving two Cornell men behind in the process—Dawes was not. He wrote his father, "I am not going to let the section be split up, and where one goes the bunch will go."[59] Dudley Nye, MC'18, wrote that Dawes cabled his father for instructions, but noted that "the cream of the Field Service" being already "in the transport section" had already swayed their own sentiments.[60] By 13th June the group had "voted unanimously to enter it [the Camion]."[61]

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[54] Bertrum F. Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 21, 1917, DRMC-CUL.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Dawes to Father, 7 June 1917, in "Dawes Military."
[57] Ellis Sibley, letter to father in "Marietta Boy Tells of His Experiences in Paris," un-named newspaper, 9 June 1917, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."
[58] Ellis Sibley, letter to father in "Marietta Boy Tells of His Experiences in Paris," un-named newspaper, 9 June 1917, in ibid.
[59] Dawes to Father, 7 June 1917, "Dawes Military."
[60] Dudley Nye, letter to father, 13 June 1917, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."
[61] Dudley Nye, letter to father, 13 June 1917, in ibid.

Other groups required more coaxing, and Andrew turned once again to the collegiate sentiments of his incoming volunteers. The ambulanciers would be called into formation daily at 9AM where Andrew would lecture them on the necessity of joining the Camions and implore them to abandon their original intentions of becoming ambulance drivers for the good of France. "Dr. Andrew, the head of it all, gave us a talk and urged everybody to go in transport work," wrote Lew Howell, DC'16, upon arrival to France on 13th June, "their line was that there were too many ambulances now and that one could best serve France and himself by so doing."[62] Howell noted that Andrew's speech was "half way expected" and full of "a lot more 'bull'" from "his understudies."[63] Tinkham was but the first of a growing number of collegiate Big Men impressed into service by Andrew to sway their classmates into joining the Camion. The Dartmouth man chosen to address Howell's group was Horton Kennedy, DC'18, president of the class of 1918, football manager for 1916, and brother of Psi U—a picture-perfect Big Man.[64]

Following the speeches, Andrew would read aloud the roll "to find out which were willing to make the great sacrifice," adding yet another layer of peer pressure for the college men present. Wilcox wrote that Andrew would "quite lose his head" when the men would refuse to join the Camion and threaten to keep them in Paris for many months before sending them out in an ambulance.[65] Lansing Warren, S'17, noted that the speech on his arrival was "but a cold welcome;" his group, the Third Stanford, was told outright that they had "been registered to drive munitions trucks" rather than ambulances. Their refusal to do so was "not well received."[66] For students attempting to get into the war by the fastest means possible, those remaining behind ran the risk of being seen as "slackers" or thought of as shirking their

[62] Howell to Mother, June 13, 1917.
[63] Ibid.
[64] "1918," *The Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, August 1943, 56.
[65] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 21, 1917.
[66] Lansing Warren, "Ambulancier," *Lost Generation Journal*, Winter -78 1977, 11.

duty to get into the fight. Wilcox was seen as a slacker by his own Cornell friends for not taking up Camion work despite many in the Cornell Unit wishing to hold out for the ambulances. "Several of my friends felt just as I did but were too much afraid it would 'look bad' if they did not join," Wilcox wrote, "I also feel very hot against the authorities for putting the thing up to the men in such a way that they felt morally obligated to join."[67] The same sort of "coercive volunteerism" which Christopher Capozzola notes pervaded the homefront followed collegiate volunteers overseas. George Dock had been serving with the Field Service since May of 1916 when he received word of the Cornell Unit. He wrote his mother from the front that Andrew's way of "absolutely forcing" a section of Wisconsin men into the Camions was "one of the dirtiest, dreariest, and least interesting stunts in the whole war," as well as a misuse of immense donor—and student—funding.[68] "The entire deal that these men have run into is so crude," he fumed, "forcing volunteers, who pay their way, their uniform, and a big bonus, out of ambulance work and into such a thing as motor truck driving is about the limit."[69]

Andrew had employed small doses of collegiate peer pressure before, but not to the extent that he had in 1917. Coleman Clark had already turned down Frederick Trubee Davison, Y'18, once before. Later, Trubee showed him a cablegram from Andrew stating that it was absolutely necessary that Yale raise another contingent of twenty ambulances to join the gallant Yale ambulanciers already helping France.[70] A direct pandering to the collegiate sentiments of those on the fence, Andrew made clear that Yale students were already bringing glory upon the college and that there was room for more of Yale's sons to do the same. Such was the only collegiate peer pressure Clark required, changing his mind on the

[67] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 13, 1917.
[68] George Dock to Pa and Ma, "1 June 1917," June 1, 1917, DC-RSC.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Coleman Clark to Mother, March (Tuesday) 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 11.

spot and writing his mother later, “I feel that France needs men badly right now, and that I ought go right way.”[71] “It is doing something which is absolutely worthwhile,” he stated, “I don’t think the hardships or discomforts ought to count.”[72] Arthur Kimber was in a similar situation. He found himself pulled to the Field Service after a magic lantern slide show at Stanford University, another publicity stunt organized by Andrew to showcase collegiate volunteers in action. “Previous to that time I had just followed the war in an interested way,” he told others, but the slides about the Field Service “quite woke me up” and “brought the war home.”[73] Kimber did not enlist immediately, opting to continue his studies and help his widowed mother at home. It was not until that spring, when Stanford announced that it would organize its own unit of ambulances, that Kimber found himself grabbed by a “spirit of adventure, prompted in part by a desire to help the Allies,” and signed up alongside classmates which had encouraged him to come along.[74] A certain limit of collegiate coercion was allowable and indeed practiced by collegians, but early pandering to collegiate loyalties through good recruitment publicity was a different matter to the manipulation and outright domineering that Andrew had begun employing.

Echoing Dock, Wilcox asked his mother, “do you really think that is a fair or rational way to treat men who have volunteered for a certain branch of service?”[75] Other students in the same position seemed to think not and staged a mutiny. Where the official AFS record notes that forty boys joined the Camions on 13th June, a letter from William Rice, H’16, notes that some sixty had left the services of the AFS ten days prior to join the—original—American Ambulance at Neuilly and the Norton-Harjes Service rather than be impressed into

[71] Coleman Clark to Mother, March (Tuesday) 1916, in ibid.
[72] Coleman Clark to Mother, March (Sunday) 1916, in ibid.
[73] Kimber, quoted in Kimber, Gregory, and Nurser, *An American*, 47.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 21, 1917.

a Camion section.[76] Andrew, who, according to Rice, "never missed the chance to criticize the other volunteer ambulance units," was furious.[77] The smaller groups staying behind to "hold out" for the ambulances would be held for months in retaliation. Howell wrote his mother that he and ten others, those he notes as being "the best boys in our units," decided to cling to their humanitarian purpose even if it "took all summer."[78] For Amherst student Ingram Baker, AC'19, and the Amhurst Unit, it did take all summer. Baker wrote in late June that the Amherst Unit could get ambulances "without much trouble" but it would "take a little longer" to do so.[79] Andrew held them in Paris for two months; only by mid-August did the entire Amherst Unit see service on the front.[80]

Despite the pushback from volunteers, Andrew's playing to collegiate sentiment obtained good results, and many more groups followed Cornell's example.[81] Edward Russell Byrd, Wis'18, a member of the Wisconsin section that Dock had spoken so hotly about, stated that "it was our duty to join where needed and this we did."[82] Four Camion units were serving in the field by 13th June with another in training.[83] The Marietta men would be the sixth Camion unit to leave 21 Rue Raynouard when Dawes received the order to "go into the Camion" on 13th June; by 20th June, after further futile attempts to secure bodies for their

[76] William Rice to Mother and Father, 4 June 1917, in William Gorham Rice, "With the Ambulance Service in France: The Wartime Letters of William Gorham Rice, Jr (Part II)," ed. George Brown, *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* Vol. 65, no. 1 (Autumn 1981): 13.
[77] Rice, "With the Ambulance Service in France: The Wartime Letters of William Gorham Rice, Jr," 293.
[78] Howell to Mother, June 13, 1917; Sampson, *Camion Letters*, viii.
[79] Baker to Parents, June 20, 1917.
[80] Ingham Baker to Parents, "Together," August 12, 1917, Ingham C. Baker Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, AC-ASC.
[81] A. Piatt Andrew, 8 March 1919, quoted in The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 3:9–10.
[82] H. Byrd, undated letter, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 38–39.
[83] Dudley Nye, letter to father, 13 June 1917, in Dawes, "Lt. Beman Gates Dawes Scrapbook."

Ford automobiles, the Marietta men joined the "TM."[84] Wilcox made clear that even these boys had been "swayed either by sentiment or by lack of energy to think for themselves."[85]

Whether or not the French desperately needed collegians for the Camions is questionable. Rumors spread early that summer that Doumenc had not made such an impassioned request for drivers—as has been written in the official history—but rather was in response to Andrew's own probing of the French authorities. "The call did not come spontaneously from the French Government as an emergency call," wrote Wilcox, "but was in response to a request from Andrew that we be given more work to do."[86] Many also wondered why French drivers being replaced by collegiate ambulanciers could not take up the Camion work—this suggestion was enough for Wilcox to have "disposed of the sentimental plea" for French relief. Furthermore, the inability to get ambulance bodies seems to have been an exaggeration, at least in the beginning. Tinkham had been told that obtaining car bodies would be difficult and time consuming, but five days after the Cornell section departed for the front ambulances appeared at 21 Rue Raynouard. "It looks, however, as if we might be there before them," wrote Wilcox to his mother on 13th May, "our cars are ready in the garden."[87]

The Camions would also not prove to be the adventurous and exciting undertaking that Andrew had presented; indeed, Camion men began clamoring to leave it for more active roles after a few weeks' service. There were those that enjoyed the work. Donald Fairchild Bigelow, P'20, bragged that the men in his unit were having "too good a time," adding that it was a "great life" on the front.[88] "If you hear any complaints about this Service," he wrote,

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[84] Ellis Sibley, "Ellis Sibley's Letters From France--V.," *The Gallipolis Tribune*, July 27, 1917; Dudley Nye, letter to father in un-named newspaper, 13 June 1917, in "Dawes Military."
[85] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 21, 1917.
[86] Wilcox to Dearest Mother, May 13, 1917.
[87] Ibid.
[88] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 3:48.

"you may be sure they come from boys who can't get satisfaction from good work well done."[89] And other Camion members wrote of carrying over 500,000 shells every fortnight.[90] Praise such as this is few and far between as the general tone of letters on the Camions is much more doleful. "The work isn't nearly so appealing," wrote Tinkham, "there isn't the same opportunity for individual action."[91] Sullivan wrote home that a group of Camion drivers had told him "a tale of woe" that would have taken him "many hours to repeat."[92] The drivers spoke of wielding heavy trucks with no power steering down muddy roads, of long periods waiting eight to nine hours to be loaded, and of never seeing action near the front lines. "When so much pressure was brought to bear in favor of the other," wrote Sullivan after speaking with the drivers, "I feel I was wonderfully fortunate to have insisted on getting into [the Ambulance]."[93]

News of classmates going into more action-oriented roles during periods of prolonged idleness only gave way to more discontent among the Camion men. While collegians like Edward Byrd saw the Camions as a means of playing one's part in the war, others, like George Dock, found it disgraceful. "What gets me is lads…digging out for such a service as this," wrote Dock, "being of age, and physically fit, it is hard to see what business they have in the Ambulance at this time instead of going into the American Army."[94] Dock wrote that Camion drivers were "already so discouraged" that they clamored to join the Air Service or Field Artillery or whatever branch of the AEF might take them.[95] "From the first, this camion service, even when I was at home, was not my idea of serving my country best," stated Richard V. Banks, RPI'17, "I am doing my bit, but not my bit…[and] nothing will satisfy me

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., 3:41.
[91] Edward Tinkham, 14 June 1917, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 40.
[92] Sullivan to "Dearest Everyone," 9 October 1917, letter in Sullivan, *Somewhere in France*, 39–40.
[93] Sullivan to "Dearest Everyone," 9 October 1917, letter in ibid.
[94] George Dock to Pa and Ma, "8 May 1917," May 8, 1917, DC-RSC.
[95] Dock to Pa and Ma, "1 June 1917."

in the execution of that duty by the highest service I can render."[96] For Banks, who left the Camion shortly after arriving, that "highest service" was flying aeroplanes. One could not *do something* in the Camions. There were no individual chances for valor and the heroism of driving trucks far from danger was akin to remaining in the States when compared to the experiences of collegians already in the AEF. As 1917 ended, hundreds of ambulanciers and Camion drivers would leave the AFS for opportunities to *do something* in more combat intensive capacities.

The USAAS – Amalgamation

When the United States declared war on Germany on 6th April 1917, the United States Army had no ambitions to assume the Field Service. Military authorities in Washington had already drawn up plans to equip, train, and dispatch its own corps of ambulances comprised primarily of collegiate sections trained in tandem. General Pershing and Surgeon General William C. Gorgas had expressed no interest in the AFS remaining an independent organization—nor did Andrew, for that matter, who had hoped the US Army would assume the Service—but neither did they have any strong opinions on taking over the Service. Understandably, French military authorities were nervous that such an essential element of their army would be pulled from the line. Marshal Joffre, during his visit to the United States in April 1917, stressed that the French army had become dependent on the work of the AFS and requested that ambulance sections serving with the French be left to remain.

The Field Service had grown rapidly in the opening months of 1917 as America inched towards war. By April, both money and young men were pouring into the logistical behemoth. In addition to its central-Paris headquarters at 21 Rue Raynouard, with its collection of residential boarding houses and spacious gardens, the AFS operated its own

[96] Richard V. Banks to Father, September 1917, quoted in Seymour, *Memorial*, 215.

construction and repair park, a supply depot for its cars, its own hospital and convalescent home, and a collection of training camps along the front.[97] Shares in the Meaux French Automobile Officers' School in Paris had provided further training in French mechanics and offered commissions in the French transport services for AFS men at the end of their terms.[98] Most importantly, the AFS had what the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) did not: three-years' worth of "tested and revised" field operation with the French and British armed forces.[99] General Pershing, upon further examination of the AFS, decided that militarization of the volunteers under the umbrella of the newly formed U.S. Army Ambulance Service (USAAS) would be an amenable course of action.[100] An agreement was reached in late May between Joffre and Pershing wherein militarized sections of the AFS would be incorporated under the US Army and then "reloaned" to France. By August, the US Army began operations to absorb the Field Service, commandeering ambulances and enlisting drivers.[101]

On 2nd September 1917, 1,200-volunteers in forty-seven ambulance sections and over 800 serving in fourteen Camion sections were formally invited to enlist in the U.S. Army as their sections officially incorporated into the Medical Corps and Quartermaster Department.[102] Eighty-one volunteers serving as section leaders were automatically commissioned as second lieutenants in the new service to retain familiarity of command. For the rank-and-file volunteers of the AFS and N-HS, the prospect of joining the USAAS as simple privates was not overwhelmingly well received. Just over half of the ~2,000-volunteers in the AFS abandoned ambulance and Camion work along with hundreds of other

[97] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:8–10.
[98] R. A. Browning, 25 June and 1 July 1917, letter, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 92; The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:8–10.
[99] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:8–10.
[100] Ginn, *Medical Service*, 45; Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 161–62.
[101] "Army Takes Over Ambulance Work; All Drivers Who Serve in France Must Enlist in the Hospital Corps," *NYT*, August 29, 1917.
[102] Ibid.; "Shifted To Pershing Army; Two Sections of American Field Service Will Be Transferred," *NYT*, September 3, 1917; Ginn, *Medical Service*, 46; The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 1:2, 4.

collegians whose terms had expired or had left the Service before September. Many had been looking for a way out since 1916—Dock wrote home in November 1916 that he "wish[ed] very much to go into the American Escadrille"—and assumption by the USAAS was only writing on the wall to get into something where they could be "doing much more."[103] Ralph N. Barrett, DC'18, wrote home that he had an "eye out for aviation," wishing to "rather do something where my services will count more for the war and to myself than they will in ambulance work."[104] Another, Francis E. Cavette, I'17, after interacting with a group of privates in the Corps of Engineers, wrote his college Dean, "I dread to think of a time when I should be compelled to become one of them."[105] Though "many are going to stay," noted Philip Orcott, H'21, "the rest have chosen aviation or artillery."[106] Of those that left, 784 volunteers commissioned in a different branch of the US Armed Forces (222 into aviation, 156 into artillery, and 130 into the Army Transport Corps), one hundred and fifty commissioned as officers in French aviation or artillery branches, and a further forty-eight commissioned with the British aviation service.[107] A small number (~100) exited the service completely, or joined the Red Cross in further humanitarian work elsewhere, while around 900 took up enlistments as privates somewhere within the U.S. Army.

Members of the N-HS were even less enthusiastic about amalgamation. The prospect of switching from the "relative freedom and quasi-officer status" of the volunteer to becoming enlisted privates in Uncle Sam's army did not sit well.[108] The N-HS men saw themselves as "gentlemen volunteers," not combatants. These were collegians more akin to the Yale men Marc Wortman examined in *Millionaire's Unit* than the middle-class masses of

[103] Dock to Parents, "19 November 1916."
[104] Ralph N. Barrett to Mr. and Mrs. Hardy, "12 September 1917," September 12, 1917, DC-RSC.
[105] F. Erle Cavette to Thomas Arkle Clark, September 12, 1917, UA-UoI.
[106] Philip Dana Orcutt, *The White Road of Mystery, The Note-Book of an American Ambulancier* (New York: John Lane Company, 1918), 153.
[107] The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 3:442; Ginn, *Medical Service*, 46.
[108] Virginia Spencer Carr, *Dos Passos, A Life* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc, 1984), 138.

the AFS. They had provided their own cars, paid for their own upkeep, and enjoyed a camaraderie experienced among those who had gone *over there* long before going over there was popular, or mandated. The feeling of freedom and independence was important to these collegiate volunteers and the restructuring of the ambulance services put them at the bottom of a long list of officers and bureaucratic red tape, restricting their every movement to a series of orders and military discipline. Those volunteers that jumped to aviation, and to a lesser extent the field artillery, did so because it offered them a similar amount of freedom and individuality in the heat of the moment.

Norton looked to the new service with extreme distrust and distaste, telling William Stevenson, "the old club volunteer spirit must now be eliminated."[109] Unlike Andrew, who took up a commission within the US Army and attempted to remain somewhat relevant within the new chain of command, Norton and his entire staff quit when offered commissions.[110] He took to the front on 12th September 1917 for a farewell address to his men at Remicourt. "As gentlemen volunteers you enlisted in this service," Norton said, "and as gentlemen volunteers I bid you farewell."[111] Dos Passos wrote that the end of Norton's speech was capped by an exploding shell which drove a "fat-jowled gentlemen in the uniform of the United States Army" to "[lose] their restraint and their expression of tense interest (often seen in people about to be seasick) and [bolt] for the abris."[112] Meanwhile the N-HS men only "crouched" as Norton, "monocle gleaming in his eye" and walking proudly to his men, shook hands with the drivers present.[113] As an act, it was highly reminiscent of anecdotes of students who, recently suspended or expelled by the administration for collegiate escapades, went walking among their classmates shaking hands and promising to

[109] Norton, quoted in Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* 185.
[110] Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 165.
[111] Richard Norton, quoted in Carr, *Dos Passos, A Life*, 138.
[112] Dos Passos, *Initiation*, 25.
[113] Ibid.

return again.[114] None of the Norton-Harjes service men enlisted with the USAAS instead deciding to quit "en masse."[115] "I have sworn solemn vows to remain for the rest of my days a gentlemen volunteer," Dos Passos wrote, later he re-enlisted with Red Cross Section 1 serving in the Italian Alps to remain a "gentlemen volunteer."[116]

It was no less helpful that U.S. recruiting officers proved woefully incapable of convincing ASF and N-HS men to join with the USAAS. Orcutt recalled one afternoon when a large Pierce-Arrow car pulled up while his section was *en repos*, out of which jumped three medical officers with spurs clanking on their boots, strutting around as if they had invented the occupation of driving ambulances.[117] One of the recruiters told Norton's men, "I'd rather be a private in [the US Army] than a captain in any damn foreign army;" the "blustering egotistical braggart who had no authority but pretended to be the man behind the throne," according to Andrew, didn't last two weeks on the line before being sent back to Paris.[118] His replacement "died of drink" soon after arriving to continue enlistments. "On the day of his arrival he displayed another American proclivity and became dead drunk," wrote Andrew—officially he died of "heart failure." [119] In short, recruiters proved to be full of themselves and haughty, more suited to engaging young, doe-eyed American boys on city street corners than battle-heartened men who had already spent considerable time at the front.

Matters of retention were further complicated by General Pershing's disinterest in giving any command positions to volunteers in the service, and, as many would soon discover, the entire commissioning apparatus of the AEF would be geared solely to so-called

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[114] See: Charles E. Tourison, "Give My Regards to Davy" (Song, Ithaca, NY, 1905).
[115] Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* 185; Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 178–79.
[116] Dos Passos, *Initiation*, 26.
[117] Orcutt, *White Road*, 153.
[118] Norton and Andrew quoted in Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 172.
[119] Norton referenced a recruiter which "died of drink" in his diary, Andrew wrote of him more extensively, both quoted in ibid.

"professional soldiers" who had underwent official training in the States.[120] From June 1917 onwards Paris became "full with released ambulance men" looking to join the US Army, according to Cavette, and reports circulated widely of the "impossibility" volunteers were facing in getting into any other branch of service.[121] Longshaw K. Porritt, C'19, was so incensed by the situation that he wrote a letter to the Editor of the *New York Times* lamenting the frustrating position ambulanciers found themselves in. "We are over here, willing, anxious to do our share," wrote Porritt, "yet all the satisfaction we get is the knowledge that our names are on record for future reference." Porritt, only in his second year at Cornell when he joined the AFS, found himself at a disadvantage to his classmates who had remained in the States. "In America they are training young college men for officers' positions," he fumed, "while there is no better material anywhere in the world to make officers for the American Army than can be at present found over here, *fighting in France*." [122]

Like many other collegians, Porritt came to find a six month tour with the AFS, engaged on some of the most active fronts and coming nearer to real warfare than any of the Army's draftees, was worthless because he was not familiar "with the orders necessary to take a platoon of infantry out of its billets, march it to a field and put it through a morning's drill."[123] Coleman Clark received a similar response from US Army recruiters in Paris upon receiving his discharge from the AFS in Salonica. Turned down from aviation on account of his eyes, Clark continued to artillery only to be told he had "absolutely no military experience." "I make no comment on that, because it hurts," he wrote home, "the hard part of it is, that if, instead of being at Verdun last summer, and Monastir this winter, I had slept for six months on the Mexican border, I would have had the 'military experience' enough to now

[120] Gray, "The American Field Service."
[121] F. Erle Cavette to Thomas Arkle Clark, October 16, 1917, UA-UoI; Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* 101–2.
[122] Longshaw K. Porritt, "Americans In The Field," *NYT*, June 22, 1917.
[123] Frederick Palmer, *America In France* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1918), 70.

be an officer in the U.S.A."[124] To add insult to injury, the young Clark, having seen more military action than the majority of the US Army at the time, was seen as a "slacker" by privates fresh off the boat because he wasn't in uniform. Another AFS man, "White," related to Stevenson, that, after explaining to the Army Corps of Engineers his year-plus experience at the front, was given a piece of paper and told: "Sign these papers. Then you may have a job in this office as a civilian clerk!"[125] Major Frederick Palmer, serving as a war correspondent for the AEF under General Pershing's personal request, noted in 1919 that it was a "sad anomaly" that most of the ambulanciers would have "fared better in their ambitions to serve in our army if they had remained at home instead of making their Odyssey abroad."[126] Over ten percent found open arms with French and British recruiters who considered their time in the Ambulance and Camions as field experience, leading to a brain drain of a much needed cadre of educated officers within the AEF.

It was no matter, as the AEF was recruiting ambulance drivers from its own pool of collegians that had been selected and trained under the auspices of the USAAS. In February 1917, the Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau (IIB) had been formed at the behest of the Secretary of War and of the Navy for the purpose of connecting those members of *the collegiate* who "were fit and who could serve the Government" with military and Federal entities.[127] Over 150 colleges and universities would come to utilize the IIB to channel necessary men and material into government and military positions from the collegiate sphere by the beginning of 1918. Just as Andrew and Norton did in 1915 for their own formations, the U.S. Government turned to colleges to produce units of thirty-five volunteer ambulanciers

[124] Coleman Clark to Mother, 26 August 1917, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 97.
[125] 25 July 1917, Journal Entry in Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* 102.
[126] Palmer, *America In France*, 71.
[127] "Intelligence Bureau Formed," *HC*, January 12, 1918; "Prof. Herrick to Be Adjutant at Hamline," *Hamline Oracle*, March 29, 1917, Vol. 30, No. 22.

with "the best speed that the circumstances allowed."[128] These collegians, in addition to those whose applications had been forwarded to the Surgeon General following the AEF and Red Cross' cessation of enlisting volunteers, formed the nucleus of the USAAS.

The experiences of ambulance units from Iowa State College and Hamline University are typical for the over forty collegiate sections sent to Camp Crane throughout the war. In mid-May, both Hamline and Iowa State were asked by the IIB to organize ambulance units of thirty-six men for "immediate service in France."[129] Institutions throughout the nation had caught war fever, and college students found themselves frantically looking high and low for a chance at rapid deployment. At Hamline, the news was announced at chapel. Five hours and one hundred squished and exuberant bodies later, over seventy-five applications had been received by Louis R. Herrick, Hamline's IIB adjutant. It is worth noting that Hamline's peacetime student population hovered around 400 students; by May 1917, over 100 had already left to commission, enlist, or complete essential food work on family farms. Fully one-third of the remaining student body submitted applications to "join up."

At Iowa State, the notice, posted on Saturday noon, was equally oversubscribed. By Monday noon over ninety students had submitted applications.[130] In both cases, students were drilling and taking applicable classes within days of the call emanating from the IIB; by June, they were part of over 3,300 collegians training for the USAAS at Camp Crane in Allentown, Pennsylvania, fully two percent of the male undergraduate population.[131] In the same way collegiate administrators framed FSAA volunteerism as service to the college, so too did they

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[128] George Henry Nettleton, ed., *Yale In The World War*, vol. 1 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1925), 455.
[129] Jack K. Johnson, "'Our United Front': Hamline University's World War I Ambulance Company," *Minnesota History* Vol. 64, no. 8 (Winter 2015): 321; "Iowa State To Have Ambulance Unit In France," *Iowa State Student*, May 12, 1917, Vol. 42.
[130] "Hamline Ambulance Unit Will Go To France," *Hamline Oracle*, May 17, 1917, Vol. 30, No. 27; "Ames Furnishes Ambulance Corps," *The Iowa State Alumnus*, July 1917.
[131] Ginn, *Medical Service*, 47; "More Ambulance Men Called," *HC*, May 21, 1917.

frame the USAAS. Iowa State University presented their USAAS-men with a silk flag. "This flag means something I cannot express, something I cannot put into words," spoke Dean Edgar Stanton at a 31st May convocation for the ambulance men, "when you are far away across the sea, may the memories this flag brings back to you remind you of the pride we have in you and the love we bear you, and may you bring it back unsullied."[132] Other colleges gave similar silk flags to their USAAS units, imprinting a further sense of collegiate service. In many ways, just as the football men went to defend and uphold the college's honor, so too did the ambulance men go to Europe to uphold the college's honor and bring it glory on a very different battlefield.

Conclusion – Relearning the AFS's Lessons via American Inexperience

Though only a fraction of a percent of the 1.6 million Americans who saw combat during the First World War, over five percent of college undergraduates saw service as ambulance drivers with the AFS or USAAS. The number of collegians that joined the Field Service, either by attempting to fulfill their *noblesse oblige* in ambulance work or by Andrew's manipulation of their collegiate need to *do something* to peer pressure them to join the Camion, serves as proof that the collegiate lifestyle had been so engrained as to easily convince most collegians by way of sentimentalized lines. There existed a violent tension between the parties—humanitarians, tag-alongs, and adventure seekers—that found their way to 21 Rue Raynouard, however. Not all reasons for coming were considered equally as *doing something*.

George Dock considered the adventure seeking driver a "gaby" who hadn't done anything more for France than "kick Ford pedals around." He "has no claim to credit as a 'Friend of France and only should be glad that these people allow him to view the war so

[132] Dean Edgar Stanton, speech quoted in "Ames Furnishes Ambulance Corps."

adventurously," he wrote.[133] Henrry Meeker, H'13, like Dock was also deeply devoted to the French cause, holding back none of his own distaste in his letters for his fellow collegians coming to France solely for adventure and glory. "The French made me proud of being an American [but] many of the Americans make me ashamed," he confided to his parents upon arrival to 21 Rue Raynouard in June 1917.[134] Hundreds of college students were already milling about the premises, waiting for ambulances or deciding to go into the Camions, their decisions to cross the Atlantic resting in one of the three categories. "Paris is full of petty adventurers from the States just now," Meeker wrote home, "all of them are a national disgrace."[135]

The adventure seeking lot had also bought into question the actions of students already in France and their reasonings for signing-up for further six-month terms. "This letter of Aunt Sallie's makes me so sick," wrote Dock of a December 1916 letter suggesting that he was remaining in France for a second term of service with the FSAA because of his thirst for danger and adventure. "I feel it is time to argue this business out, in case you think I am sticking around France just for excitement and bloodshed," he said, "I have had all that I want for some time to come."[136] Similarly, Coleman Clark made clear to his mother before leaving in March that he didn't look upon his travel to France as "a sightseeing trip, mixed in with a lot of adventure," but rather appreciated the labor it would entail.[137] Six months later he once again make clear to his mother, so as to avoid being lumped in with the new drivers coming over seeking adventure, "I do not think I need to explain my feeling of love and patriotism for France at any greater length." "My motive is not selfishness," he said, "seeing the suffering

[133] Dock to Parents, "19 November 1916."
[134] Henry Meeker to Mother, 11 June 1917, in M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 2*, vol. 2, Memoirs of the Harvard Dead (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1921), 110.
[135] Henry Meeker to Mother, 11 June 1917, in ibid.
[136] Dock to Pa and Ma, "10 December 1916."
[137] Coleman Clark to Mother, March (Thursday) 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 12.

of all, perhaps you can appreciate my intense desire to stay and do my part."[138] It is understandable that parents, anxious to keep their children out of harm's way, would push back on them remaining in Europe for the mere reason of danger seeking. A time would come, however, when mothers and fathers would have to release their college-aged children directly onto the field of battle. The dangers of Ambulance were only a foretaste of what was to come.

As for the USAAS, the Service was not at all prepared to assume command of what Andrew and Norton had managed to create. Problems plagued the Service from the beginning. Collegiate men wrote back of widespread inexperience among commissioned line officers and enlisted men coming over from America. DeWitt Millen, Minn'01, wrote that boys who served directly with the U.S. Army "suffered" from "poor, inexperienced, [and] untrained officers." The privates in his unit, on loan to the French, rejected commissions in the U.S. Army to remain under "real officers" rather than men "who did not know any more about leading men and soldiers than a rabbit."[139] Dock had written his parents with similar sentiments in March 1917, writing of the "self-important bumpkins from Plattsburg" as "fine in parade work, but who probably could not tell a hand grenade from a trench torpedo, much less use a weapon.[140]

Where the officers had little experience leading men, the enlisted recruits in the USAAS had little practical experience in driving despite spending weeks in Allentown for the explicit purpose of training as ambulance drivers. Stevenson, commissioned as a second lieutenant in the USAAS, described one of the Allentown trainees that transferred into his unit as "know[ing] nothing about a Ford."[141] William Rice was more irate at the situation,

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[138] Coleman Clark to Mother, 22 September 1916, in ibid., 45.
[139] DeWitt C. Millen, *Memoirs of 591* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1932), 16.
[140] George Dock to Parents, "1 March 1917," March 1, 1917, DC-RSC.
[141] Stevenson, *From "Poilu" to "Yank,"* 186.

stating that the entire service was "badly run." "All the training in Allentown was time wasted," he fumed, "men were not taught to drive and were not taught French."[142] It would seem, the U.S. Army had been more concerned about drill practice than actual warfare. Lansing Warren, S'17, wrote that Allentown-men had been "given rifles and bayonets and taught the manual of arms" and, rather than learning how to shift cars, they "drilled and learned infantry tactics." A boggled Warren wrote that many "had never seen an ambulance," and, even worse, "several did not know how to drive a car."[143]

Further issues arose from the fact that the USAAS placed medical doctors in charge of maintaining the supply, repair, and upkeep of the ambulances—a similar issue plaquing the AFS when part of the American Military Hospital—rather than relegating such duties under a separate Automobile Service as the French did.[144] Under the French system, each section was overseen by an automobile officer that attended to all matters relating to the cars and their drivers, leaving the head surgeon to focus on the work of the hospital. Rice noted to his parents that doctors were "not the best administrators," and that it seemed "a pity to let their professional value be lost in office work."[145] The surgeons themselves complained of such. One officer in the USAAS wrote that physicians looked at serving in an ambulance unit with "almost as must distaste as assignment as a battalion surgeon."[146] As Andrew stated, "it was as illogical to expect doctors and surgeons to accomplish this work successfully as it would be to ask automobile experts to do surgical and medical work in the dressing stations and hospitals."[147] The USAAS, as did the entire U.S. Army, had much to learn. But just as

[142] Rice to Parents, 17 February 1918, in Rice, "With the Ambulance Service in France: The Wartime Letters of William Gorham Rice, Jr (Part II)," 25.
[143] Lansing Warren, quoted in Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers*, 167.
[144] Andrew, "Genesis," 369.
[145] Rice to Parents, 17 February 1918, in Rice, "With the Ambulance Service in France: The Wartime Letters of William Gorham Rice, Jr (Part II)," 25.
[146] Ginn, *Medical Service*, 46.
[147] Andrew, "Genesis," 370.

Pershing was insistent on an independent American army, military administrators were similarly adamant that they had no wish to take advice from collegiate veterans who had served with the French and British, even if they were American. Collegians found themselves snubbed by the very people who had championed their overseas crusade. Having labored to make straight the way for the AEF's arrival, collegians found themselves cast to the sidelines in a war that they had fought so desperately to involve the United States in.

Chapter V: The Martial Spirit of Athletics

When Princeton's most famous *Big Man* graduated in 1914, he was at a lost as to what he would do with his life outside of the collegiate fold. Voted by his class as "the man who [had] done the most for Princeton," Hobart Amory Baker, P'14, known to friends as "Hobey," embodied the martial spirit instilled in him during his collegiate years possibly more so than any other student of the Collegiate Era.[1] Remembering Hobey as an "Adonis," Grant A. Peacock, P'16, captain of the Princeton Hockey Team from 1914 to 1916, stated he was "a perfect specimen without a blemish" that had "excelled at everything he attempted."[2] In addition to gaining the varsity "P" in football and hockey, Hobey's athletic prowess extended to swimming, running, shooting, horseback riding, golf, baseball, even dancing and shuffleboard. Assistant football coach Donald Herring said that Hobey might have played on more than five varsity teams had it not been for time constraints and a restriction by the Princeton faculty limiting students to two varsity sports.[3] He was the prime example of a collegiate *Big Man*; indeed, according to Princeton historian John Davies, Hobey was "Princeton's biggest man on campus."[4] He regularly defeated Princeton's biggest rivals—Yale on the gridiron and Harvard on the ice—earning him fame among his classmates and, according to Stan Fischler, hockey historian and commentator, for the American public as well. Hobey was the "first American superstar" on the ice.[5] This "idol for hockey enthusiasts" was loved by his peers and loved by the nation.[6]

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[1] Fimrite, "A Flame That Burned Too Brightly: Hobey Baker Found Little to Live for after Starring at Princeton"; Rappleye, *Further Review*, 76.
[2] Grant A. Peacock to W. H. Baker, September 25, 1959, PUA-MML.
[3] Donald G. Herring to Turnbull, February 5, 1959, PUA-MML; also see: Rappleye, *Further Review*, 31; Davies, *Legend*, 20–21.
[4] Davies, *Legend*, 21; Rappleye, *Further Review*, 63; Fimrite, "A Flame That Burned Too Brightly: Hobey Baker Found Little to Live for after Starring at Princeton."
[5] Stan Fischler, quoted in Rappleye, *Further Review*, 38.
[6] Herring to Turnbull, February 5, 1959.

Following graduation, this young lad—unattached, immensely popular, and facing an unsure future—did what many other recent collegiate graduates had done: take a vacation to Europe. Embarking on a high-speed motorcycle tour along with his roommate Rolf Bauhan, P'14, who managed to finance the trip with dispatches of their adventures back to the States, Hobey spent the early summer tearing through Scandinavia. They made London in August, but further plans for European sightseeing had been sidetracked by the outbreak of war. Surrounded by the blind patriotism and jingoistic outbursts of young men milling around them in the metropole of the British Empire, they attempted to enlist with their motorcycles. Hundreds were already going in droves from Oxford and Cambridge and, to Hobey and Bauhan, it seemed like the collegiate thing to do. Fate intervened in a chance meeting with Augustus Trowbridge, however. The Princeton professor of physics, along with his son Cornelius, P'21, happened to be staying at the Authors' Club when they bumped into Hobey in an enlistment line on a London street. Trowbridge was insistent that the young men do not enlist. Wilson had stressed that American citizens remain neutral, and news that a star of Hobey's magnitude had enlisted would have caused an uproar back in the States among the interventionist crowd. Dissuaded, the boys decided to return to the States, but not before showing off their motorcycle skills to the unsuspecting London streets. "I doubt if I shall ever again have such a thrill as came with riding behind Hobey in London traffic," wrote Cornelius, "he rode a motorcycle exactly how he skated."[7] Once an athlete, always an athlete.

Returning to New York, Hobey took a job on Wall Street with fellow Princeton graduates. He quickly found that the life he lived outside of the collegiate arena was not of the same caliber of excitement as the life he lived as an undergraduate. Following his exit from the sheltered cloisters of Princeton, Hobey lost the lavishness of collegiate life; indeed,

[7] Cornelius P. Trowbridge to W. H. Baker, September 29, 1959, PUA-MML.

if it were not for the kindness of his new roommate, the socialite-playboy Percy Pyne, Hobey would not have retained a life of mansions, fast cars, and a valet—all of which he couldn't personally afford. He continued to wow on the ice for two more years, playing his final game with New York's St. Nicks team on 24th March 1917, but his Wall Street life was dull.[8] Over the summer of 1916, while visiting the home of an old friend in New Jersey, Hobey, just 24-years old, turned to James M. Beck and said, "I realize that my life is finished." "No matter how long I live," he mused, "it will never equal the excitement of playing on the football fields."[9]

The same feelings were exhibited by many of that generation's alumni. Removed from the excitement of the collegiate lifestyle, they found themselves longing once more for the thrill of the playing fields, the carefree atmosphere of the clubs and fraternities, and the adoration that came with their campus popularity. For alumni, the War would present itself as an adventure, a release from the dull humdrum of everyday life, and a return to something resembling the collegiate.[10] For students, war would become the climax of their collegiate manhood, the chance to prove oneself in an athletic arena much larger than the gridiron, and an opportunity to *do something* for *alma mater* in an organization larger than the fraternity or the college elevens. By the time Hobey had lamented to Beck that his life was over, hundreds of college undergraduates and alumni were finding out that their lives had only just begun. In volunteer service with humanitarian aid groups or, as Hobey had once attempted, with the British or French forces, collegians were reentering the collegiate space and fulfilling their

[8] "Hobey Baker To Play Saturday," *NYT*, March 8, 1917; "Hobey Baker Is To Play: Will Be Seen In Hockey Games Here This Week And Next," *NYT*, February 8, 1917; Jason Cato and James Kubus, "Hobey Baker, Early American Hockey Star, Has Pittsburgh Ties," *Pittsburgh Tribune*, December 27, 2010; "Hobey Baker and His Hockyists Beat Pittsburg, 3 to 2," *The Pittsburg Dispatch*, March 25, 1917.
[9] Hobey Baker to James Beck, quoted in Rappleye, *Further Review*, 108; also quoted in Fimrite, "A Flame That Burned Too Brightly: Hobey Baker Found Little to Live for after Starring at Princeton."
[10] Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 58.

need to prove their worth by *doing something* under fire. College men would come to find that their World War experience world manifest as a bigger, more complex gridiron game.

Martial Spirit – Growing Pains

The Collegiate had felt yearnings for war before. In the 1850s and 1860s, young men found themselves shielded from the Nation's daily pursuit of manhood within the college cloister. The Civil War offered them an escape from a boyhood spent languishing in libraries studying literature and ancient language, just as the Great War would offer young men the adventure of a lifetime some fifty years later. Reminders of the Civil War had been everywhere for men of Hobey's age, and the looming shadows of fathers and grandfathers who had proved their manhood under fire wore on the minds of college students as a long-lasting anxiety.[11] Indeed, the greatest legacy of previous wars had been an overwhelming and seemingly unattainable form of American manhood.[12] It was seriously questioned by older generations if young men could ever live up to the courage shown by veterans during the Civil War. From an early age, American young men were expected to possess the courage and bravery necessary to fight for what they believed in and develop the "moral honor and physical stamina" to see such a fight through to the finish, even if it meant laying down one's life for one's beliefs.[13] Collegians desperately fought to cultivate such a manhood but felt they could never live up to veterans and patriots without themselves going to war.[14] The living and breathing reminders of the Civil War had neglected their personal safety by putting themselves in harm's way for the good of the nation, and one could only get so close by playing football. David Kennedy has argued that veterans were seen as the "powerful arbiters

[11] Clark, *Creating*, 7; Margaret Summer, *Collegiate Republic: Cultivating an Ideal Society in Early America* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 197–98; Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 69.
[12] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998), 24.
[13] Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 55.
[14] Ibid., 70–71.

of popular values" in the pre-War years, and their war stories urged young men to revere war as a romantic adventure, a much needed release from the "stultifying conventions of civilized society."[15] Tales of daring escapades and intense comradeship circulated through every household, while monuments to generals, armies, and individual acts of heroism dominated the landscape. Young men came to feel as if they had missed out on the most important event in the Country's young history. Finding themselves left only with, to use historian Larzer Ziff's description, the "twice-told anecdotes, soiled uniforms, and stone monuments" of their predecessors, young men were unable to come of age under fire as their progenitors did.[16]

Collegiate students found themselves at the forefront of these discussions. According to historian Kristin Hoganson, there was always at least one veteran present on the platform of important civic events simply because they were seen to represent the "highest standards of male character and civic virtue."[17] In the collegiate realm, alumni veterans gave commencement addresses and were invited as the main speaker at club and fraternity dinners. Their presence and words only imprinted a deeper understanding in young collegians that war, and having endured war, created a distinct form of manhood.[18] Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., H'61, was one veteran who believed such. Having left Harvard his senior year to enlist with the 20th Massachusetts infantry, Holmes had set his collegiate life aside to fight for his country alongside sixty-eight percent of his graduating class.[19] He stated to the graduating class of Harvard in 1895 that the distinction of gentlemen had been based upon "the soldier's choice of honor rather than life."[20] If any Harvard graduate had "try[ed] to claim it at less cost than a splendid carelessness for life," then the young men were "trying to steal the good-will

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[15] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 178.
[16] Ziff, *The American 1890s; Life and Times of a Lost Generation*, 149.
[17] Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 25.
[18] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 206.
[19] Peter D. Hall, *Organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 223.
[20] Oliver W. Holmes, "The Soldier's Faith," *HGM*, December 1895, 181.

without the responsibilities of the place."[21] To be considered a gentleman, according to Holmes, was to have been, or be ready to be, a soldier. To attain the same measure of manhood, to be thought a gentlemen worthy of life's pleasures, young men had to show that "ultimate evidence of 'guts,'" quite literally prove their worth under fire.[22]

Similar addresses to students across the nation were not taken lightly. That college men of ages past had done their duty for their nation, leaving behind all the pleasures of their cloistered life, was a constant reminder built into the very fabric of the colleges they attended. At Yale, students went to daily chapel under the chiseled names of Yale men that had given the last full measure; at Harvard, the classes ate their meals in the cathedral-like memorial dedicated to the heroics of men like Robert Gould Shaw; and at Princeton and Brown, buildings which had served the Continental Army in the American Revolution as barracks or hospitals stood as steady reminders to the colleges' firsthand role in the violent birth of the American nation.[23] Even the sports grounds, the beating heart of the college, became reminders of the nation's bloody history. At the dedication of Harvard's Soldiers Field in 1890, Henry L. Higginson, whose friends included many of Harvard's most famous sons who gave their lives in the Civil War, stated that his wish was to not only "promote manly sports" but to "commemorate the soldier of 1861."[24] By naming the football field *Soldiers* Field, Higginson hoped that it would remind students of their "duties as men and citizens of the Republic."[25]

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[21] Ibid.
[22] Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 55.
[23] George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College, An Educational History 1871-1921* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1952), 439; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936*, 450–61; Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity," 18; Thelin, *A History*, 1.
[24] Henry Lee Higginson, *Four Addresses by Henry Lee Higginson*, ed. D.B. Updike (Boston, Massachusetts: The Merrymount Press, 1902), 6.
[25] Ibid., 23.

Farther West, reminders of violence and heroics went far beyond collegiate buildings and football arenas as young colleges found themselves woven directly into the fabric of an ongoing violent and dispossessive expansion. For students at Texas A&M, founded 1876, warfare, militarism, and military service were ubiquitous parts of their collegiate experience.[26] During the forty-plus years from the founding of the Republic of Texas to the opening of Texas A&M, the State's first institution of higher education, Texans had fought a bloody revolution and subsequent war with Mexico, sent a generation of young men to fight and die on battlefields in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and weathered a contentious occupation during reconstruction, all the while dealing with a fierce counterinsurgency against tribes of American Indians, roving gangs of desperados and bandits, and all the hell associated with the settlement of a vast dangerous and unknown frontier.[27] That Texas A&M opened its doors as both a military school as well as an institution of higher education is not surprising.

Monuments, speeches, and student military training served their purpose for instilling in students the qualities of self-sacrifice and loyalty to the nation. "We loved life as only hopeful youth can love it," wrote an alumnus of Yale when viewing a Civil War memorial on campus, "but that stained marble slab almost spoke aloud the suggestion that there could be things more precious than life."[28] During the Spanish-American War, efforts of Civil War veterans to cultivate a fighting spirit proved effective and the U.S. Army received a flood of volunteers. So much so that the army had to turn away more than fifty percent of them.[29] The emergence of younger, more relatable veterans brought the importance of martial manhood once again to the forefront of civic responsibility for those who had served and those who

[26] Dethloff and Adams, *Aggies Go To War*, 5.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Sideliner, "Following the Ball, The College Goes to War," *The Outing Magazine*, March 1918, 410.
[29] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 218.

wished they had been able to.[30] The deeds of collegiate sportsmen in Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders circulated widely among athletic and socialite communities, propelling collegiate veterans to forefront of the collegiate conscious unlike that of Civil War veterans and setting a precedent for future collegiate volunteerism to attain.[31] Richard Harding Davis, prominent war correspondent and John's Hopkins graduate, popularized Roosevelt's collegiate volunteers while also contending that their athletic training had steeled them for war. The same spirit that had once sent student-soldiers "down a white-washed field against their opponents' rush-line," Davis stated, was the same spirit that sent them "through the high hot grass at Guasimas, not shouting, as their friends the cowboys did, but each with his mouth tightly shut, with his eyes on the ball, and moving in obedience with the captain's orders."[32] Focus, determination, and loyalty were the characteristics collegians had shown under fire—they were also the characteristics cultivated in collegiate sport. The martial feats of collegiate volunteers, rather than the noble purpose which drew praise for Civil War veterans, served as concrete examples of manhood that student athletes could attain if given the chance.[33] As veterans had been telling students for more than forty years, warfare could prove to be the climax of a student's life.[34]

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[30] Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 109; Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 204–5; see also: Paul L. Atwood, *War and Empire: The American Way of Life*, 1st ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2010); Ivan Musicant, *Empire By Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998); Philip S Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism 1895-1902. 1898-1902 2 2* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972); John P. Langellier, *Uncle Sam's Little Wars: The Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion, 1898-1902*, The G.I. Series 15 (London: Greenhill, 1999).
[31] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 191; also see: Clay Risen, *The Crowded Hour: Theodore Roosevelt, The Rough Riders, and the Dawn of the American Century* (New York, New York: Scribner, 2019).
[32] Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 140–41.
[33] Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 109; E. Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle-Class Manhood, 1770-1920," *Journal of Social History* 16, no. 4 (Summer 1983): 28.
[34] Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition*, 56.

Martial Spirit – Collegiate Superstars

With the martial spirit of their fathers and grandfathers looming in their minds, the peer pressure of an urgent need to *do something* circulating around them, and the warlike temperament of the playing fields lingering in their blood, students felt compelled to fight. Following America's declaration of war, students began volunteering, enlisting, and commissioning in large numbers. The entire senior class of Texas A&M, along with fourteen percent of the studentships of Clemson Agricultural College and the North Carolina College of A&E (N.C. State University), departed immediately for Officers Training Camps when news of America's entrance reached them.[35] Even Edmond James, President of the University of Illinois, reveled that he felt the same pressures to *do something* as did the athletes, stating, "I never wished to be older for but the one reason that I might have carried a musket in our Great Civil War; and I have never wished to be younger for but one reason, that I might now be serving a machine gun in the blood-stained fields of France."[36] Eagerly recalling their colleges' martial pasts, students went following in the footsteps of Civil War veterans. "I am proud to be a Brown man and I am proud of the lively interest Brown is showing," wrote James Hamilton Jr., B'06, "Brown did herself nobly in the Civil War and she will do the same in this war."[37] By *doing something* for the war effort students and graduates would not only make their peers proud, but they would also join a long list of alumni that had brought glory upon their institutions in previous wars.

Whether spurred by the words of college mates around them or moved by an overbearing sense of urgency and last chances proliferating collegiate spaces, the War would offer a release for students and alumni. Harvard graduate John Dos Passos, H'16, reflecting

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[35] Tim Peeler, "World War I Transformed NC State," April 6, 2017, https://news.ncsu.edu/2017/04/world-war-i-transformed-nc-state/; Dethloff and Adams, *Aggies Go To War*, 36.
[36] Edmund J. James, "The College Man and the War, Commencement Address at the University of Illinois" (Booklet, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, June 14, 1918), 9, UA-UoI.
[37] James Hamilton Jr. to William H. P. Faunce, April 11, 1918, BUA.

on why he went, recalled that his generation "had spent our boyhood in the afterglow of the peaceful nineteenth century." "Hell," he said, "I wanted to see the show."[38] Lamar Aldridge, Ala'15, similarly wrote to his sister that the War was simply "the greatest show on earth."[39] "I wouldn't miss it for any thing," he wrote, "I'm seeing more here in a month than I would at home in three score years and ten, and I wouldn't miss it."[40] This sentiment only intensified as collegiate men neared the fighting. R. E. MacKenzie, C'17, stated upon arrival to the front, "we got what we had been asking for in Paris, almost the day we left it—excitement!"[41] Despite working for seventy hours at a time, MacKenzie found it "pleasant" that "no alarm-clock will waken you at 7 to attend a lecture on Roman Lawyers and their friends by an esteemed professor."[42] Instead, a rough hand would wake MacKenzie and his fellow collegians at 5AM and they would immediately go to work carrying wounded men. War was a break from the norm. William L. Langer, H'15, wrote that many of his classmates worried that life "would run in the familiar, routine channel" if they did not go, and so they "could not afford to pass it up."[43]

Bombs, trench raids, shrapnel, and hard living broke the monotony and dullness of graduate life while offering thrill and danger for undergraduates searching for such in the normal schedule of football games, club meetings, and study hours. For both, it offered "experiences," or, as Aldridge put it to his brothers, "pleasures that could not be obtained elsewhere."[44] These "pleasures" and "experiences" were often the enactment of a more brutal and deadly physical violence than what could be enacted on collegiate sports grounds.[45]

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[38] Dos Passos, *Initiation*, 4–5.
[39] Lamar Aldridge to Sister, May 23, 1918, Lamar Aldridge Papers, UA-UoA.
[40] Ibid.
[41] R. E. MacKenzie, undated letter, in Sampson, *Camion Letters*, 53.
[42] R. E. MacKenzie, undated letter, in ibid., 56.
[43] William L. Langer and Robert B. MacMullin, *With "E" of the First Gas, by Sergeant William L. Langer and Private Robert B. MacMullin* (New York, New York: Holting Printing Co., 1919).
[44] Lamar Aldridge to Henri and John, June 8, 1918, Lamar Aldridge Papers, UA-UoA.
[45] Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 108.

George Keyports Brady, I'16&'23, wrote Kendric Babcock, Dean of Engineering at Illinois, that war was "a great old game," one "full-blooded" and from which "the weaklings are so quickly eliminated."[46] In the trenches, as on the football pitch, only the most virile and strong could survive—war became the return to savagery that young men were so desperately looking for at the turn of the century. "Call me savage if you like, my dear Dean," wrote Brady, "but I am enjoying the war game and the way things look now I am going to have a long time to appreciate its charms."[47] Aldridge echoed Brady, writing his sister that the war was "a young man's greatest game" and that "with it all I'm enjoying it, and never felt better in my life."[48] As Kennedy has argued that France allowed doughboys to "give vent to dangerous impulses that must be suppressed in civil society," much like how the American West allowed for previous generations to live off the land while constantly on the move facing both hidden and known dangers, the War offered a chance for collegians to take part in what they saw as their generation's foundational event. It was, as described by Salter Clark, Y'12, "the great adventure" for young men of the age.[49] It was a chance to experience the thrill that Civil War veterans had so often spoken of, so much so that collegians went looking for opportunities to prove their manhood. Earl Williford, MS'17, wrote to his mother that there was "no no-mans land with us." The men under his command, fellow Mississippi State graduates which he described as "everyone a hero and not afraid of the devil himself," went daily into no man's land looking for their chance at glory.[50] And collegiate aviators, who faced a heightened chance of death due to accidents, viewed themselves as pursuing the last unexplored American frontier.[51] For those "simply fascinated by the prospect of adventure

[46] George R. Brady to Dean Kendric Charles Babcock, December 13, 1917, UA-UoI.
[47] Ibid., 3.
[48] Aldridge to Sister, May 23, 1918.
[49] Salter Clark to Mother, 18 March 1918, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 138.
[50] Earl Southworth Williford to Mother, September 26, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[51] Wortman, *Millionaires' Unit*, 33.

and heroism," it was, as described by Langer, the "one great chance for excitement and risk."[52] Students had been waiting for their chance to experience a great man-making event such as the Civil War, and they were loath pass up the opportunity.

Hobey had no plans to, endeavoring to join the fledgling Army Air Service not long after his conversation with Beck. The training camps of 1916 had drawn him in. They thronged, as noted by a Wisconsin volunteer, with an "atmosphere somewhat like that of a college campus on the eve of a big game."[53] In truth, many of Hobey's former competitors on the ice and gridiron had already gone into training. If the make-up of Camp Crane in Allentown, Pennsylvania, for the USAAS is any indication of other training camps around the country, Hobey reentered the collegiate milieu. Over seventy percent of the 6,000 trainees in Allentown were college students from forty different institutions. Among them were some of the most famous football players of the day: Dudley Clarke, Ore'09, All-Northeastern Halfback in 1910 and 1911, Charley Barrett, C'15, All-American Quarterback of 1914 and 1915 and Halfback of 1917, Bernard Gerrish, DC'17, All-American Halfback of 1917, and fifteen other All-American football players.[54] Indeed, so many football stars were present at Camp Crane that they formed a "Cinderella Team" to tour the northeast as a promotional group for the USAAS.[55]

Commissioning in the Armed Forces was a chance to reinvent dull post-college life and regain the thrill which Hobey and his fellow collegians were once accustomed to. These thrills continued to be associated with collegiate life. Soon after enlisting, Hobey participated

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[52] Langer and MacMullin, *With "E" of the First Gas, by Sergeant William L. Langer and Private Robert B. MacMullin*.
[53] Edmund P. Arpin Jr. and Ira Berlin, "A Wisconsinite in World War I: Reminiscences of Edmund P. Arpin, Jr. (Part I: Initiation)," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* Vol. 51, no. 1 (Autumn 1967): 6.
[54] "The USSACS Are Coming," *The Outing Magazine*, April 1918, 39; Ginn, *Medical Service*, 47.
[55] "The United States Army Ambulance Corps Game," *Georgetown College Journal*, December 1917; John Hibner and Bob Royce, "The Cinderella Team of 1917," *College Football Historical Society Newsletter* Vol. VII (November 1993): 7–9.

in what was then the largest formation cross-country flight…to a football game. It was called the "Football Special," as Hobey and eleven other pilots flew from airbases in New York to the Princeton-Yale football game on 19th November 1916. Make no mistake, this was a military operation, but one deeply rooted in the collegiate traditions of the service members. Over 40,000 people watched as Hobey and his wing-mates performed loops and rolls above the stadium, close enough for the fans to recognize Hobey and cheer their signature "Here He Comes!," before they landed in a field adjoining the gridiron and joined the spectators in the stands.[56] "I can recall as if it were yesterday the thrill 'Hobey' Baker gave us at a football game at Princeton," wrote William H. Edwards, P'99, "he was recognized as his machine flew close to the ground and received a mighty cheer."[57] Hobey's enlistment, and that of many other graduates, only brought him back into the collegiate fold.

Hobey departed for France in the late summer of 1917 filled with eager anticipation to get into action. It was a laborious and elongated crossing, as his ship, the *Orduna*, was forced to wait in Halifax for over a week while its transatlantic convoy finished marshalling. When he finally reached Paris, he was forced with yet more waiting.[58] Winter was nigh, and the training camps were soon to settle into a period of repose until the weather cleared. "This is a horrible disappointment," he said, "it's just like having the Yale game put off a year the day before it was to be played."[59] Already Hobey was beginning to compare his military life to that of his collegiate experiences. He spent that fall training at Avord, making leisure trips to London and Paris throughout the winter. Though Hobey's letters downplayed his own notoriety while training, he was popular enough to warrant letters home about him from other college students. In one instance while in training at Cazaux—during an event that "almost

[56] "Airship Squad Flies To A Football Game," *NYT*, November 19, 1916.
[57] "Tells Of Baker's Skill As A Flier," *NYT*, December 28, 1918.
[58] Hobey Baker to Father, July 27, 1917, PUA-MML.
[59] Hobey Baker to Father, August 26, 1917, PUA-MML.

lead to his undoing"—Hobey tangled his plane in the rigging lines of a captive balloon. The balloon was pulled loose, his plane's propeller was smashed, and fabric wrapped around his left wing, yanking his plane to the ground in a 7,000-foot freefall.[60] The entire American contingent on the ground had "gave him up for lost," but, according to Charles Biddle, P'11, Hobey was known as "one of those who never give up and realized that in aviation the surest way to lose your life is to lose your head."[61] Hobey, channeling the quick reflexes and cool head he honed while on the rink and gridiron, managed to guide his machine safely to the airfield. American and Frenchmen alike rushed the field and pulled him from the wreckage where the surprised Baker was warmly congratulated for the deed and "quite a welt across his head," his battle scar.[62] George Dock, finally securing his discharge from the Field Service and commissioning into aviation training, was serving at the same air school as Hobey when the incident occurred. He wrote his parents that Hobey's actions proved to him that Baker was "one of the best pilots I ever saw."[63] Hobey, still reeling from the adrenaline and always the humble narrator, simply wrote Percy, "I thought I was about to be killed, and it did not seem to worry me particularly."[64]

While having come so close to death did not faze Hobey, it came as a great surprise to him on 8th February when the mail brought congratulations for something else: his first confirmed kill. Only Hobey was in Paris at the time. He was distraught at the news. "I feel horribly," he wrote Percy, "the last mail here from home brought congratulations on that G. D. newspaper story."[65] Writing his father the same day, he expressed that he had not recovered from the shock of his "cheap newspaper name and notoriety," telling his father, "I

[60] Charles J. Biddle, "Captain Hobart Baker's Career in the Service," *PAW*, January 15, 1919, 279.
[61] Ibid.
[62] George Dock to Pa and Ma, "16 Jan 1918," January 16, 1918, DC-RSC.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Hobey Baker to Percy Payne, October 25, 1917, PUA-MML.
[65] Hobey Baker to Percy Payne, February 8, 1918, PUA-MML.

almost cried when I read your letter, so full of pride and happiness and here I was the innocent cause, placidly sitting in Paris without never having been near the front."[66] Two months later Hobey received another shock when Biddle shared with him a copy of the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* from 6th February in which letters to his Father were being reprinted. "Though he has said nothing about it in his letters home," the 6th February edition of the *Alumni Weekly* wrote, "it has been learned indirectly that Lieutenant Baker is regarded on the other side as one of the most accomplished fliers in the allied service."[67] The false report of his first kill was still circulating and, in a time when college men judged each other by their deeds, was beginning to draw negative criticism from those around him. This criticism only heightened as newspapers and magazines began reporting more outlandish kill tallies, with one Denver newspaper reporting a total of ten downed German planes.[68]

Hobey had yet to earn his first kill and recoiled at the thought of the press reporting that he had. "I have enough notoriety now and people over here do nothing but kid me and make me feel that I had a hand in every rumor," he wrote his father, "I don't think you realize how this affects me and…means to many a confirmation of their thoughts about me."[69] He was always hateful of the press, hiding from photographers and reporters after games when still at Princeton.[70] An adherent of modesty and good-sportsmanship, it was not unlike him to labor over the truth and the ways his male counterparts perceived him. In a hockey game against Yale, he and another player rammed the sideboards while going after the puck, landing Hobey underneath the Yale player. The referee, suspecting foul play, threw the Yale player off the ice. Hobey "jumped up with an expression of indignation and pleading," wrote

[66] Hobey Baker to Father, February 8, 1918, PUA-MML.
[67] "Latest Letters From Lieutenant Hobart A. H. Baker '14," *PAW*, February 6, 1918.
[68] Robert Edgren, "Baker's Air Triumphs Uncanny Just Like Other Achievements," *The Rockey Mountain News (Daily)*, May 19, 1918, Vol. 59, No. 139.
[69] Hobey Baker to Father, April 3, 1918, PUA-MML.
[70] Rappleye, *Further Review*, 69, 76; Davies, *Legend*, 73.

Toland. "Oh, please sir," Hobey cried, "don't do that…he didn't go into me. He was after the puck; and if you put him off it may cost them the game."[71] Such was the respect for sportsmanship and fair play that Hobey brought to the air game. Hobey couldn't take credit for things he had not done himself, to do so would have been, as Holmes had spoke, to "steal the good-will without the responsibilities of the place."[72] Despite the negative notoriety, fellow collegians still wanted to fly with him. "He has all the talent for an ace," wrote Dock, claiming that he would "give a lot" to have flown with him.[73] This did little to console Hobey, as he found himself further exasperated on account of the expectations that an entire nation had placed on his shoulders. According to Baker's biographer, Tim Rappleye, false stories of Hobey's war heroics only circulated because of his achievements during his football and hockey years at Princeton.[74] It was expected that he would down a German plane each time he went up just as it had been expected that he would score a touchdown each time he stepped on the gridiron or score a goal each time he slid across the ice. "Baker…[is] to-day making good in France because [he has] always made good in games which called for the same kind of resourcefulness as the one in which [he is] now engaged," wrote the *Outing* in one of its many articles on athletic stars in the nation's service.[75] "It all sort of forces me to do well and I am not at all sure I can," Hobey confided in his father, "I am horribly worried now that I will never be any good."[76]

The adulation and immense pressure that followed Hobey in his collegiate days continued to haunt him as it did other athletic stars long after their departure for the armed forces. Collegiate sport heroes hardly ever escaped their national status as such. They were

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[71] E. D. Toland to W. H. Baker, October 5, 1959, PUA-MML.
[72] Holmes, "The Soldier's Faith," 181.
[73] George Dock to Pa and Ma, "3 September 1918," September 3, 1918, DC-RSC.
[74] Rappleye, *Further Review*, x.
[75] Sideliner, "Field Sports, The College Athlete at War," *The Outing Magazine*, April 1918, 56.
[76] Baker to Father, April 3, 1918.

household names, and the "adulation" which they received had reached a fever pitch "approaching deification" in the national presses.[77] To those that knew Robert Meacham, Y'07, they worshiped him like a hero. "I was just a green youngster," wrote a classmate in Meacham's Section, "[but] Bob's kindly nature and his clean cut ways made me secretly idolize him;" and another, a mother that knew him, wrote that she wished her son had known Meacham so that he might have had a proper role model to fashion himself after.[78] Second Lieutenant Arthur Helgeson Mason, I'16, Battalion Telephone Officer for the 332nd Field Artillery, expressed that he had not only the expectations of his parents upon his shoulders but also that of the World and of God. Considered by the people of Illinois as "one of the greatest track distance runners in Illinois history" for having run the mile in four minutes and 18.4 seconds, Mason was an integral member of the 1914-15-16 track teams and served as chairman of the Cap and Gown graduation committee.[79] He was another Big Man and star student athlete whose post-collegiate life followed the same dull finance line in Chicago as that of his counterparts in New York.[80] He remained in-tune to the goings-on in Europe throughout 1916 from his work desk, frequently writing his parents of his opinions on the War. Eventually he joined with friends from the University of Illinois in attending an Officer's Training Camp in May 1917.[81] He believed that the War would increase his manhood while giving him proper training for real-life, a belief many of his fellow collegians shared. "I am going to come out of this war a bigger man," he wrote, "I should become forceful, self-confident, and big-hearted; all of which will make me a bigger, better man than I otherwise would have been."[82] Mason's thoughts still revolved around others' expectations

[77] Bishop and Kingsbury, *A History of Cornell*, 414.
[78] Seymour, *Memorial*, 48.
[79] Arthur H. Mason, "Arthur H. Mason Officer's Identity Card" 1916, UA-UoI; Arthur H. Mason, "332nd Field Artillery Directory," 1917, UA-UoI; "Mason Track Achievement Newspaper Clipping," n.d., UA-UoI.
[80] Arthur H. Mason to Parents, September 18, 1916, UA-UoI.
[81] Arthur H. Mason to Parents, November 26, 1916, UA-UoI; Arthur H. Mason to Parents, December 12, 1918, UA-UoI; Arthur H. Mason to Parents, May 7, 1917, UA-UoI.
[82] Arthur H. Mason to Parents, August 12, 1917, UA-UoI.

of him remaining the champion, however. He likened his officer's training to "training season for the big field day," writing his mother on 3rd September 1918 that his training was for "a greater field day than any in which I have here-to-for competed."[83] Fashioning himself as a champion for "my own dear parents, the world liberty, and God himself," he took on the great the expectations of the same.[84] "May the Lord make me worthy and a true fighter," he wrote.[85]

It was complicated for athletic stars to ever escape their collegiate accomplishments. There was the constant expectation that they would continue to excel no matter what they did. Hobey was continually reminded of his Princeton career during the War, always being referred to as "former captain of the Princeton football team" or "former athletic star" in the papers.[86] George Dock introduced Hobey as a "Princeton athlete of note" and "one of the best hockey players extant" to his parents, further proving that what one had accomplished in collegiate life still held great sway outside of the college grounds.[87] Strangers from across the nation lauded him with poems and prose. One poem, written in a Philadelphia paper and reproduced for the *Princeton Alumni News*, sung Hobey's praises as a born "record breaker" for his "fledgling bid for glory, in the playboy pranks of Princeton." Such an athletic "star of stars" had become a "shaker of the crude Teutonic faker," a "champion at hockey, as a would, aerial jockey."[88] Another admirer in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* termed the "young god," a "fine representative of American athletics" that would "carry its spirit of sportsmanship from puck and football up into French skies."[89] This spirit of good

[83] Arthur H. Mason to Parents, September 3, 1918, UA-UoI.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] "Hobey Baker Downs Foe," *NYT*, January 9, 1918; "'Hobey' Baker's New Feat: Makes Almost Perpendicular Air Climb in France," *NYT*, January 3, 1918; "Honors 'Hobey' Baker," *NYT*, July 15, 1921; "Died In Farewell Flight," *NYT*, January 23, 1919.
[87] Dock to Pa and Ma, "16 Jan 1918."
[88] "Hobey Baker's First Hunbird; Hobey Baker, Quaker," *PAW*, January 16, 1918.
[89] "Athletics and Patriotism," *PAW*, January 23, 1918.

sportsmanship had taught students how to fight fair on the gridiron, it was also presented by the writer as same spirit which taught Hobey and his fellow athletes to meet death with "eyes open and unafraid."[90] To have stepped foot on the gridiron was to have risked life and limb for the college; to fly airplanes or lead troops across no-man's land was to risk life and limb for the nation. Dying was never something that college athletes had to learn how to do, as they were already familiar with the risks.

Martial Spirit – "This is a Big League Game and I Love It"

It was not long before Hobey began to settle into the air game as he had the gridiron game. Throughout the course of 1918, he began to write his father of the War in more definite collegiate and sporting terms. These letters to his father, continually comparing flying to football, are an illumination of just how affected he was by his immersion into the collegiate lifestyle while at Princeton. "You handle your machine instinctively just as you dodge instinctively when running with the ball in an open field," he wrote early on.[91] In 1918, after his first taste of battle, he wrote his father, "I am still all excited over it just as I used to be after a big game."[92] And, when flying became second hand For Hobey, the whole business was "just like going out to play football."[93] Just before the War's end in late October Hobey wrote of missing the "easiest chance I had since I have been on the lines." He had managed to ambush a "Hun" biplane while out on patrol but had misjudged the distance and, his speed being too high, was forced to disengage to avoid a full-on collision. Hobey beat himself up over loss as if he had missed a goal in a hockey game. In truth, that's exactly how he felt, writing his father after the event that it "was just like missing a goal when you have gotten

[90] Ibid.
[91] Hobey Baker to Father, March 20, 1918, PUA-MML.
[92] Hobey Baker to Father, 21 May 1918, in Hobey Baker, *Tempting Fate, Hobey Baker and Robert Stiles Face the Red Baron's Flying Circus*, ed. Richard Stiles Greeley (Princeton, New Jersey: R. S. Greeley, 2014).
[93] Hobey Baker to Father, 15 June 1918, in ibid.

past the defense and have only the goal keeper to stop you."[94] Whether captain of the team or captain of the squadron, the newspapers presented Hobey as "making a reputation in the air as he did on the hockey rink."[95] Hobey did little to disconnect from his former superstar status and, if anything, he was acting as if he were back on the gridiron. Indeed, his first command as squadron leader was to have the planes painted in Princeton's familiar orange and black with a tiger ripping at a German helmet.[96] "It may be rah, rah, rah," Hobey wrote of his *alma mater*'s colors, "[but] it will be damn pretty."[97] When Hobey finally got his first kill on 21st May 1918, one collegiate writer mused that "I suspect that this deed meant hardly more to him than did a touchdown in the Yale game."[98] The sportswriter "Sideliner" was correct in his suspicion—Hobey wrote his father, "this certainly is a big-league game, and I love it."[99]

Hobey was not the only student-soldier to write about his experiences through the lens of collegiate athletics; indeed, the war-like spectacles on the gridiron and ice had instilled the martial temperament in player and spectator alike. Continually questioning their own courage, wondering if they would be able to show the same bravery as the generations before them, student attempts to enact their own battles on gridiron and in the rink would serve them, *and their nation*, ever-so well when war broke out in Europe.[100] Historian John Pettegrew emphasized that sports had played a major role as a "motivator for less enthusiastic recruits" during the War, especially for young men who had never gone to college but were

[94] Hobey Baker to Wendel Khun, October 29, 1918, PUA-MML.
[95] "'Hobey' Baker's New Feat: Makes Almost Perpendicular Air Climb in France."
[96] Biddle, "Captain Hobart Baker's Career in the Service," 281; Rappleye, *Further Review*, 159; McKinley, *Roof on Winter*, 103–4.
[97] Hobey Baker to Wendel Khun, "Rah Rah Rah," October 23, 1918, PUA-MML.
[98] Sideliner, "Field Sports, The College Athlete at War," 56.
[99] Hobey Baker to Father, "Big-League Game," April 23, 1918, PUA-MML.
[100] Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity," 16; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 21–26, 28–29.

equally well versed in collegiate sporting through spectating.[101] The army newspaper *Stars and Stripes* had "infused a distinct element of *play*" into the War by drawing parallels between war and sport, Pettegrew contended, a practice which "molded the doughboy in his attitude and participation in the Allied cause" along the lines of playing for and supporting the home team.[102] For student-soldiers and alumni, this element of play had already been pre-inoculated both physically and mentally during their time in college. Student letters from the time are littered with sports terms and references to big games, collegiate rivalries, and familiar football songs. The War was collegiately familiar in both the sporting terms collegians could use to describe it and in the use of quick adrenaline instincts that they had honed in their college years.[103]

"My life in the army has been not unlike that which I experienced in my athletic days," wrote Arthur Mason.[104] War stirred within him the similar feelings felt while participating in athletic contests, and did so for many collegians. Goerge Dock had wrote that Armistice Day was "on a more intense scale, like the night after a Harvard-Yale game in New York or Boston."[105] "Such rejoicing I have seldom seen, even after football games," he proclaimed, "they went through the town waving flags, singing, and kissing every girl in sight—a strange and amusing scene."[106] It is not hard to imagine similar scenes of revelry following the Harvard-Yale game in Springfield or, indeed, any other collegiate match around the county. Captain Edward J. Stackpole Jr., Y'15, harkened back to old football rivalries following the death of his friend Leonard Jackson, H'19, when he wrote that, "in spite of the traditional athletic hostility between Harvard and Yale, we two sons of those respective

[101] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 242.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid., 242–43.
[104] Mason to Parents, September 3, 1918.
[105] George Dock to Pa and Ma, "12 Nov 1918," November 12, 1918, DC-RSC.
[106] George Dock to Pa and Ma, "13 Nov 1918," November 13, 1918, DC-RSC.

institutions got along like brothers" during trench raids.[107] Branton Kellogg, H'15, wrote that while moving to the front he, "felt the way [he] used to when packing to play football in another town."[108] And another soldier, a former football player at West Point, told the *Outing* that being lost in no man's land between English and German machine gun fire was akin to "about the way one feels when he's waiting for the kick-off" at a football game.[109]

The connection between war and sport was most prominent among student athletes electing to become aviators. It had been widely reported in sports publications at the time that student athletes felt there was no difference between going into ariel combat and going into an athletic game. "Aviators say again and again," wrote the *Outing*, "that they do not feel any different upon entering an air battle than in an athletic competition."[110] Warren Tucker Hobbs, D'19, described by a classmate as a "one man track team," considered aviation to be "the most fascinating game I have ever played…it is even better than hurdling."[111]And two Illinois men, Robert P. Alexander, I'16, and Edmund Turney Allen, I'20, proclaimed to their former College Dean that "flying is the greatest sport in the world," with the former stating that "we [read: athletes] are all crazy about it."[112]

Flying allowed athletes to fashion themselves as gallant knights of old in an arena where chivalry still prevailed over the dust and carnage below. While mud-caked armies slugged it out in hand-to-hand combat over pock-marked and rat-infested trenches, aviators swam in lakes and rivers, played cards, took naps, and avoided the gas barrages and suicidal charges through no-mans-land as if they were on one of the many football retreats before a

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[107] Capt. Edward J. Stackpole Jr. on Leonard Jackson, in M. A. DeWolfe Howe and Others, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 4*, vol. 4, Memoirs of the Harvard Dead (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1923), 104–5.
[108] Branton Holstein Kellogg, 24 September 1918, in ibid., 4:438.
[109] Sideliner, "Field Sports, The College Athlete at War," 56.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Warren T. Hobbs, quoted in Seymour, *Memorial*, 109.
[112] Edmund T. Allen to Thomas Arkle Clark, October 11, 1917, UA-UoF; Robert P. Alexander, "Untitled Newspaper Clipping," n.d., UA-UoI.

big game.[113] Hobey routinely slept late, missing many chances to down a German plane in morning sorties, while Arthur Kimber wrote that his wing had ample time to sightsee around France at their leisure. "Imagine the wonderful time that eleven regular Americans, *all college men*…can have when they go sightseeing in the chateau district of France, in aeroplanes," Author Kimber wrote his mother, "we pick out what we want to see and then land and see it, staying as long as we like or as long as we think we have excuse for not flying back to camp."[114] Such independence was only available to flyers, and becoming an aviator meant considerable leeway in doing as one wished.

By 1918 the skies were filled with young collegiate men largely left to their own devices. Many athletes had found themselves drawn to the fledgling Army Air Service because flying offered them an outlet for the quick reflexes and daring instincts they honed on the game fields, and the relative independence granted to pilots offered more chances for individual gallantry and adventure. Similarities between air matches and collegiate sports further enticed athletes. Wings of ten to twenty planes would engage with an enemy of similar number while flying in strategic formations kept secret from the opposing pilots. Individual pilots skirmished, ducking and dodging their opponents in dogfights while following the signals of their wing (read: team) captain. The art of flying mirrored the art of playing football. Of greater importance to athletes, flying allowed them to take to the skies with the same feelings of good sportsmanship as they did when they took to the athletic field. The men gave honorable funerals for their foes, sent downed pilots' medals and accoutrements back across the lines, shook hands with their captors, and generally held their opponents in high regard.[115] Thus aviation was thought of as a gentlemen's war by students, a

[113] George Robert Christie, *Wooden Props and Canvas Wings: Recollections and Reflections of a World War I Pilot*, ed. Robert William Christie (Bloomington, Indiana: Martin Meadow Press, 2009), 91; Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 246.
[114] Kimber to Mother, 26 November 1917, in Kimber, Gregory, and Nurser, *An American*, 234.
[115] Davies, *Legend*, 98; Rappleye, *Further Review*, 109.

sportsmanlike contest between men of a similar caliber and station not unlike football or ice hockey.

Conclusion – The War Game

It is no surprise that collegiate athletes had been drawn to the battlefields, they had been mentally and physically prepared for war on the sports grounds of their colleges. The battlefields of the First World War were, according to Sideliner, but a "variation of the football field and the cinder-path," a simple question of "adapting fundamental elements to different conditions."[116] It had long been believed that athletics created men fit for the battlefield. In 1906, at the height of the national football scandal, Dr. W.R.C. Latson, a medical doctor turned self-defense expert, wrote that the collegian who said to himself, "I am going to break down that guard no matter what the consequences—even if I break my collar-bone, break my arm, my leg, or lose my life," was exactly the collegians who would "also walk up to the cannon's mouth or face other exigency of life in exactly the same spirit."[117] Merle Baker, B'03, believed so, stating confidently that "Brown-bred boys" would "bring credit upon alma mater in this great game, as they have in years gone by on diamond and gridiron."[118] The same feeling pervaded at Harvard, where Gordon C. King, H'17, wrote a professor that he hoped the Harvard students in France would "make good and justify ourselves and our university" as had the sports teams and Civil War veterans.[119]

No collegiate athlete was found wanting. By April 1918, some ninety to one hundred percent of the nation's collegiate athletes were in the nation's service. Entire teams followed their coaches and captains into enlistment. Hobey's enlistment even drew many of his former teammates to the aviation service; indeed, the entire front line of Princeton's hockey team

[116] Sideliner, "Field Sports, The College Athlete at War," 56.
[117] Latson, "The Moral Effects of Athletics," 390.
[118] Merle Taft Barker to William H. P. Faunce, March 29, 1918, BUA.
[119] Gordon King to Charles Townsend Copeland, 29 Nov. 1917, in "Papers," vol 3, 33-36.

enlisted out of a "common accord" when they heard of Hobey having gone ahead.[120] Similar occurred at Texas A&M when Dana X. Bible, Carson-Newman University'12, the popular football coach who took the TAMU team to the championship in 1917, departed shortly after his team's championship win to become a pilot. Within weeks, all of the TAMU sports captains had gone ahead, and by Christmas entire teams elected to follow their captains into the service.[121] Yale's football, track, and baseball teams had a one hundred percent enlistment rate, as did the Princeton football team.[122] Indeed, so many athletes left the colleges that one writer bemoaned that colleges and universities were left in a complete "paralysis of athletic activities."[123]

This had been the ultimate goal of collegiate athletics. To produce virile, martial, and warlike men; students-turned-soldiers who were eager, ready, and blindly willing to fight for their country. "This war has come nearer justifying our methods in intercollegiate athletics than we had thought possible," wrote LeBarron Russel Briggs, H'75, Harvard University's first Dean of Men, championing the fact that collegiate athletes from across the county had volunteered for military service without question.[124] Reflecting on the service record of collegiate athletes in September 1918, students that Briggs himself had interacted with time and again while dealing with their needs at Harvard, Briggs answered the question that had been on many minds since the end of the Civil War: could young men ever live up to the courage shown by the previous generations? "These pampered boys," he wrote, "gave proof unmistakable that they were not spoiled, that they still were men, or, rather, *were men at last*;

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[120] "Hobey Baker Inspires Tiger Hockey Stars to Become Aviators," *St. Petersburg Daily Times*, November 23, 1917.
[121] Dethloff and Adams, *Aggies Go To War*, 44; John A. Adams Jr., *Keepers of the Spirit: The Corps of Cadets at Texas A&M University, 1876-2001*, Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University 89 (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), 93.
[122] Sideliner, "Field Sports, The College Athlete at War," 54; "Dartmouth Athletes In The United States Service," *DAM*, January 1918.
[123] Ewald O. Stiehm, "Athletics in War Time," *The Outing Magazine*, August 1917, 672.
[124] L.B.R. Briggs, "Intercollegiate Athletics and the War," *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 1918, 303.

that they could leave all and follow an ideal which some of us saw only in a few of them, which probably only a few of them saw in themselves [italics my own].”[125] Collegiate athletes had proven their worth. The same boys which had insisted on special training tables, who had to be placated with automobile rides and musicals, who felt slighted without victory dinners and mass meetings, and who were waited on by an army of managers, rubbers, and fans, were the students who so eagerly gave up their leisure to throw themselves into the fight. Warfare, militarism, and conquest were defining aspects of the collegiate society they inhabited, and the college man, whether he knew it or not, had been inculcated for war on the sports ground.

[125] Ibid.

Chapter VI: The Collegiate Spirit

Historian David Kennedy has written that the First World War was principally an "affair of the mind" on the American Homefront: a "deliberate mobilization" of emotions surrounding the ideas of *national service* within laymen, businessmen, and the intelligentsia.[1] *The Collegiate*, already well versed with notions of national civic service, was well prepared to mobilize their own emotions when the U.S. government mobilized national service for war in 1917. As examined in earlier chapters, students existed within their own world of, to use Capozzola's term, "coercive volunteerism" in-which service to the college was paramount to one's social and organizational success.[2] At the same time that students were demanding of each other service to *alma mater*, university reformers were likewise spurring their students on to national service. Administrators throughout the Collegiate Era strove to convince wealthy donors, influential politicians, prosperous businessmen, skeptical parents, and even students themselves that a college education was worth more to the nation than a few academically trained youngsters; indeed, great effort was undertaken to recast institutions of higher education as the places in which the most knowledgeable and loyal civil actors were created. Government grants and cooperation agreements would move higher education closer to this claim, but the First World War would cement it as truth in the national conscious as the federal government relied on higher education for trained manpower like never before.

During the War presidents continued to preach ideas of service to their students by presenting commitment to the nation as an extension of their deep commitment to *alma mater*. That the nation was at war to save democracy also meant that the nation was at war to defend the collegiate lifestyle. Presidents wrote to their students comparing service to the nation as service to the college throughout the conflict, continually expressing the

[1] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 46.
[2] Ibid., 47; Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 116, 126; Clark, *Creating*, 7; Thelin, *A History*, 187–88.

institution's pride in her student-soldiers to remind them that their fight was ultimately for the college. Collegians, in turn, responded with promises to make good on the institutions' teachings and to continue to proliferate the collegiate spirit they were known for. If service to the nation was an extension of one's service to the college, then dying in that service was interpreted as an ultimate sacrifice rendered to *alma mater*—the most perfect form of *doing something*.

Professors, too, wrote to their students. In contrast, their letters reveal the humanity of student-soldiers longing to return to campus life. Student-soldiers were just that, students that happened to be fighting a hellish war thousands of miles from home and familiarity. Underlying the great crusade for democracy for many was the simple longing for "a good paddle on the river, a cold shower and a chocolate milk" on their campuses.[3]

Collegiate Spirit – In the Nation's Service

"The fundamental object of all institutions of higher learning," spoke President Edmund James at his inauguration in 1905, "[is] the creation of the highest and most efficient type of citizen."[4] Speaking for the majority of his counterparts, James believed that higher education would have failed to serve its purpose to American society and the nation if it were not able to create "good citizens…devoted patriots…[and] self-sacrificing and public-spirited members of society" out of its matriculates.[5] In an age in which the halls of democracy decayed with the interests of big business and government inefficiency, reformers of higher education believed that they could no longer rely on the instruction of Victorian ideas of morality and controlled character alone to create good citizens. America's colleges and

[3] Kenneth Pickens Culbert to Charles Townsend Copeland, 22 March 1918, in M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 3*, vol. 3, Memoirs of the Harvard Dead (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1922), 92.
[4] James, Edmund J., *Inaugural Address of Edmund James, Ph.D., LL.D., as President of The University of Illinois at Urbana* (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois, 1905), 31.
[5] Ibid.

universities had to adapt their purpose to provide instruction in modern methods of efficiency, to train students to navigate growing political bureaucracy, and to instill a deep commitment to national service within graduates. University presidents had themselves long exemplified a spirit of service to the nation while leading their institutions, hoping their service might set an example to their students.[6] Michigan's James Burrill Angell chaired the Deep Waterways Commission (1895-97) and headed diplomatic missions in China (1880-82) and Turkey (1897-8); Cornell's Andrew Dickson White served as the Ambassador to Germany (1879-81) while a later successor, Jacob Gould Schurman, served as Chairman of the Philippine Commission (1899-1900), Minister to Greece (1912-13) and Minister to Montenegro (1913); Harvard's Lowell as a Massachusetts Constitutional Convention delegate (1917-19); California's Wheeler as a member of the California Education Commission (1900); and Columbia's Butler as Vice-President on the Republican ticket in 1912. Not only were these men deeply committed to reforming their institutions to produce young men and women fit to provide service to the nation, but they also were deeply committed to national service themselves.

Foremost among the reformers was Arthur Twining Hadley. An economist specializing in rail transportation, Hadley served as an advisor at large for both business interests and government committees throughout his academic career. While President of Yale, he notably served as Chair of the Railroad Securities Commission (1910-11) and as a Director of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad (1913-30). Speaking at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915, Hadley advocated for Yale's strong service mission. In response to an attendee's question, "what qualities can we expect in the men who receive and deserve the Yale trade mark?," Hadley responded that Yale was in the business of

[6] Nemec, *Ivory Towers*, 17–20.

"prepare[ing] men for 'public service in church and civil state.'"[7] Such had been Yale's objective long before Hadley became president. In 1881, Henry Durand, a senior scrambling to *do something* to leave his mark on Yale before his graduation, took it upon himself to capture the collegiate lifestyle as he knew it in song. The result, "Bright College Years," was so loved by the senior class that it quickly became Yale's unofficial alma mater after being performed by the graduating members of the glee club. Though focusing primarily on Yale's "bright college years," those "with pleasure rife, the shortest, gladdest years of life," Durand made certain that the grander purpose of a Yale education, as it was understood by he and his classmates, was never lost among the accompanying collegiate appurtenances.

> Oh let us strive that ever we,
> May let these words our watch-cry be:
> Where'er on life's seas we sail,
> For God, for Country, and for Yale

Those final words have reverberated throughout the hallowed halls of Yale for over one hundred and fifty years and, while now resigned to kitschy felt pennants and tourist gifts for sale in the University bookstore, for students at the turn of the century they were more than empty words, they were one's duty. When Hadley took the stand to answer, his mind was more than likely drawn to his students' rallying cry of "for God, for Country, and for Yale."[8] "Yale has tried to teach her sons to forget themselves in doing things for their community," he said, "the widest kind of public service…which seeks justification not in the return that it will bring the doer, but in the return that it will bring the world."[9] These were not empty words on Hadley's part, for they alluded to the self-sacrifice students were already undertaking by their participation in the collegiate lifestyle. Yale men, Hadley believed, were learning to devote themselves to their communities through their fervent efforts to climb the

[7] Arthur T. Hadley, "Address By President Hadley of Yale University at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition-1915," 1915, YMA.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

hierarchy of Yale's clubs and organizations.[10] What better preparation could students undergo than a replication of the competition they would experience in the real world? The same collegians that attained the editorships of the *Yale Daily News*, the captaincy and managerial positions of the athletic teams, and presidencies of the fraternities and secret societies, it was believed, were to be the same alumni that would take leadership of banks, industry, and governance.

On a more practical level, however, Yale needed to produce men with the credentials to fill government positions rather than just the plumb book jobs offered to popular fellows. Hadley made every effort to form direct pipelines between Yale and the federal government for the quick placement of graduates in the lower bureaucracy. The creation of the Federal Bureau of Forestry in 1900 was one such opportunity. In what Nemec has called one of the "clearest examples of partnership between universities and the national state," Hadley lobbied Yale alumni within the government to have a federally accredited Forestry School opened on the campus to provide for the fledgling Bureau's educated labor. The first of its kind, the Yale Forestry School was not only expected to provide the Bureau with well-educated clerks and scientists, but also to serve as the archetype program for which future government-collegiate partnerships in other branches of government would emulate.[11]

Further west, the University of Wisconsin, located less than a mile from the state capitol building, established their own direct pipeline to the Wisconsin civil service. Known as the Wisconsin Idea, the University sought to provide the state government with knowledgeable candidates for jobs in finance, geography, engineering, law, medicine, and geology, while also expanding its extension programs to bring college-level lectures and

[10] Wortman, *Millionaires' Unit*, 18.
[11] Nemec, *Ivory Towers*, 16–20.

library services to small communities throughout the state.[12] The idea was not pigeonholed to graduating knowledgeable students, but rather encompassed the entire academic establishment. Faculty helped to draft legislation for regulating companies, eminent professors were appointed to state regulatory commissions, and University scientists engaged with state problems through their research efforts, such as helping to make dairy farming the state's leading agricultural resource.[13] Rudolph argued that the idea was "charged with more than a touch of moral righteousness," but nevertheless had "placed the people's university at the service of the people" in their search to reform government and business.[14] California soon followed suit with their own progressive idea. The California Idea sought to create educated, responsible, and capable state leaders and civil servants to combat the abuses and corruption of trusts and wealthy magnates in California, such as the Southern Pacific Railroad. Reformers believed that higher education needed to be egalitarian so to produce educated citizens from all levels of society. To satisfy that need the University of California, and its neighbor, Stanford, charged no tuition, while also forming direct links with local high schools for a healthy flow of pre-admitted applicants. To further serve the state's unique regional needs, the University segmented its flagship campus in Berkley and moved its agriculture component further south.

The California Idea, according to John Douglass' *The California Idea and American Higher Education* (2000), came to be the "popular vision of higher education as an ameliorative and pro-active agent of state and local government, which would set the stage

[12] Thelin, *A History*, 138; Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View*, New York University Series in Education and Socialization in American History (New York: New York University Press, 1982), 215, 231; DeVane, *Higher Education*, 478; Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 30; Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 164–68.
[13] Rudolph, *A History*, 262–65; Ethan W. Ris, *Other People's Colleges: The Origins of American Higher Education Reform* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2022), 130.
[14] Rudolph, *A History*, 363.

for a modern and scientifically advanced society."[15] American government and business had become corrupt and there was a belief that higher education would serve as the malady, or, as Nemec has argued, an outside entity to provide educated civil actors and well-informed legislation.[16] Educators in Wisconsin and California latched early to the prospect of mass higher education for the good of the nation; Illinois and Minnesota soon followed suit, organizing their state universities to provide the greatest good for the state in the form of an educated elect drawn from its citizens. In the south, the tradition of producing men for the government continued as it did in the ante-bellum period. Indeed, the number of graduates in the Georgia state government was so large in 1897 that Georgians worried a bachelor's degree would become a prerequisite to hold office in the state.[17] Legislation at the federal level, such as the Adams Act of 1906, the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, provided research grants to university experimental stations for increasing production and standardizing the regulation of services across American business and bureaucracy, while further governmental cooperation offered opportunities for academics and graduates to aid in government reform with the U.S. Geological Survey, the National Bureau of Standards, and the establishment of the National Research Council of 1916.[18]

With the focus of higher education prioritizing the duty of students to their country and community, it is no surprise then that propaganda framing the War as a "crusade" for democracy or as a "war to protect liberalism" spoke in terms both familiar and important to college students.[19] President Schurman stated plainly that the War was "a war for ideals and

[15] Douglass, *California Idea*, 82.
[16] Nemec, *Ivory Towers*, 11.
[17] Scott M. Gelber, *The University and the People: Envisioning American Higher Education in an Era of Populist Protest* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 6.
[18] Levine, *Aspiration*, 50.
[19] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 213.

for national self-preservation."[20] For Schurman, the major issue at stake was "the security of our Republic;" but for students, "self-preservation" came to mean fighting to preserve the collegiate lifestyle.[21] Colleges and universities made up the organizations to which over 440,000 young men and women gave their obligation and, in the same ways which Capozzola described that everyday American people "sacrificed, fought, and even died because of commitments to a common political life," so too did college students for the state-within-a-state which they had created and pledged themselves.[22] The nation was directly under threat, and, by extension, so was *alma mater*, the fount of knowledge which had protected tradition, provided culture, and gave collegians their bright college years.[23] Professor Mather A. Abbott told Yale alumni that, "in your day it was: 'What can I do for Yale?'—in respect to some game or some college activity," while the tenor of the War was, "What does Yale expect me to do for my country?"[24] Officers of higher education were keenly aware that student dedication was a powerful motivator, one that could be harnessed to guide students to national service. Historian Andrea Turpin noted that students were already eagerly aligning themselves with their college administration's vision and aims by the turn of the century, this would be no different when administrators mobilized the students' ideas of service to frame service to the nation as service to *alma mater*. [25] "You are fighting to save the best things men can have or hope for," wrote President Meiklejohn, "They are the things which the college loves. *In fighting for them you are serving her.*"[26] This was the administration speaking in the

[20] Schurman, 18 April 1918, in "Jacob Gould Schurman Papers (Reel #29)" (Microfilm, Ithaca, New York, 1919 1906), DRMC-CUL.
[21] Schurman, 30 May 1917, "Address Delivered at the Officers' Training Camp, Madison Barracks," in "Jacob Gould Schurman Papers Articles, Speeches, and Books 1909-1920 (Reel #49)" (Microfilm, Ithaca, New York, 1920 1909), DRMC-CUL.
[22] Capozzola, *Uncle Sam*, 213–14; Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 83.
[23] Cohen and Kisker, *The Shaping*, 156; Kennedy, *Over Here*, 51.
[24] Mather A. Abbott, "Naval Training Results," 1918, YMA.
[25] Andrea L. Turpin, *A New Moral Vision; Gender, Religion, and the Changing Purposes of American Higher Education 1837-1917* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2016), 236.
[26] Alexander Meiklejohn to Amherst Men Over There and On The Way, August 14, 1918, AC-ASC.

students' language, condoning and supporting their activities, their traditions, and their environment of "coercive volunteerism." What more could a collegian have asked for? For a generation saddled with the anxiety of having to prove themselves, the War offered the most convenient chance to do so. It combined the ability to prove one's masculinity by fighting in real battles—where chance of death was not zero—with the extreme dedication to *do something*—perhaps dying—for their institution and their friends. Loyalty to the nation, presidents said, was an extension of loyalty to *alma mater*. William Beehan, B'15, echoed such plainly. "I have met Brown graduates and undergraduates in the most unexpected places vigorously carrying out their loyalty [to the nation]," Beehan wrote, "it is the loyalty to alma mater on vaster scale."[27]

Framing service to the nation as service to *alma mater* resonated with students, and collegiate students-turned-soldiers immersed themselves in this extension of loyalty. President Meiklejohn wrote that the college was fighting and hoping in her students, eagerly awaiting the day they brought "safely in your hands the thing for which she sent you, Peace and Good Will toward Men."[28] In almost a perfect echo, Gordon King, H'17, wrote to a Harvard professor that he and his Harvard colleagues would "do our best for Democracy…[and] expect people at home and in the civilian universities, to preserve what we're going to fight for abroad."[29] Collegians came to undertake every effort to make their institutions proud. Barnette W. Beers, I'20, "tried to live up to Illinois standards" and sought a commission like many other collegians across the country.[30] Others made every effort to show that they were *doing something* for the nation at every opportunity. In the fall of 1917 at Princeton, students feared to return to campus from their summer stints in officer camps

[27] William Emmett Beehan to William H. P. Faunce, April 3, 1918, BUA.
[28] Alexander Meiklejohn to Amherst Students, November 25, 1917, AC-ASC.
[29] Gordon King to Charles Townsend Copeland, 29 Nov. 1917, in "Papers," vol 3, 33-36.
[30] Barnette W. Beers to Thomas Arkle Clark, August 24, 1918, UA-UoI.

without their uniforms lest they be looked down on for not *doing something*. "Some of the boys hesitate to return to their studies," wrote the Commandant of the Naval Station at Newport, Rhode Island, to President Hibben, "on the grounds that they may be considered by their friends as 'slackers.'"[31] Far from any group that could be termed "slackers," the students were loath to harm the University's pride. The peer pressures of the collegiate lifestyle still weighed upon them, only the pressure to wear school colors had changed to the pressure to wear navy blue or army khaki. Even the possibility of being mistaken for slackers was too much, and the students feared to return without their naval uniforms to display their allegiance to the nation and thereby the college. "Our aim is to live up to ideals and traditions," wrote Silas Dishman, B'11, "may we not prove unworthy."[32]

Collegiate Spirit – Encouragement Abroad

Many of the presidents felt the same pressures do their bit as hundreds of their young pupils rushed to volunteer for service overseas. A profound desire to volunteer for military service was not a new phenomenon among the presidents; indeed, Brown's President, E. Benjamin Andrews, had expressed his wish to enlist with his students during the Spanish-American War.[33] Age, however, would prove to be a continual issue. Many of the presidents had been too young to volunteer during the Civil War, and now they found themselves too old to volunteer for service in the First World War. This did not stop them from trying. President James was particularly patriotic, stating to the Illinois Board of Trustees that it was "a cause of life-long regret" that he "could not share actively in the great conflict for the preservation of the Union."[34] He attempted multiple times throughout the conflict to resign his post at Illinois and enlist. So eager had James been to see action that he wrote Wilson

[31] Captain Bryan to John Grier Hibben, September 20, 1917, PUA-MML.
[32] Silas Benjamin Jr. Dishman to William H. P. Faunce, Easter 1918, BUA.
[33] Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 120.
[34] Harrison E. Cunningham, ed., "Meeting of the Board of Trustees" (University of Illinois, September 3, 1918), 131, UA-UoI, https://www.bot.uillinois.edu/board_meetings/minutes/minutes_archive.

twice on 3rd April 1917 attempting to volunteer. In the morning, he sent a telegram telling Wilson that there could be "only patriots and traitors," a statement which he preceded by volunteering "for any service in which I may be of use in this situation;" later that day, he sent a letter placing his services "whole-heartedly" at Wilson's disposal.[35] James wrote that he was "physically strong" for his age and, even though "the recruiting sergeant at the next station would throw me out for service in the ranks," he was nevertheless ready to devote his time and his purpose to other military means.[36] Wilson was, understandably, tied-up with more pressing matters, and Newton Baker, Secretary of War, had to make a reply. "I should hesitate long before advising you to leave the splendid work which you are now doing so capably to enter the military service of this Government," Baker wrote James, instructing him instead to remain at Illinois to keep student morale high.[37] James then attempted to resign the following year to join the Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. "I could not go down to my grave in peace," he wrote the Trustees, "if I had not tried to the best of my ability to get into this greater war for world democracy and humanity."[38] His request was denied. He satisfied himself for the remainder of the War with a tailor-made uniform and oversight of Illinois' SATC program. In similar fashion, the University of North Carolina's President, Edward K. Graham, attempted to volunteer but found himself dissuaded by the Secretary of the Navy. "We have more men who have responded to the call than can be transported to France," Josephus Daniels reminded the 42-year-old, "the call to you is to continue to inspire the young men."[39] Presidents were of better use to the nation keeping their campuses motivated

[35] Edmund J. James to Woodrow Wilson, April 3, 1917, UA-UoI; Edmund J. James to Woodrow Wilson, Telegram, (April 3, 1917), UA-UoI.
[36] James to Wilson, April 3, 1917, April 3, 1917.
[37] Newton D. Baker to Edmund J. James, April 11, 1917, UA-UoI.
[38] Cunningham, "Minutes, 3 September," 131.
[39] Josephus Daniels to Edward K. Graham, 8 Feb 1918, in "University Papers" (UNC Libraries, February 8, 1918), UNCL; Levine, *Aspiration*, 25.

for national service, and the replies of the Secretary of War and of the Navy underscored the role that colleges were playing in providing trained men for the war effort.

Too old to serve in an active military capacity and too young to sit and watch from the sidelines, presidents turned their attentions to doing what they did best: embodying *alma mater*. Through their war work they would endeavor to encourage students to support the college by supporting the nation through training, enlistment, and commission. President Graham, unable to follow UNC's sons overseas, instead went to great pains to keep in touch. With help from the editor of the University's *Alumni Review*, Graham managed to exchange numerous letters with those at the front, keeping them updated with news from campus and, as an important visual reminder of the physical college, sending them campus postcards.[40] The administration at Iowa State likewise sent tokens of the University's gratitude to its sons in the nation's service. Christmas gifts of chocolate, copies of the *Green Gander* (the College's comedic magazine), snapshots of the college, and "anything else obtainable which will be of interest to men and remind them of the time spent in college."[41] These gifts were instrumental in raising the moral of the men while also reminding them that in service to the nation they were in service to *alma mater*. Oscar A. Cherry, I'20, wrote upon receiving a bundle of student newspapers that he was "unable to describe" the "rapturous, and almost awestruck looks" that he and his friends had when they "remembered the calmness of their old college paper."[42] Students found it a "great pleasure" to receive letters and articles of collegiana from their *alma mater* and, at the least, it served as proof, according to Wheaton Carr Vaughan, B'18, that "classroom associations do not end when you leave the gates."[43] Or, as James B. Carrol, I'17, put it to Illinois' Dean Clark on receipt of a care package, "it

[40] Louis R. Wilson, *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930; The Making of a Modern University*, 1st ed. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 268.
[41] Iowa State Student, "College Will Send Christmas Token To Each Enlisted Man," December 20, 1917.
[42] Oscar A. Cherry to Thomas Arkle Clark, October 1, 1917, UA-UoI.
[43] Wheaton Carr Vaughan to William H. P. Faunce, June 10, 1918, BUA.

made me feel that all the ties to Illinois were not broken altho I am now a graduate and a long distance away."[44] A letter from James Hamilton Jr., B'18, to President Faunce simply said it made him "feel good to know that I'm not forgotten back home."[45] Moreso than simply reminding students of the fact that they were not forgotten—truly a masterclass in alumni relations—these gifts continued efforts to frame the war as a fight not only for the nation but also for the college. Presidents' letters and holiday greetings to students in service made every effort to stress that the institution was proud of them, was working in every possible way to support them, and that students still in college were benefiting from their strong influence.

For collegians, their war was filled with images and reminders of the collegiate nation that they left behind. President Charles R. Van Hise sent along pride with the "most loving greetings" from Wisconsin on receipt of reports of the "gallant, devoted, and intelligent performance" of University of Wisconsin men in service.[46] His letter leaned into the depictions of campus prevalent with other university presidents. "Madison, as you know, in this Month of May, is at the height of the Glory of Spring," he wrote the students, "the Campus and the Lake, for the University, are calling you [and] ardently hope that ere many months this frightful war, brought on by Germany, will have finished by the reestablishment of justice and right between the nations of the Earth, and that you once more will be able to respond to the call of your Alma Mater."[47] These images of the campus served as potent reminders of the collegiate lifestyle, highlighting the collegiate home students and alumni had left behind to a greater degree the nation whose service they were in. Roused to reflection by President's Faunce's Easter greeting, Merle Taft Barker, B'03, wrote that he could "imagine

[44] James B. Carrol to Thomas Arkle Clark, n.d., UA-UoI.
[45] Hamilton Jr. to Faunce, April 11, 1918.
[46] Charles R. Van Hise, "To the Men of the University in the Army and Navy" (Official Letter, Madison, Wisconsin, May 16, 1918), UoWM-A.
[47] Ibid.

the front campus with the beautiful old elm trees" and the "new service flag with its three hundred bright stars."[48] Clarence Joseph Lamb, B'15, wrote that he was originally like "hundreds of other lukewarm men" and, only after being apart from Brown and the goings-on on campus, did he realize "that Brown was more than lecture hours, quizzes and exams."[49] "After three years away from the walls of Old Brown," he wrote, "I can now appreciate what fond and dear memories mill around in upon one's head when conjured up by the name of Brown." [50] Such nostalgia was felt by collegiate men across the front. "I received this date a 'chance-chosen picture of Illinois life before the war,'" wrote Lyle Barcume, I'22, "believe me, it does bring happy recollections, and I know similar cards are stirring the same feeling in some four thousand Uni men over here."[51] These articles of collegiate mail, depicting campus scenes and reviving memories of collegiate life, helped to cement that student service to the nation was in defense of the college.

The presidents kept steady streams of correspondence with students where possible, bringing the college's pride on a more personal level. President Meiklejohn wrote to Amherst men that the College was "living in her sons," and expressed the institutions pride at their service.[52] At Brown, President William H. P. Faunce endeavored to send the University's holiday greetings. For Easter 1918 Faunce sent a greeting card detailing what Brown had done to support the war effort. "I am confident you will have patience, endurance, [and] unfaltering loyalty to American ideals," he wrote, his words more suited to a football sendoff or a matriculation speech.[53] The letter was a well-received moral boost. Dishman wrote Faunce that the letter had filled him "full of inspiration and hope," and was encouraging

[48] Barker to Faunce, March 29, 1918.
[49] Clarence Joseph Lamb to William H. P. Faunce, January 22, 1919, BUA.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Lyle Nelson Barcume to Thomas Arkle Clark, September 24, 1918, UA-UoI.
[52] Meiklejohn to Amherst Students, November 25, 1917.
[53] William H. P. Faunce, "To Brown Men in The Nation's Service," Letter, (March 21, 1918), BUA.

Brown men to "a more resolute determination to succeed in the mission for which we are fortunate and favored in being able to represent Brown."[54] "We are not unmindful to the fact that you are with us," wrote Dishman, "that all Brown men are with us, that all of you are pulling for us to make good."[55] Sewell Woodberry Allison, B'15, wrote that it was "enough to warm the heart of any man to hear that Brown is doing her part so nobly," ending his letter "hoping that I may be so fortunate as to receive another telling of more Brown accomplishments."[56] Faunce had challenged the men to "show what college men can do to lead the world to freedom" in his letter, and Dishman, revived by news that Brown University was doing its duty, had pledged "to live up to [the] ideals and traditions" instilled in him at Brown.[57] The presidents had framed the War as a fight for the instruction's ideas and, in turn, the students pledged to fight for what their institution had instilled in them. "In the pinch Brown men will display their mettle," Kenneth Johnson, B'19, wrote to President Faunce, "[we] are ever true to the everlasting ideals so finely inculcated in their minds by association with all that Brown stands for."[58]

President Richard C. Maclaurin wrote Massachusetts Institute of Technology students in the service that their "devotion to the highest ideals" and the "spirit" which moved them "unreservedly to the cause of [their] country and humanity" had made the college "proud and thankful."[59] The spirit that Maclaurin speaks of is the same spirit that had moved students in sundry places to rush the fraternities, make the school paper, pledge the secret societies, and try-out for the football teams. It was a spirit that administrators coopted, a spirit that moved students to fight for their nation to make good on their obligation to defend *alma mater*.

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[54] Silas Benjamin Dishman Jr. to Faunce, in "Brown University World War 1 Correspondence," Box 1.
[55] Dishman to Faunce, Easter 1918.
[56] Sewell Woodberry Allison to William H. P. Faunce, April 4, 1918, BUA.
[57] Faunce, "To Brown Men in The Nation's Service"; Silas Benjamin Dishman Jr. to Faunce, in "Brown University World War 1 Correspondence," Box 1.
[58] Kenneth Dewey Johnson to William H. P. Faunce, January 10, 1919, BUA.
[59] Seymour, *Memorial*, 228.

"May you and the other Tech 'boys,' be cheered by the thought of our confidence in your valor," he wrote, "and by our appreciation of the stimulating effect of your self-sacrifice on those that are still here."[60] Such spirit continued to be cultivated as presidents realized that students followed the examples of other students; throughout the war more than 8,000 MIT alumni and undergraduates volunteered for service following each other's example. Many letters referenced a collegiate "spirit" that had taught them how to be patriotic citizens aligned with the needs of the nation. Indeed, Beehan stated that his loyalty to the nation was "a loyalty that Brown Spirit had a strong hand in developing and fastening."[61] And, like all that happy crowd on the football field and in the stands, both alumni and student took it upon themselves to make their *alma mater* proud in their spirit-driven service.

This was a widespread and well-documented phenomenon. Henry Lewis Stimson, Secretary of War from 1911 to 1913, wrote that the "Yale spirit" had "represented [a] spirit of service to the community and the readiness to spend and be spent in that service;" Justin Brooks Atkinson, H'17, proudly declared that the "martial spirit" of Revolutionary-era Harvard still clung to the ivy-clad walls; sons of the University of Illinois went over the top carrying with them "that fine old spirit for which Illinois [was] famous;" and the "Brown Spirit" had made Beehan and his fellow classmates "ready for war."[62] The spirit of Brown University was particularly vigorous, with nine out of ten letters to President Faunce praising the spirit of the University and its sons. Philip Langworthy, B'06, wrote Faunce that Brown's spirit had once "[carried] the University into the various college activities" but was now carrying students "eager" to prove Brown's ideas to the battlefield.[63] As officers, Brown men

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Beehan to Faunce, April 3, 1918.
[62] Henry Lewis Stimpson, Yale in the Great War, written for Nettleton, *Yale In The World War*, 1925, 1:9; J. B. Atkinson Article, Spring 1917, in "Papers," 66–72; Barcume to Clark, September 24, 1918; Beehan to Faunce, April 3, 1918.
[63] Philip Eugene Langworthy to President Faunce, 10 June 1918, in "Brown University World War 1 Correspondence," box 2.

commanded those under them with the same spirit they did when commanding their fellows on the river, the gridiron, or in the editing room. Such spirit, according to Henry George Gilbert, B'19, was "very much alive over here."[64] Indeed, the collegiate spirit pervaded wherever collegians found themselves posted. "From the tenor of the letters from boys now in the trenches who were my friends in College," wrote Beehan, "the same spirit pervades the American camps in France." [65] The collegiate spirit was contagious for collegians and non-collegians alike as alumni and student-soldiers filled the ranks, bringing with them ideals of loyalty, service, and devotion instilled in them in their colleges. "The Spirit of the American Army during the World War," wrote George Lane Simpson, Wiss'20, "was the same as that of Wisconsin University from 1910 to 1918…Loyalty, Courage, Justice, and Efficiency were the paramount characteristics."[66] The same collegiate spirit that had motivated them to *do something* in college for the good of their institutions was now moving them to do their best and upmost on a much larger scale.

Collegiate Spirit – The Big Sacrifice for Big Men

With blatant disregard for their own personal safety, carrying proudly the torch of humanitarianism, collegiate students committed themselves to the great crusade in the defense of their institutions. Those that died became beacons of manhood for their classmates, objects of pride for their *alma maters*, and subjects of emulation for an entire collegiate generation.

William Henry Meeker, H'13, described as "one of the best known and most popular men of his college generation," was one of the Big Men.[67] Philip S. Rice, P'01, remembered

[64] Henry George Gilbert to William H. P. Faunce, May 30, 1918, BUA.
[65] Beehan to Faunce, April 3, 1918.
[66] Alumni Records Office, "George Lane Simpson" (Military Service Record, Madison, Wisconsin, June 1, 1926), UoWM-A.
[67] DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 2*, 2:105.

Meeker saying to him he "would rather be a 'went' than a 'sent,'" a "Crusader."[68] Friends poured out sympathy and sorrow in their letters when they received word that he had died on 11th September 1917. "Poor old Bill," wrote James "Jim" Seymour, H'17, "one doesn't say it aloud—among fellows—but I swear I loved him."[69] Another friend, Kenneth Pickens Culbert, H'17, wrote of Meeker that "there was something glorious in his death for the motives that permitted the possibility of death were of the purest."[70] Both Culbert and Seymour make no direct mention of Meeker's service record with the United States military, instead, they reverted to how they remembered Meeker at Harvard: as a "big man if there ever was one."[71] Seymour's assertion that Meeker was a "bigman" only tells half of the story—William Henry Meeker did not merely represent the collegiate lifestyle, he engrossed himself in it. He was a member of no less than eight different clubs and held a plethora of leadership positions across the campus, including a captaincy in the Harvard Reserve Officers' Training Corps.[72] In terms of having *done something* for Harvard, Meeker had devoted his undergraduate life to his institution and continued to do so on the battlefield. Rather than being written about as a hero for the nation, Meeker had instead "meant a heap to *Harvard* [emphasis added]."[73] In another letter, this time from July 1917, Seymour stated that the death of Harmon "Ham" Craig, H'19, was "Harvard's loss."[74] If one were not aware that these men were serving with the United States Air Service when they died it could easily be assumed that these men died in some form of service to their university. One obituary wrote of John W. Overton, Y'17, as having been "of Yale," adding "and the Marines" as if an

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[68] Meeker, quoted in Philip Sidney Rice, *An American Crusader at Verdun* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1918), 4.
[69] Lt. Jim Seymour to Charles Townsend Copeland, 28 Sept. 1917, in "Papers," vol 1, 233-235.
[70] Kenneth Pickens Culbert to Charles Townsend Copeland, 21 Nov. 1917, in M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 3*, vol. 3, Memoirs of the Harvard Dead (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1922), 87.
[71] Lt. Jim Seymour to Charles Townsend Copeland, 28 Sept. 1917, in "Papers," vol 1, 233-235.
[72] DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 2*, 2:105–6.
[73] Lt. Jim Seymour to Charles Townsend Copeland, 28 Sept. 1917, in "Papers," vol 1, 233-235.
[74] Lt. Jim Seymour to Charles Townsend Copeland, 27 July 1917, in ibid., vol 1, 153-62.

afterthought.[75] Letters such as these show that the collegiate lifestyle had lasting effects on student-soldiers, defining how they continued to view their service and their classmates; indeed, student-soldiers were still living in terms of *doing something* for their colleges while fighting for the United States.

Described as possessing at all times a "pounding powerful determination to never relax until right is won," Kenneth Culbert was one of the Big Men.[76] He died 22nd May 1918 when his aircraft was struck by a German anti-air round over St. Mihiel. Seymour lamented once more over the loss of a fellow collegian. "Why take a man who can feel so richly – and express it so beautifully," we wrote, "when such a number of ordinary specimens continue their stunted, crabbing way?"[77] Canby had wrote that in college the "immediate goal" was to be highly regarded as a success by one's friends, and collegians never stopped striving for such during the War. The Big Men were loved in war for the same reasons they were loved in college: because they were the physical embodiment of collegiate spirit and they carried it with them wherever they went.[78] They continued collegiate traditions, surrounded themselves with fellow college men, and retained the spirit of the collegiate lifestyle. As John Pettegrew has stated, once at the front, "nationalistic patriotic spirit dissolved away with the shock of battle, as most acts of heroic sacrifice came from the closest homosocial bonds."[79] For these students, the closest bonds were of the collegiate; they sacrificed for their fellow student-soldiers just as they did on the football field, as they did grinding for the school paper, and as they did standing up for their friends to the administration. Leonard Jackson, B'19, who died

[75] George Henry Nettleton, ed., *Yale In The World War*, vol. 2 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1925), 250.
[76] Kenneth Pickens Culbert to Charles Townsend Copeland, 22 March 1918, in DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 3*, 3:87.
[77] Jim Seymour to Copeland, 10 Oct. 1918, in "Papers of Charles Townsend Copeland, 1862-1960," Vol 3, pts. 2, 100–3.
[78] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 40.
[79] Pettegrew, *Brutes*, 202.

while on a trench raid with fellow collegians, was described as having simply "exemplified at all times" the "highest traditions of the army and the University of which [he was an] undergraduate" through his selfless actions.[80] Herbert Newell Nicholas, B'15, wrote that there was a "certain exhilaration and pride" which circulated when collegians realized they had been "privileged to be with such men."[81] When Seymour asked his professor of Meeker, "aren't there a million others who could have gone in his place and not mattered," he did so not because Meeker had accomplished heroic acts for the nation but because Meeker had went overseas with Harvard students, fought alongside Harvard students, and attempted to make Harvard proud by fighting for the nation.[82]

The Big Men were the morale builders, both on campus and in the trenches, and many students felt lost without them. Friends of Henry Suckley, H'10, a "bright and cheerful" man with a "charm that could grip strangers," found it "difficult to measure" their regard for him when he was killed.[83] Much like Tinkham, Suckley had returned to the United States in September 1916 with the intention of forming his own ambulance section with fellow collegiate acquaintances. Unofficially known as the "New York Stock Exchange Unit," it was comprised primarily of college alums who had worked with Suckley on Wall Street [84] They arrived in Saloniki in early 1917 comprised entirely of collegiate men (11-Harvard, 3-Yale, 3-Princeton, 1-U. Penn, and 1-Virginia).[85] On 18th March, the small headquarters where Suckley and his men were residing was attacked by a German airplane. A bomb fell and Suckley, exiting his tent to offer help, was wounded in the back and hip.[86] Gordon Ware,

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[80] Capt. Edward J. Stackpole Jr. on Leonard Jackson, DeWolfe Howe and Others, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 4*, 4:104–5.
[81] Herbert Newell Nicholas to William H. P. Faunce, April 17, 1918, BUA.
[82] Lt. Jim Seymour to Charles Townsend Copeland, 28 Sept. 1917, in "Papers," vol 1, 233-235.
[83] Gordon Ware, March 1917, quoted in Morse, *Vanguard*, 163.
[84] Ibid., 162; Seymour, *Memorial*, 14.
[85] Morse, *Vanguard*, 162.
[86] Harry Warner Frantz to John McDowell, "23 August 1918," August 23, 1918, Harry Warner Frantz Papers, DRMC-CUL.

H'08, described his condition as "smiling and smoking" as they took him to the hospital, telling those around him "if I'm going to pass out, I'll have a cigarette first."[87] William Dennison Swan, H'17, was with his section mates at Kortiza when Suckley passed. "He was conscious all the time, smoking and chatting cheerfully with the men," Swan wrote in his journal, "he kept asking why there were so many of the fellows bothering him when they should all be up at the front."[88] He continually told members of his section, "don't bother about me," or to go home and sleep so that they could work with vim and vigor.[89] He lived through the night, passing away the following morning. "Even the doctor broke down when he went," wrote Ware.[90]

News of Suckley's death spread quickly. Collegians felt intensely the loss of another Big Man. Coleman Clark was caught writing a letter to his mother when the news broke. "Just a minute," his writing coming to a jarring stop, "we received a very sad piece of news." Suckley was dead. James W. Harle wrote in his diary that his entire section was "broken up over Henry Suckley's death," and considered Suckley "one of the finest fellows I ever saw."[91] Suckley was continually worried that the cars wouldn't be able to handle the strain of the decrepit roads they were traveling over, and Harle, regretting that Suckley was unable to see "his efforts rewarded by the knowledge that we did the work that we came out to do," wrote that Suckley's leadership pushed them into "doing almost the impossible."[92] One of Suckley's section mates described his death as "one of the saddest and most unnecessary—and yet the finest possible."[93]

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[87] Gordon Ware, 18 March 1917, quoted in Morse, *Vanguard*, 163.
[88] William Dennison Swan, 19 March 1917, journal entry in The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 2:15.
[89] Seymour, *Memorial*, 14; Reginald Signoux, "H.M. Suckley's Death Related," *HC*, May 24, 1917.
[90] Gordon Ware, 18 March 1917, quoted in Morse, *Vanguard*, 163.
[91] James W. Harle, March 1917, journal entry in The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 2:20.
[92] James W. Harle, March 1917, journal entry in ibid.
[93] Signoux, "H.M. Suckley's Death Related."

If there was one defining characteristic which they all shared, it was that they were willing and ready to give their lives for their friends and for the work they believed in. James W. Gailey, P'17, had an "indifference to personal danger," his chief concern being only "the work to be done" and "real help to the men in touch with him."[94] He was killed on the 29th of July 1917 when a shell struck his ambulance, killing his co-driver and two other French wounded. His closest friend thought it "a privilege for me to have known Jim and to have driven with him." [95] "No braver nor more generous chap ever lived."[96] Howard McClenahan, Dean of Princeton University, wrote Gailey's mother that James was "one of Princeton's honored sons, a splendid friend, a fine scholar, a lovable gentlemen, an honest, simple man" whose "name shall always be honored as one who gave his all for humanity and civilization."[97] Cut from the same collegiate cloth, Paul Osborne, DC'17, was the first American killed after the United States' entrance into the War. He attended the same high school as Edward Tinkham, Montclair High School, and was a member of Dartmouth's basketball team, D.K.E., and the Sphinx fraternity.[98] On 26th June 1917 a bomb crashed into his ambulance, severing most of his leg and leaving shrapnel embedded in his back. His leg was amputated but his back made him too weak to survive the surgery.[99] He "fought death until his heart failed him," wrote Stanley Hill, DC'18, in a letter to his father, "if anything happens to me, I pray God that I may be as noble, as courageous, and as thoughtful of others as Paul was."[100] Even until the last, Osborne was worried of the welfare of those around him, asking for cigarettes—he didn't smoke himself—to give to doctors and attendants who were

[94] Seymour, *Memorial*, 30.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Howard McClenahan, quoted in ibid., 30.
[98] "Death Of Paul G. Osborn '17," *DAM*, August 1917.
[99] Frederic R. Colie, 27 June 1917, journal entry in The American Field Service, *Friends of France*, 1920, 2:282.
[100] Stanley Hill to Father, 28 June 1917, in ibid., 2:291.

caring for him.[101] "It was a terrible thing," wrote John B. Hurlbut, DC'18, to President Hopkins, "he certainly did show the stuff."[102]

Students made their institutions proud by showing the manhood, courage, and loyalty that their schools had instilled in them in the face of death. Hans Hewey Louis Andresen, I'90, wrote of a fellow alumni that had lost a limb as having "done his duty" and "upheld the honor of Illinois on the blood stained fields of France."[103] Otis F. Johnson, I'21, wrote similarly that the Illinois men around him were "giving a good account of themselves, proving the worth and the advantage of college training, and their Alma Mater can justly be proud."[104] The way a collegian died underlined the entire experience. The use of statements like "the most noble way," "the finest possible," and "glorious" to describe a fellow collegians death illuminate the honor that such a death brough upon the dead. As seen with football men who died on the gridiron, to die for one's college was the highest sacrifice a collegian could give for *alma mater*. Death was the climax of collegiate loyalty. Upon the death of Joseph F. Stillman, Y'15, his friends wrote of him as having "went out from the College carrying with him a full measure of devotion to its ideals, a high pride in its traditions."[105] He died in full defense of those ideals, earning him immortalization as a collegiate hero. "It is a mixed feeling of pride and sorrow, of pity and admiration," wrote William W. Meyer, Ohio Northern'11-Y'12-Y'15, "while we feel their loss, lets not fail to rejoice in what they were and what they have done."[106] They were Big Men who kept the

[101] Stanley Hill to Father, 28 June 1917, in ibid.
[102] John B. Hurlbut to President Ernest M. Hopkins, "12 August 1917," August 12, 1917, Records of Dartmouth College, Office of the President, Administration of Ernest Martin Hopkins, DC-RSC.
[103] Hans Hewey Louis Andresen to Thomas Arkle Clark, January 27, 1918, UA-UoI.
[104] Otis F. Johnson to Thomas Arkle Clark, September 2, 1918, UA-UoI.
[105] Nettleton, *Yale In The World War*, 1925, 2:185.
[106] William Walter Meyer to Sister Dearest, November 4, 1918, YMA.

collegiate spirit alive on the battlefront, fighting for their nation as an extension of their *alma mater*, and they had died in the service of their nation—their collegiate nation.

Collegiate Spirit – Student-Soldiers

Far from being the sole topic of correspondence, bringing glory upon the college fit into a broader set of collegiate themes. While presidents continued to push service to the nation as service to the college, professors poured themselves into keeping in constant contact with their former students as confidantes and mentors. The bulk of the presidents' correspondence cast the War as a battle for the college, but letters between students and their teachers dwelt on the human scale. Student-soldiers, most of them young and thousands of miles from home, confessed to their instructors how they missed the collegiate lifestyle, how they longed to return, and how they grappled with bewilderment, fear, and anxiety.

Perhaps the largest collection of correspondence originated from the pen of Thomas Arkle Clark, Dean of Men at Illinois. Clark's War Service Records encompasses a staggering thirty-four archival boxes of letters he exchanged with former students, that being only the responses gathered from over 3,500 students he attempted to keep in contact with. Throughout the conflict, Clark managed to keep a continual flow of alumni magazines, copies of the student newspaper, and postcards of campus scenes headed to Illinois men in the service. The students responded, and he was always "pleased as a kid with a new pair of rubber boots" to receive their letters, sending responses full of geniality and humor.[107] One student wondered what Clark would do without male students taking up the administrative work in the Dean's Office and Clark, showcasing the boyish humor he was known for, simply stated "I shall have to have girls, I suppose, or cripples or old men or something of

[107] Thomas Arkle Clark to Francis Edward Richardson, September 25, 1918, UA-UoI.

that kind."[108] In another, he simply informed a former student that, "it is really going to do my soul good to know that some of the old loafers will have to get up before daylight."[109]

His relaxed and approachable demeanor fostered a relationship in which students felt at ease to openly write him of their nostalgia and homesickness. A collection of their responses show just how much they missed Illinois: "We're always glad to receive Illinois and anything of news about the 'grand old University'"[110]—"My thoughts are still with Illinois and I'll only be glad to come back"[111]—"I am always anxious for any news concerning Illinois and her many loyal representatives in the great struggle for democracy."[112]—"I always enjoy…the red-hot dope from school."[113] Many of the student-soldiers had departed campus without experiencing four full years of the collegiate lifestyle. Plucked in the midst of adolescence, their biggest wish was for memories of the University. "What terrible wave of homesickness went over me on receiving your postcard picture of Illinois pep," wrote Walter Bowles, I'19. His classmate, Raymond Julis "Ray" Gauger, I'25, was more expressive. "Well, I'll be damned," Gauger shouted, snatching the postcard from Bowles, "wouldn't I give a million dollars to be back there again!"[114] Clark was not remiss to tell his students he missed them as well. "Perhaps it will be a comfort to you to know that I miss you tremendously," he wrote to Horace DeGroot, I'19, his favorite student stenographer. "If you were here, I should give you a dozen things to copy or I could dictate a lot of stuff to you," Clark mused.[115] DeGroot, unable to spell but "at least know[ing how] to camouflage pretty successfully," had written so much to Clark about his Illinois memories in one letter

[108] Thomas Arkle Clark to Horace E. DeGroot, September 19, 1918, UA-UoI.
[109] Clark to Richardson, September 25, 1918.
[110] Chester B. Camp to Thomas Arkle Clark, n.d., UA-UoI.
[111] Merwyn H. Cable to Thomas Arkle Clark, n.d., UA-UoI.
[112] Ausgar Carlson to Thomas Arkle Clark, n.d., UA-UoI.
[113] Joseph Albright to Thomas Arkle Clark, October 23, 1918, UA-UoI.
[114] Walter S. Bowles to Thomas Arkle Clark, August 20, 1918, UA-UoI.
[115] Thomas Arkle Clark to Horace E. DeGroot, June 28, 1918, UA-UoI.

that he had "run out of verbal ammunition," being "obliged to lift my barrage and let your thots [sic] swarm in between the line and complete the task" of expressing his longing for *alma mater*.[116] Such homesickness was expressed elsewhere, the feelings of collegiate longing summed up by a letter from Coleman Clark, Y'22: "please send all accounts of the Yale football games."[117]

An equally proficient correspondent was Charles Townsend Copeland, professor of English at Harvard. Known affectionately as "Copey," his wit and frank personality made him highly admired and loved by his students.[118] His classes were constantly oversubscribed, and students begged to be admitted to his lectures; indeed, Copeland had become so popular in his first twenty-four years at Harvard that thousands of undergraduates would turn out to hear him give live-readings of books and poetry, and hundreds more would make their way to his office in Hollis 15 on Monday nights to smoke and discuss world events.[119] When war broke, Copey began directly recruiting students, outright asking undergraduates, "what are you doing for the country?"[120] Such efforts made Copeland one of the "most effective recruiting sergeants the country ever had," or, as titled by one of his students, the "Crack Recruiter of the Western World."[121] According to Copeland's biographer, J. Donald Adams, his dedication to the Allied cause during the War was his life's "most passionate involvement."[122]

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[116] Horace E. DeGroot to Thomas Arkle Clark, August 17, 1918, UA-UoI.
[117] Coleman Clark to Mother, 17 October 1916, in Clark and Clark, *Soldier Letters*, 49.
[118] "Charles Townsend Copeland, 'Copey of Harvard,' Dies at 92," *New York Herald Tribune*, July 25, 1952.
[119] Lewis Gannett, "Books and Things," *New York Herald Tribune*, July 31, 1952; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936*, 402–3.
[120] J. Donald Adams, *Copey of Harvard, A Biography of Charles Townsend Copeland* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1960), 209.
[121] Ibid., 202; "Papers," Vol 3, 44.
[122] Adams, *Copey*, 202.

Essential to Copeland's influence over students were the close ties he kept with them. Moreso than any other professor at Harvard, his advice and respect were highly valued and sought after by students.[123] William "Bill" Bingham wrote to Copeland, "I want to do my duty in this war…I want you, above all people, to feel that I am trying to do more than put in my time over here."[124] If Copey thought it best that his students went to war, they went. Henry Sheahan (Beston), H'09, enlisted in the Field Service in 1915, and in 1916 he dedicated his published account, *A Volunteer Poilu*, to Copey. "I remembered how you had encouraged me and many others to go over and help in any way that we could," he wrote, "I remembered your keen understanding of the Epic, and the deep sympathy with human beings which you taught those whose privilege it was to be your pupils."[125] Sheahan punctuated his dedication by claiming that Copey was "closer to the heart of the war" than any other friend he had.[126] Such devotion to a professor's personal ideas bordered on the fanaticism students exercised for their football teams and their school colors; indeed, for Harvard students, their dedication to Copey was as fervent as their dedication to *alma mater*. The sheer number of letters that his students wrote him is astounding; correspondence came from all theatres, from all nationalities, from all nations, and covered all topics. Miss. Septilia Evans wrote fervently from Sidney, Australia, "this war is of vital principals re Christianity and humanity…if I can help recruiting in America…I'll give my service for humanity's sake."[127] John A. Gallishaw, H'17, on service in Cairo, Egypt, wrote, "whether I come through or not, I should like you to know I am grateful to you."[128] And Hunter Alexander McGuire, H'13, training in Virginia, wrote, "our men come from every college in the country, ranging in rank from Harvard to

[123] Ibid., 208.
[124] William "Bill" Bingham to Copeland, 12 March 1918, in "Papers."
[125] Henry Sheahan, *A Volunteer Poilu* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1916), V.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Miss. Septilia Evans to Copeland, 15 April 1917, in "Papers," Vol 1, 57.
[128] A. John Gallishaw to Copeland, 8 Sept 1915, in ibid., Vol 1, 24-27.

Virginia."[129] They all wrote of the same fervent wish: to make Copey proud of their service to the nation. A service which he had stressed they undertake.

Copey, an unapologetic anglophile at heart, undertook great efforts to inoculate his own beliefs in his students both inside and outside of the classroom. His famous "Monday Evenings," when he opened his rooms in Hollis 15 to students for group discussion of on-going national and international events, served as his main forum. Students were relaxed, lounging and smoking as Copey or their colleagues spoke of the world and their place in it. The entire endeavor was at once the communal space of a fraternity and the beating heart of a classroom. By 1917, Monday Evenings had become war information sessions where Copey would preach to his "disciples" about the necessity of proving one's manliness and helping to fight barbarism in the European war.[130] When his former students returned from Europe, having been either a direct participant or casual observer, he would enlist them to speak on what they had seen and done at Monday meetings or at impromptu gatherings at his house.[131] The influence these sessions had on undergraduates was "tremendous," leading many to volunteer for the American Field Service or enlist in Harvard's ROTC program.[132] Even those who derided war were whipped into a frenzy by Copey. When one student, Edmund Kiernan, H'22, presented Copey with a pacifist poem, Copey flew into a rage and demanded Kiernan tear it up or discontinue his class. Kiernan, a pacifist at the time, remembered that following the incident, under Copey's continual "proddings," he joined the ROTC and, later, made his way to France. "Am not sorry I did so," Kiernan recalled, "I [saw] the war in a new light."[133]

[129] Hunter McGuire to Copeland, 30 Oct 1917, in ibid., Vol 2, 49.
[130] J. B. Atkinson Article, Spring 1917, in ibid., Vol 1, 66-72.
[131] Adams, *Copey*, 209.
[132] J. B. Atkinson Article, Spring 1917, in "Papers," Vol 1, 66-72.
[133] Edmund Kiernan, quoted in Adams, *Copey*, 210.

Student letters to Copey routinely express their longing for a night in Hollis 15, as well as Copey's advice on matters sundry and diverse. In this way, all of Copey's students were united though scattered hither and yaw: "I have thought very often of those famous Monday evenings when 'there was neither East nor West'"[134]—"Your letter warmed my heart and made me want to knock at the old door at the top of Hollis Hall"[135]—"You don't know how much a luxury and a longing the thought of a Hollis 15 Monday evening is"[136]—"Many a Monday night, I have wished that I could drop up to Hollis 15."[137] The letters continue on in this way over many pages and different authors. Perhaps the most telling came from Bernard DeVoto, H'18, who outright stated to Copey that the Monday evenings "were preparing us to be good soldiers." "You showed us a good many aspects of truth, gave meaning to our aspirations, [and] helped us to realize ourselves," he concluded, "the best part of each one of us bears your mark."[138]

While the letters praise Copey for preparing them for war or helping them to see the struggle in a new light, many writings are but reminisces written during the long downtime in the trenches. Moreso than with any other correspondence, these letters reveal the fears, anxieties, and personal views that students kept from their parents, families, and friends. With the same vivid detail and description that Copeland expected of them in his English 12 classes, they wrote him of what they saw, what they felt, and what they wanted to do. Russell Fry, H'17, lamented to Copeland, "[this] Godless business of war. How I hate it – how we all hate it! and how we long for the end to come!" Expressing a familiarity with his previous teacher not seen in other letters in collections at Brown or Cornell, Fry continued with a moving passage of prose expressing the deepest horrors of war—a stark reminder that these

[134] A. John Gallishaw to Copeland, 8 Sept 1915, in "Papers," Vol 1, 24-27.
[135] Richard R. Lewis to Copeland, 10 March 1918, in "Papers."
[136] Jim Seymour to Copeland, 30 June 1917, in ibid., Vol 1, 126-127.
[137] William "Bill" Bingham to Copeland, 21 May 1918, in ibid., Vol 3, 60.
[138] Bernard DeVoto, quoted in Adams, *Copey*, 225.

were the letters of college students and academics rather than the rugged and disassociated killing machines they were moonlighting as. Fry's hands were truly meant for the pen rather than the rife. He describes the trenches as a "hell far beyond the most sulphuric dreams of Dante," and how he longed to forget the "hell holes where men burrow in the ground like moles, and come forth red eyed, and parched lipped and starved, to fight like crazy cave creatures, only more ferociously aided by the coldly cruel inventions of science gone mad." "Copey forgive me for inflicting all this moralizing upon you," he ended, "but always I've written and talked with you of what I felt and thought."[139] Others, less poetic but with the same blunt frankness, wrote to Copeland. Alfred Putnam, H'18, asked Copeland to, "write me and tell me what it is that makes men go in droves…it is so wonderful, so pathetic." Reviling to his former teacher with a frank honesty he couldn't disclose to his family, "I don't know why I gave up my soft job…tell me, will all this non-thinking life make one lose identity?"[140] And another, Richard Conover Evarts, H'16, told Copeland, "I hear very little about our aims in this war…and most of [my comrades] say they are sorry they enlisted."[141]

These letters have a widely different tenor than those wrote to President Faunce or others published in the national papers by friends and relatives. Students hold no romantic pretenses toward the conflict in correspondence with their teachers, and their words are devoid of the blind patriotism found in the letters in which they promised to bring glory upon their colleges. Presidents had co-opted their fervent wish to *do something*, challenging them to prove their worth by making their colleges, their peers, and their nation proud. They could hardly refuse to rise to the occasion. The martial spirit of the collegiate lifestyle was of their own creation, and it would have dismayed them to reveal any weakness or second thoughts to the embodiment of *alma mater*, let alone other students. Instead, they turned to the teachers

[139] Russell T. Fry to Copeland, 29 Aug 1918, in "Papers," Vol 3, pt 2, 31–34.
[140] Alfred Putnam to Copeland, 17 Oct 1917, in ibid., Vol 2, 23-25.
[141] Richard C. Evarts to Copeland, 18 June 1917, in ibid., Vol 1, 120-22.

and mentors whom they had developed working relationships with on campus. Where once professors had instructed collegians in their studies, they were now called upon for advice, encouragement, and memories from the old college days.

Conclusion – Collegiate Spirit Displayed

The letters of student-soldiers show that collegians fervently committed themselves to making *alma mater* proud but still grappled with anxiety and homesickness as they experienced warfare that shattered the romantic scenes they had envisioned. Perhaps William Beard, B'19, said it best in 1919, "I certainly do miss college!"[142] His message brings these letters back to reality. Yes, they were soldiers, but they were also students. Young, scared, and tossed into a hell beyond romantic description, but still dedicated to fighting for the place that filled their mailboxes with postcards, candy, and memories. A place which they longed for even more than their nation: their colleges.

Service to the nation was framed as service to *alma mater*, and to die in the service of that nation was to die in the defense of the college. Such a proposition of death pushed collegians to fight harder to prove their worth. Briggs Kilburn Adams, H'17, wrote his mother on 24th October 1917, "to me [death] seems like a great final examination in college for a degree *summa vita in morte*, and it challenges the best in me—spurs me on to dig down for every last reserve of energy, strength and thought."[143] "For me the examination is comparatively easy to pass," he wrote, "but for you the examination is so much harder."[144]

Summa vita in morte—the highest life is in death. To die in combat was glorious, honorable, and, to an extent, wanted; it was the biggest credit one could bring upon his college. "It's not when you die," students continually wrote home, "but how." Taking

[142] William Chester Beard to "Ed," 17 Jan. 1919, in "Brown University World War 1 Correspondence," Box 1.
[143] Briggs Kilburn Adams to Mother, 24 October 1917, in DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 2*, 2:291; translated roughly to: in the midst of our lives we die.
[144] Briggs Kilburn Adams to Mother, 24 October 1917, in ibid.

Meeker's death as a prime example. It was "glorious" simply because "the motives that permitted the possibility of death were of the purest."[145] He perished in the service of his nation—his collegiate nation— and thus upheld the honor of his institution and proved himself worthy of being called a man. For these young men, their chief anxieties lay in dying without having *done something* that mattered for themselves, their peers, and their communities. Death in combat was nothing to be afraid of, for it would guarantee enshrinement for posterity. "There is no horror about it, nothing dreadful," wrote Meyer, "they have paid the great price in the noblest of causes." [146] To die in the pursuit of things honorable, just, and manly, was not really to die, but to *do something*. "Why worry?" said William Jewell Whyte, Cal'19, to a classmate, "there never was a time when it was as easy to die as it is now!"[147]

[145] Kenneth Pickens Culbert to Charles Townsend Copeland, 21 Nov. 1917, in M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead In The War Against Germany 3*, vol. 3, Memoirs of the Harvard Dead (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1922), 87.
[146] Meyer to Sister Dearest, November 4, 1918.
[147] Sheehan, "In Memory of Lafayette," 196.

Chapter VII: Re-examining the S.A.T.C.'s Misinterpreted Legacy

On the 6th of May 1918, collegiate administrators came into receipt of plans from the War Department for the provision of military instruction in "every institution of college grade" for the development of those undergraduates remaining in the colleges into a "great military asset."[1] To this effect, *the collegiate* was instructed to "devote the whole energy and educational power" of their realm to the needs of the Federal Government.[2] The Students' Army Training Corps (SATC) would prove to be the final element in American higher education's transformation from academic cloister into military encampment. The purpose of higher education—the enlightenment of man, the furthering of human understanding and knowledge—would be eagerly thrown on the altar pyre of national service.

That historians have centered their studies of higher education's Great War experience upon the SATC is unsurprising; the sweeping transformation of colleges from academic to military study was a far more visible change than the gradual shifts of the preceding three years. And, as Gruber has argued, the SATC was the "logical conclusion to and the fitting symbol" of higher education's dedication to the American war effort.[3] Indeed, the program was an important step in marrying the martial means of the nation to the educative capacity of American higher education. This intense focus on the SATC experience has neglected the broader history of collegiate military training, however. The SATC did not exist in a vacuum; it was part of a longer push by collegiate administrators and military entities to reform collegiate-government relationships dating back to the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862. Military training had been deeply rooted in the nation's colleges and universities. Between 1865 and 1914, collegiate training yielded more than three times the number of

[1] Newton D. Baker to PCGs, May 6, 1918, YMA; H.P. McCain to Marion LeRoy Burton, "Military Training in Colleges," July 1, 1918, UA-UoM; The Adjutant General of the Army to Arthur T. Hadley, "Military Training in Colleges," June 29, 1918, YMA.
[2] CEST to PCGs, August 28, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[3] Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 256.

commissioned officers produced by West Point.[4] Though highly disorganized, irregular, and, at times, neglected by the Congress, collegiate military instruction was a steady part of the collegiate lifestyle for over half a century.

By 1915, it had become evident that America's military establishment was woefully underprepared for any eventuality of war on the scale which was occurring in Europe. The Commissioner of Education recommended that if more "definite steps" were taken by Congress to expand collegiate-government cooperation, then the 567 Class A institutions of higher education could be transformed into a valuable "military asset."[5] The conclusion at which the Commissioner of Education had arrived in November 1915 was the result of seeds planted by Army Chief of Staff General Leonard Wood two years earlier.

Backed by the national celebrity of college presidents and word-of-mouth circulating throughout colleges, Wood hoped to force Congress into enacting change by arming collegians with the tenets of preparedness at a series of Students' Military Instruction Camps (SMICs) during the collegiate recess. Far from being able to produce commissioned officers for national service or even enlisted men, a job that Wood hoped would fall to adequate military instruction on college campuses, SMICs served as a thinly veiled means of propaganda for preparedness in a political climate that was indifferent, if not downright hostile, to transformations in national military policy. A precursor to the SATC, the SMICs allowed for students to be whisked away to the relative seclusion of military camps in the countryside where they were instructed in "sound and correct ideas" before being sent back to their campuses to spread the almighty word of preparedness among their classmates, teachers,

[4] Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 226.
[5] War College Division, General Staff Corps, "The Standardization Of Methods Of Military Instruction At Schools And Colleges In The United States," November 1915, 2, PUA-MML.

parents, and wider communities.[6] Such efforts to popularize military training in the colleges were successful; the number of students taking military science courses nearly doubled from 27,000 in 1915 to 50,000 in 1916.[7]

Despite these notable advances in collegiate military training, historians have largely neglected these crucial precursors to the SATC, choosing instead to recount idealized portrayals of the program's brief three-month existence. These rosy depictions of the SATC have resulted in a legacy that often overlooks the SATC's failures. Contrary to historians' generally positive appraisals, the SATC was hastily conceived, ineffectively administered, and sharply criticized by collegiate administrators following its disbandment. Levine, drawing on Pomona College, has stated that the SATC was a "resounding success," but research into the administrative minutiae reveals that the program was anything but successful in its implementation and operation. Logistical issues plagued the program from its inception and colleges struggled to gather supplies for continual increases in student numbers and a general lack of support from the Committee on Education and Special Training (CEST). To further complicate matters, military instructors continually neglected the SATC's academic instruction, fostering an environment of distrust and antagonism between the military and academic authorities.

Gruber has argued that institutions had gone so far in their effort to support the government that they were unable to "resist their total submergence in the war effort."[8] On the contrary, college administrators made no attempt to resist such submergence. They

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[6] Maj. General Leonard Wood, "Report Of The Chief Of Staff," in *War Department Annual Reports, 1913*, vol. Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 190; Ross, *Propaganda for War*, 179.
[7] Edmund J. James, *Abstract of Address by Dr. Edmund J. James President of The University of Illinois before The Committee on Military Affairs of The House of Representatives Washington, D.C. Thursday Morning, February 10th, 1916* (Washington, D.C.: The University of Illinois, 1916), 5; War College Division, General Staff Corps, "The Standardization Of Methods Of Military Instruction At Schools And Colleges In The United States," 2.
[8] Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 256.

eagerly welcomed the SATC as the result of over fifty years of lobbying for increased military cooperation between higher education and the U.S. government. But, as administrators soon found out, their independence and jurisdiction were unable to be maintained as entire campuses heeled under military control. The American institution, rather than fade into the background of the American war effort as it had in previous wars, was soon thrust to the limelight as institutions sacrificed tradition and character for drill and conformity. Higher education was going to war.

The S.A.T.C.'s Forerunners – Land Grant Training

Addressing the Convention of Land-Grant Colleges in 1913, Edward Orton, Dean of the College of Engineering at the Ohio State University, stated that the inclusion of "and including military tactics" in the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 was "not ambiguous in its meaning" yet had been "subject to wider differences of interpretation" than any other debatable clause.[9] No formal regulations governing the nature, scope, or duration of military training appeared in the 1862 Act, nor in its later revisions of 1870, 1888, and 1891, for neither Congress nor the War Department had thought to issue them. The War Department had authorized detailing active-duty officers as instructors and loaning small arms, ammunition, and artillery pieces, but left each institution to their own devices in the planning and execution of military education. It was all highly decentralized. "Military training should be an integral part of the training given by every land grant college," Dean Orton stated in his address, "[yet] there are really great differences in the extent."[10] And remarkable were the differences.

[9] Edward Orton Jr., "The Status Of The Military Department In The Land-Grant Colleges," in *Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations*, ed. J. L. Hills, vol. Vol. 27 (Washington, D.C.: The Capital City Press, 1914), 172.
[10] Ibid.

No regulations governed the extent of training. At Iowa State A&M, students were only required to drill twice-weekly during their first two years of study; at Cornell, Illinois, and California, students were issued cadet grey uniforms, were called to weekly drill for the entirety of their degree period, and trained in a structured military hierarchy were older students were in charge of the discipline and instruction of younger ones. [11] Texas A&M, Mississippi A&M, and Clemson, looking to embody the strong southern tradition of military training existent in the South before the Civil War, fashioned themselves in the manner of the Virginia Military Institute (1839) and the Citadel (1842), fully integrating military instruction into the life of the college.[12] Effectively recreating West Point in miniature, students in these institutions were referred to as "cadets" and the entire studentship as the "Corps," uniforms were worn daily, and the college was "at all times under military control."[13] Syllabi throughout the programs were similarly disproportionate, with some schools only teaching the basic infantry drill and guard duty while others gave more complex instruction in topographical drawing, artillery drill and live firing, small sword exercises, and even field fortification.[14]

Varying degrees of energy in institutional administration kept military departments in a constant state of flux. In the Annual Report for 1909, Lieutenant Colonel E. G. Fechet wrote that the military courses at the University of Illinois were "quite popular" among the studentry and that the program had the "full support" of University authorities who honored

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Gene M. Lyons and John W. Masland, "The Origins of the ROTC," *Military Affairs* 23, no. 1 (Spring 1959): 2.
[13] Mississippi Agricultural College, *Bulletin of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, Catalogue 1905-1906, Announcements 1906-1906*, vol. 3, 3 (Agricultural College, Mississippi: Mississippi Agricultural College, 1906).
[14] Iowa Agriculture College and Farm Fourth Biennial Report of Trustees, Ames, Iowa, December 15, 1871, in Major James L. Lee, "Iowa State University; History of Military Studies 1870-1970" (Unpublished Paper, Ames, Iowa, August 19, 1970), 4, Department of Military Science Subject Files, IS-USCD.

any request "in full."[15] Because of its favorable administration, military instruction had become so popular amongst the studentship that over 2/3rds of the male undergraduate population came to be enrolled in 1915.[16] Known as the *West Point of the West*, the University organized two complete regiments of cadet infantry (twenty-four companies of ~100 students), a battery of artillery, signal, engineering, and hospital companies, two regimental bands, a reserve band, and a trumpet and drum corps.[17] In contrast, Captain Michael J. Lenihan wrote in 1908 that "very little" importance was given to military training at Iowa State. "In marked exception to my experiences elsewhere," he wrote, "the usual facilities for making the inspection were grudgingly afforded at this college." The prevailing opinion among the faculty, which had shown a "coolness if not hostility," was that military training needed to be "reduced to the lowest possible limit" so that the department would "give way to others."[18] Other institutions similarly neglected the needs of their military departments to keep them as small as possible. When the Rhode Island State College sold $82,500 of its Land-Grant acreages, it allotted none of the proceeds to the maintenance of its military department.[19]

Iowa State elected Raymond A. Pierson, a preparedness proponent and product of Cornell's undergraduate military instruction, as the institution's president in 1912. Two years later he requested from the Iowa legislature $200,000 for the construction of a drill hall. Pearson stated it was "of the highest importance" that collegians receive military instruction

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[15] Lieut. Col. E. G. Fechet, "Report of the Military Department of the University of Illinois at Urbana, Champaign, Illinois, From April 29th, 1908, to May 14th, 1909," May 14, 1909, 2, Military Reports, 1881-1943, UA-UoI.
[16] Harrison E. Cunningham, *Twenty-Eighth Report Of The Board of Trustees Of The University of Illinois* (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Journal Co., State Printers, 1916), 38; Newton D. Baker to Hon. J. P. Tumulty, Secretary to the President, January 31, 1917, UA-UoI.
[17] James, *Abstract of Address*, 6–7.
[18] Capt. Michael J. Lenihan, "Report of an Inspection of the Military Department of IOWA STATE COLLEGE, AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS" (Ames, Iowa, May 13, 1908), 3, IS-USCD.
[19] Wood, "Report Of The Chief Of Staff," 189.

in case of national need, stressing to the legislature that there was "no point in the state where military training can be given to better advantage" than the Land-Grant college.[20] It was a change of direction. Other college administrators were pushing to further supplement military training in a more "serious manner" by undertaking the construction of massive armories with in-door drill facilities allowing for all-season drill and for the storage of rifles, field guns, ammunition, and other accoutrements of military study.[21] Armories were but part of larger, nationwide push to revitalize military instruction at the collegiate level. The Army War College recommended in 1915 that 500,000 trained servicemen would be needed at the outbreak of any hostility, another 500,000 ready to deploy within ninety days, and a further 500,000 to replace losses.[22] Collegians were expected to fill the officer corps. Of the 44,529 students graduated from military departments from 1905 to 1915, only 1,100 had been recommended for commissions due to disproportionate study across the Land-Grant colleges and undue Congressional restraints on commissions (one per institution). To make matters worse, students trained prior to 1912—when training became more "intensive"—were considered by the War College to have "no doubt lost all touch with things military."[23] The Land-Grant institutions, as they stood, were woefully unable to produce officers at such a rate, and, in many ways, it might have seemed that collegiate administrators had been prohibiting further cooperation. Collegiate administrators, however, were ardent promoters of collegiate–military partnerships; Congress, by contrast, exhibited little more than indifference toward its expansion.[24]

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[20] Raymond A. Pearson, "President's Reports For The Biennium Ending June 30, 1914" (Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, January 10, 1915), 13.
[21] James, *Abstract of Address*, 9.
[22] WCD, *Statement Of A Proper Military Policy For The United States WCD 9053-90* (Army War College, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915).
[23] Ibid., 5.
[24] Lyons and Masland, "The Origins of the ROTC," 4.

U.S. law prohibited the War Department from detailing officers to institutions desirous of military instruction but unwilling to maintain a full department; in addition, the Congress had limited the detachment of collegiate officers to one hundred.[25] The available officer corps could not supply two officers to the sixty-four eligible institutions, much less one to the roughly five hundred others that were desirous of one, and Congress showed little inclination to repeal the regulations. Throughout 1915 the Army War College undertook a through examination of American military readiness, noting throughout its memoranda that institutions of higher education were "unequaled as a dependable source for officers."[26] "In no other way," the War College advised, "can we so efficiently and economically obtain the large number of officers needed in times of great emergency."[27] Congress, however, was immovable. Wilson himself had stressed the previous year before a joint sitting of Congress that the nation would not train a standing army or commit to forming a reserve, choosing instead to rely on a "citizenry trained and accustomed to arms;" such was the policy of the Revolutionary War, and, as Plattsburg historian John Clifford has so eloquently put it, Wilson had "not departed a writ from it and seemed to be anticipating an attack by the British on Nassau Hall" rather than a full-scale invasion from a modern European army equipped with areoplanes, submarines, automatic weapons, battleships, and tanks.[28] Further cooperation

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[25] Orton Jr., "Annual Convention 1913," 181.
[26] WCD, *WCD 9053-90*, 1; the War College Undertook a complex examination of all facets of American readiness, the college and university occurring as the means of solving the issues continually appearing, see: WCD, *The Standardization Of Methods Of Military Instruction At Schools And Colleges In The United States WCD 9089-8* (Army War College, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915); WCD, *The Recruitment Of Officers In Time Of Peace In The Principal Armies Of Europe, WCD-9278-1* (Army War College, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915); WCD, *Study On Educational Institutions Giving Military Training As A Source For A Supply Of Officers For A National Army, WCD-9053-121* (Army War College, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915); WCD, *Organization, Training, And Mobilization Of A Reserve For The Regular Army WCD 8105-15* (Army War College, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915); WCD, *Organization, Training, And Mobilization Of A Force Of Citizen Soldiery WCD 7541-12* (Army War College, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915); WCD, *Organization, Training, And Mobilization Of Volunteers Under The Act Of April 25, 1914 WCD 8160-25* (Army War College, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915).
[27] WCD, *WCD 9053-90*, 9.
[28] John Garry Clifford, *The Citizen Soldiers, The Plattsburg Training Camp Movement, 1913-1920*, The Organization of American Historians (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 42.

between the colleges and the military would have to develop outside of the civil government apparatus.

The S.A.T.C.'s Origins – Students' Military Instruction Camps

Movements to organize a more formalized means of training America's next generation of officers within colleges began in early May 1913. Lieutenant Henry T. Bull, a professor of military science attached to Cornell University to teach cavalry tactics, suggested to General Leonard Wood, Army Chief of Staff, that students might benefit from being attached to units of the Regular Army for five or six weeks during the summer recess.[29] General Wood, like many in favor of the military provisions set out in the Morrill Act, believed college students to be the most adequate class of men from which to build a corps of reserve officers.[30] Unlike the West Point career officers surrounding him, General Wood was a graduate of the Harvard Medical School, a product of the same martial tradition and war-like surroundings as the students for which the summer encampments would be promoted. Popular with his junior officers, he seemed to them "more like a football captain than…a military martinet;" indeed, at the ripe age of thirty-three he played intercollegiate football with Georgia Tech and acted as a part-time football coach for the same while attached to Ft. McPherson in Atlanta.[31] By that point in 1893, Wood had already received a Medal of Honor for his capture of the Indian Chief Geronimo and was a seasoned soldier; historian John Clifford aptly described him as a "college man with college instincts."[32] Wood understood the collegiate, knew the alumni and the presidents, and believed that the country would benefit from the innumerable potential afforded by young, martially-bred, and academically educated men. A series of summer training camps aimed at immersing college students in

[29] Ibid., 11 The US Navy had already begun experimenting with 5 to 6-week cruises for college students aboard battleships in 1913, it is likely that Bull's idea originated there.
[30] Lyons and Masland, "The Origins of the ROTC," 6.
[31] Quoted in Clifford, *Citizen Soldiers*, 4; Stegeman, *Herty Field*, 19.
[32] Clifford, *Citizen Soldiers*, 13.

military matters would only help to further advertise this belief in the absence of congressional support.

On 10th May 1913, in full support of Bull's idea, Wood wrote to college presidents that an experimental Students' Military Instruction Camp (SMIC) would be offered to a "class of men from whom…a large portion of the commissioned officers will probably be drawn:" collegiate students.[33] By Wood's own admission, due to the virtue of their position in a "peaceful, unmilitary, though warlike" society, students were the choicest class to train as commissioned officers.[34] It is important to highlight that these discussions between college presidents and General Wood began the summer before war erupted in Europe and four years before America's entrance. Presidents—and, indeed, students clamoring for further military study—were already shepherding their colleges toward more refined ways in which to militarize studentships apart from athletics and the collegiate lifestyle. A formal program like the SMICs would closely link *the collegiate* with the armed forces closer than it had been before. As collegiate historian Stephen Nelson has argued, during the pre-war years "the role of the college and university [was] unmistakably crucial" in training new officers.[35] General Wood had made clear in his 1913 *Report of the Chief of Staff* that colleges and universities would bear the brunt of the work to train and commission officers should the United Stated become involved in conflict, advising that four hundred students be selected yearly for commissioning as provisional second lieutenants.[36] The War College similarly continued to recommended that the United States, in absence of a European tradition of military conscription, turn to educational institutions. We must "avail ourselves of the moral factor of superior knowledge and position produced by education," the College stated, to "provide us

[33] Maj. General Leonard Wood to Arthur T. Hadley, April 18, 1913, YMA.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Nelson, *Shape and Shaping*, 94.
[36] Wood, "Report Of The Chief Of Staff," 151.

with a class superior in education and training to the average citizen who enlist to make up the rank and file of the army."[37] Showcasing the educated cadre the War College believed necessary to successfully guide a modern army, the SMICs would provide ample opportunities for colleges to publicize their superior training.

The first Students' Military Instruction Camp opened 1st July 1913 in Monterey, California, with sixty-three students from twenty-nine colleges; another opened in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania on July 6th with 159 students from sixty-one colleges.[38] The Gettysburg camp coincided with the 50th anniversary of the Civil War battle, and students mingled with veterans from both sides of the Nation's deadliest conflict in the first few days.[39] Collegians spent an intense month at Gettysburg learning military tactics, practicing basic camp policing and construction, daily surveying the battlefield on foot and horseback, repeating the manual of arms, and attending lectures on United States military history around the campfire in the evenings.[40] President Henry Sturgis Drinker of Lehigh University wrote in the *New York Times* that students were so focused on practicing their cavalry and artillery drill and improving their fencing and broadsword skills that the commandant had to tell the instructors to "force the young men to rest and recreation for a change."[41] "As a rule," wrote Cornell freshman Francis Schleicher, C'16, "we were too tired to do anything but sleep [in the evenings]."[42]At the end of July, the students packed their gear, which included the full accoutrements of rifle, shelter half, blanket, and uniforms, and began a week-long, sixty-five mile march to the Pennsylvania State Rifle Range to undergo rifle and small-arms training.[43]

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[37] WCD, *The Recruitment Of Officers In Time Of Peace In The Principal Armies Of Europe, WCD-9278-1*, 31.
[38] Ralph Barton Perry, *The Plattsburg Movement, A Chapter of America's Participation in the World War*, Forgotten Books Reprint (New York, New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1921), 12.
[39] Traxel, *Crusader Nation*, 149.
[40] Francis Grant Schleicher, "The First Student Military Training Camp In The East," 1913, DRMC-CUL.
[41] Henry Sturgis Drinker, "Dr. Drinker Lauds Students' Military Instruction Camps," *NYT*, August 17, 1913.
[42] Schleicher, "The First Student Military Training Camp In The East," 3.
[43] Ibid., 4.

Despite their small size, the camps were considered a success. In total, with the addition of the camp at Monterey, ninety institutions were represented. [44] Presidents wrote gleaming accounts of the instruction, the location, and even the food; students returned to campus and spread word of their summer endeavors, creating an efficient word of mouth campaign. Even the President had taken notice and given his approval. In a letter to President Drinker at the conclusion of the 1913 camp, Wilson wrote that he was "very much interested" in the idea and agreed that the "very considerable amount of practical military instruction" would be useful should the nation go to war.[45] The War Department was equally desirable to continue forming connections with the colleges in this way. Wood wrote President Hadley in October that the Department was "most appreciative" of "so many leading institutions" in helping to advance the cause of preparation.[46]

At the end of the summer General Wood formed the seven-member Advisory Council on Summer Military Camps with Princeton's John Grier Hibben at the helm.[47] The Advisory Committee included the presidents of Yale, Harvard, Alabama, Michigan, Lehigh, and The Virginia Military Institute.[48] Many of these presidents, and their counterparts elsewhere, were already members on various civilian and government preparedness committees. M. W. Riggs, President of Clemson University, served on the Committee on Industrial Preparedness of the Naval Consulting Board.[49] While President Hibben, who would do much to advance the ideas of preparedness embodied by the SMIC, was a long-time member of The National Security League. A private organization promoting American preparedness, the League lobbied for the

[44] Lindley Miller Garrison, "Extracts From The Annual Report Of The Secretary Of War," December 11, 1913, PUA-MML.
[45] Wilson to Drinker, September 1913, quoted in Clifford, *Citizen Soldiers*, 21.
[46] Maj. General Leonard Wood to Arthur T. Hadley, October 13, 1915, YMA.
[47] Princeton University, Office of the Secretary, *Princeton in the World War* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1932), xi.
[48] Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 220; Nemec, *Ivory Towers*, 232.
[49] "Josephus Daniels to W. M. Riggs," April 5, 1916, CLSC.

construction of the world's largest navy, raising a standing army of some half a million men, and instituting compulsory military training for the formation of a strong reserve.[50] Along with boosterist articles for student publications and publicity trips to encamp and engage with students in Gettysburg, many letters left Hibben's office asking his presidential counterparts to support the SMICs.[51]

Hibben hardly needed to do such convincing. College and university presidents were often the most ardent champions for military instruction in the pre-war years, many of them having undergone the same type of military training themselves while undergraduates.[52] President Hadley thought it "a great advantage" to have as many Yale students as possible attend the five-week camps.[53] "I regard the student military camp as one of the most valuable means of safeguarding the peace of the country," Hadly wrote in his yearly report, "the official recognition of these camps by our colleges, instead of leading to militarism, will lay the basis for a foreign policy that will ensure peace."[54] Others, Presidents Riggs of Clemson, Albert A. Murphree of Florida, and Pearson of Iowa State, were just as prominently vocal of their support for military training.[55] The presidents' status as celebrities only helped to catapult their boosterist views on universal military training and preparedness into common households across the nation whether they had college-going progeny or not. National magazines ran their articles, newspapers fawned over their movements, students quoted their words, influential societies courted them, and prominent business organizations invited them

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[50] Ross, *Propaganda for War*, 182.
[51] John Grier Hibben, "Princeton's President At Plattsburg," *HI*, November 1915.
[52] Andrew Dickson White, 10 Jan 1916, untitled letter, in "Cornell University Military Science and ROTC Records 1890-2002" (Archival Collection, Cornell University, 2002), Box 1, Folder 1, DRMC-CUL.
[53] Arthur T. Hadley, "Extracts From The Report Of President Hadley For The Academic Year 1914-1915," June 1915, 1, PUA-MML.
[54] Ibid., 3.
[55] W. M. Riggs to B. R. Tillman, "W. M. Riggs to B. R. Tillman," March 23, 1917, CLSC; Albert Alexander Murphree to Chas G. Maphis, October 22, 1917, UA-UoF; Raymond A. Pearson, "An Appeal By President Pearson To the Graduates of 1915, at the Close of Commencement Exercises," June 3, 1916, Raymond A. Pearson Papers, 1892-1983, IS-USCD.

to speak. American society looked to the presidents for advice on topics ranging from milk production to South American politics to European militarism. Indeed, Harvard President Charles W. Eliot, titled by President Theodore Roosevelt as The First Citizen of the Republic, was known by millions of everyday citizens as "adviser at large to the American people on things in general."[56] President Drinker was aware of this celebrity, and wrote his counterpart at Princeton that they (collegiate presidents) had become "those best qualified in our land to form and express an opinion."[57] The people were listening.

Numerically, the camps were to be celebrated. In the summer of 1914 only 763 students were in attendance, but by 1916 they had exploded to over 10,000, or six percent of male graduates and undergraduates.[58] Due in no small part to a speaking tour that took General Wood to over one hundred and thirty different colleges and collegiate alumni clubs throughout the country, the 1916 camp was also preceded by a constant flood of recruitment information streaming into alumni and administrative offices.[59] This promotional material was extremely effective in the smaller colleges of the northeast: over sixteen percent of Dartmouth and fifteen percent of Princeton students attended in 1916.[60] Plans to host the entire body of undergraduates over the summer of 1917 were well underway, but the outbreak of war gave students a more direct opportunity to exercise their martial capabilities.

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[56] "Advisor at large..." quoted in Richard Norton Smith, *The Harvard Century: The Making Of A University To A Nation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986), 28, Smith gives no footnote for this quotation; "New England Association Of Colleges and Secondary Schools," *The Journal of Education* Vol. 100, no. No. 18 (November 13, 1924): 483.
[57] Henry Sturgis Drinker, "The Students' Military Instruction Camp At Gettysburg," August 17, 1913, 7, PUA-MML.
[58] Military training Camps Association of the United States, *Review of 1916 & Report of Treasurer* (New York: Military Training Camps Association of the United States, 1916); The Executive Committee of the Governing Committee of The Military Training Camps Association, "Memorandum As To Recruiting by Military Training Camps Association Of The U.S. For The Officers' Training Camps Of May 1917," May 8, 1917, PUA-MML; Perry, *The Plattsburg Movement, A Chapter of America's Participation in the World War*, 18.
[59] Clifford, *Citizen Soldiers*, 154.
[60] "Dartmouth Men at Plattsburg," *DAM*, November 1916.

General Wood had believed that the "best type of young men" were to be found in the colleges, and the "enormous influence" they would exert as the natural leaders both in times of peace and war would be a boon to a fledgling American Army.[61] It was essential then, as the Secretary of War wrote in his Annual Report, that students be given training to "complete the education of a well-equipped citizen" who could "form the correct opinions on military topics" and be able to voice those opinions adequately, intelligently, and, most importantly, publicly.[62] Wood's claim that the camps developed "a sense of responsibility" for national duty conformed nicely with the fervent loyalties that college students had created for themselves in their secluded cloisters.[63] "The men who return to us from these camps will, I am sure," Hibben wrote for the *Harvard Illustrated*, "give themselves with a new and fresh enthusiasm to the task of maintaining and promoting the spirit of democracy."[64] If *doing something* for the college was preparation for attaining personal prestige in adult life following college, then going to the SMICs was but another element to help aid in that prestige; by preparing to give one's service to the nation in times of crisis and training to execute that service to the best of one's ability, one was doing their part for their university's commitment to the nation.[65] Wood's "disciples," as the collegiate students that attended the camps came to be known, latched upon the collegiate repercussions of doing one's bit and devoted themselves freely to the cause of national preparedness.[66]

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[61] Wood to Hadley, October 13, 1915.
[62] Garrison, "Extracts From The Annual Report Of The Secretary Of War."
[63] Maj. General Leonard Wood, "Address of Major General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff, United States Army," in *Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations*, ed. J. L. Hills, vol. Vol. 27 (Washington, D.C.: The Capital City Press, 1914), 185.
[64] Hibben, "Princeton's President At Plattsburg."
[65] Wood, 9 May 1913, quoted in Clifford, *Citizen Soldiers*, 14–15.
[66] Ibid., 58.

The S.A.T.C.'s Formation – Higher Education's Unbridled Commitment

On 6th February 1917, over three thousand students packed into the Columbia University gymnasium in New York City. American flags fluttered around the runners' track coating the place in an atmosphere of red, white, and blue. Above the faculty podium, where sat an array of the University's top administrators and professors, the Columbia seal waved gently back and forth over the crowd below. The air was tense, and the anthem was sung with a solemn seriousness not seen before in the confines of the sport hall. There were no college yells. No enthusiastic sports fans. War was on the student mind. A hush fell over the crowd as President Butler stood to take the stand. Since August 1914, college presidents had been rigorously debating what role, if any, their colleges would play should the United States go to war. Many, as stated by historian William Summerscales, would hold true to a strong "belief in moral absolutes and unstinting devotion to the national cause," and freely offer their universities, colleges, and students to the crusade that was the Great War.[67] Butler would be no different.

Speaking from his platform not to the group assembled but to the President of the United States, Butler spoke for the university he commanded. "Fellow members of Columbia," he said, "I feel with perfect confidence that I may promise to the President of the United States the unanimous support of Columbia."[68] In pledging the "unanimous support" of an entire institution to the needs of the nation, Butler not only pledged the University's grounds, its buildings, its treasures, its capacity for research, and the brain power of its faculties, but the very students that made up its heart. The very privilege of attending

[67] William Summerscales, *Affirmation and Dissent, Columbia's Response to the Crisis of World War 1*, Teachers College Studies in Education (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), 140.
[68] "Butler Pledges Columbia To Support Of President; 3,000 Students Fill Gymnasium," *CS*, February 7, 1917, Vol. LX, No. 92; "Meeting One Of Most Impressive Ever Held Here; American Flags Decorate Room," *CS*, February 7, 1917, Vol. LX, No. 92.

Columbia University came with the understanding that the students therein could be called at any time to the nation's service. Butler later wrote to Newton Baker, American Secretary of War, that "if by any act of ours or by the service of anyone, or all, of our great army of students and teachers we can strengthen the hands of the government," the University would sacrifice to do it.[69] Butler's speech preceded a flood of messages and ordinances from college administrators in support of a war that had yet to even be declared. President James telegraphed President Wilson to pledge the University of Illinois and its sons and daughters to the United States; President William Bizzell openly offered Texas A&M and its cadets for federal use; and the faculty of Harvard, by "unanimous consent," endeavored to make "every concession to enable [students] to enter and serve in the cause of the nation."[70] An unwavering devotion to aligning the work of higher education to the aims of the American war effort was a commitment pledged early by *the collegiate*.[71]

Three months later the United States was at war. Presidents from over one hundred and fifty colleges and universities met in Washington D.C. on 3rd May to discuss how best American institutions of higher education could serve the nation. The preamble of their meeting echoed the speeches given by many of the college presidents at the outbreak of the conflict. "The colleges and universities of America have the single-minded thought and desire to summon to the country's service every resource at their command," read the preamble, "to offer to the Nation their full strength without reservation."[72] The meeting ended with the agreement that American colleges and universities should "organize their work that in all

[69] Nicholas M. Butler to Newton Baker, quoted in Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses*, 174.
[70] Dethloff and Adams, *Aggies Go To War*, 35; "Butler Pledges Columbia To Support Of President; 3,000 Students Fill Gymnasium"; The University of Illinois, "History of the United States Army School of Military Aeronautics at The University of Illinois, Urbana" (Internal Memo, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, 1920), 1, UA-UoI; "1,100 At Mass Meeting," *HC*, April 13, 1917; Martin, *Lamp in the Desert*, 129–30.
[71] Nemec, *Ivory Towers*, 233.
[72] Bureau of Education, "Work of American Colleges and Universities During the War," *Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Circular*, May 8, 1917, AC-ASC.

directions they may be of the greatest possible usefulness to the country in its present crisis."[73] Within mere days of the Congress declaring war, administrations had already been scrambling to shift their institutions to a full war footing; indeed, President Hibben had told Princeton students as early as March that military training would "take precedence over all academic work" if war were declared.[74] Now, institutions had pledged themselves to unite in similar effort.

Colleges began coordinating their training apparatuses to make military instruction available to students regardless of their home institutions. Columbia University advertised "intensive training" under a Canadian officer who had "seen service at the front" to smaller colleges unable to fund their own military training camps.[75] Harvard organized an Officers' Training Corps with six French officers in the absence of government support, while Williams College and Lehigh University publicized their government-sponsored ROTC summer training camps to students unable to secure spots at their own college's camps.[76] Nationally, colleges began hosting military schools for the specialized training of recruits. Hiram Bingham, Y'98-Cal'00-H'05, took up the task of coordinating pilot training for the U.S. Army. An academic rather than military man, Bingham established a series of ground schools at Cornell, Princeton, Georgia Tech, MIT, Ohio State, California, Texas, and Illinois.[77] The Schools of Military Aeronautics instructed students on all manner of military aviation, from basic repair, map reading, and engine timing to the most up-to-date in gunnery,

[73] Ibid.
[74] "Drill To Supersede Study at Princeton; President Hibben, Urging Students to Remain," *NYT*, March 26, 1917.
[75] Columbia University Bureau to Alexander Meiklejohn, May 19, 1917, AC-ASC.
[76] A. Lawrence Lowell to Alexander Meiklejohn, May 2, 1917, AC-ASC; A. Lawrence Lowell to Arthur T. Hadley, May 1, 1917, YMA; Willard E. Hoyt to Alexander Meiklejohn, May 1917, AC-ASC.
[77] The University of Illinois, "History of the United States Army School of Military Aeronautics at The University of Illinois, Urbana."

coordination with artillery, and bombing.[78] Yale became a "completely militarized university," opening its doors to a Naval Training Unit, Army Laboratory School, and Signal Corps Commissioning School.[79] While Mississippi State University began undertaking the training of auto mechanics, carpenters, radio operators, blacksmiths, and machinists for the Army.[80] By late 1917 higher education was shifting its focus from academic to military instruction.

Secretary Baker wrote to President Meiklejohn in February 1918 that the war had "emphasized very strongly" the value of colleges and universities to the nation, commending the "admirable spirit [with which they] placed their resources at the disposal of the War Department."[81] Despite the influx of students to Reserve Officer Training Corps programs, the housing of Military Aeronautic Schools, and mandatory daily drill, colleges, though producing qualified recruits, were unable to meet the ever-increasing demand for trained men. Secretary Baker wished to expand the armed forces by a further two-million men before July 1919, but, as predicted by the Army War College in 1915, there were not enough qualified men from which to recruit from.[82] With colleges united in purpose to prove their usefulness to the nation, and the U.S. military in great need, the colleges opened themselves to full exploitation by the federal government. On 13th February 1918, General Orders 18 created the Committee on Education and Special Training (CEST). Comprised of General Staff officers and a token advisory board of academics, it was their job to develop options for

[78] Technical Staff, *Technical Notes School of Military Aeronautics University of Illinois* (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1917); Technical Staff, *Technical Notes Prepared For The School of Military Aeronautics University of Illinois* (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1918); University of Illinois, "Housing and Physical Equipment" (Internal Memo, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, 1920), UA-UoI.
[79] Nettleton, *Yale In The World War*, 1925, 1:10.
[80] William Hall Smith to CEST, August 13, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[81] Newton D. Baker to Alexander Meiklejohn, February 26, 1918, AC-ASC.
[82] CEST to PCGs, August 28, 1918.

the full utilization of collegiate resources within the military's recruitment and training structure.[83] By summer they had drafted plans for the Students' Army Training Corps.

The S.A.T.C.'s Logistical Issues – No Hats, No Coats, No Buildings, No Space

In the first instance, the SATC program set about to stop the "wasteful depletion" of colleges through the premature enlistment and "indiscriminate volunteering" of students.[84] From the outbreak of the War students were leaving institutions in an alarming number; indeed, so many students had left Princeton that President Hibben had to urge students not to volunteer in mass numbers but to remain and receive specialized training. The SATC plan would "mobilize and develop the brain power" of these young men, both in the colleges and those thinking of registering, so to develop "a larger number of educated and trained men for the Army's needs."[85] The SATC would also standardize discrepancies in military training while bringing all forms of military instruction, at both private and Land-Grant schools, under one banner to provide an educated reserve to draw upon.[86] In theory, it was exactly what the War College and Land-Grant presidents had been lobbying for since 1915: equal and effective military training in all institutions regardless of their relationship to state and federal funding. To further centralize training, ROTC departments would be replaced by the SATC. The plan came with one major caveat, however. The SATC, authorized by Wilson as a separate branch of the U.S. Army, required all attendees to enlist with the U.S. Army for the War's duration. Enlistment, while purely voluntary, now became the only avenue to military

[83] War Department to Alexander Meiklejohn, February 13, 1918, AC-ASC; William Hall Smith to Col. Hugh S. Johnson, March 1, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[84] Baker to PCGs, May 6, 1918; The War Department to PCGs, "Announcement of the SATC," Circular, (June 29, 1918), UA-UoM; Col. Robert I. Reese and Lt.-Col. Grenville Clark to Arthur T. Hadley, July 10, 1918, YMA; CEST to PCGs, August 5, 1918, MSU-ASC; Col. Robert I. Reese and Lt.-Col. Grenville Clark to Arthur T. Hadley, August 5, 1918, YMA.
[85] The War Department to PCGs, "Announcement of the SATC," 1; Reese and Clark to Hadley, July 10, 1918.
[86] CEST to PCGs, August 5, 1918; Reese and Clark to Hadley, August 5, 1918.

training in the colleges, and, as a generation of college students sat hungering to prove their worth, it offered the United States Government easy access to "student-soldiers"[87]

Problems began almost as soon as the program was announced, and questions flew rapidly between administrators and the CEST. How would institutions of higher education continue academic work if the program was to turn campuses into military encampments? What accommodation would be made for non-SATC fee-paying students? Would fee-paying students become second-class? Who was going to pay for it all? And, most pressing, with limited government support, how would colleges be expected to accept an inflated number of students far beyond their maximum capacity? Answers from the CEST, short and hastily thrown together, were aimed at easing the minds of college administrators to the SATC's presence rather than offering concrete organizational agreements. To make the plan enticing, the Federal Government proposed to assume all costs, permitting that instruction, housing, and subsistence were kept between $1.75 and $2 a day.[88] At the University of Florida the Government agreed to pay $0.75 for food and $0.25 for board per day per student enrolled in the SATC in addition to $0.63 cents daily to cover "the usual fees" of the University. President Murphree thought it "enough to meet every charge for these accommodations and leave a goodly balance in the hands of [the] Boarding Department."[89] Cost for instruction varied widely and was often set without regard to actual costs, however. Daily instruction had been set to $0.80 at Mississippi State A&M, $.5929 at Amherst, $0.1766 at Illinois, and $1.00 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.[90] The Board of Trustees at Illinois thought it "inequitable" that MIT would be receiving $0.82 more for teaching "the same

[87] CEST to PCGs, August 28, 1918.
[88] Jas P. Munroe to William Hall Smith, March 19, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[89] Smith to CEST, August 13, 1918; Albert Alexander Murphree to The Honorable Board of Control, November 8, 1918, 3, UA-UoF.
[90] Business Department, CEST to Alexander Meiklejohn, September 1918, AC-ASC.

work," stating that the numbers bore "no relation to the real cost of instruction."[91] Many institutions had no choice but to accept. Smaller colleges, already strapped for cash and facing enrollment deficits, had either to accept the SATC, and the federal money that came with it, or shutter completely. Larger institutions had seen major drops in enrollment in 1917—an over sixty-three percent loss at Princeton and more than seventeen percent loss at Wisconsin—and for smaller colleges, whose entire student population routinely numbered below 300, even a fifteen percent decrease was tremendous.[92] A flood of students vouched and paid for by the U.S. Government was a highly enticing prospect. Not only for those schools looking to offset decreases, but also for schools looking to grow pre-war enrollment. At the University of Florida, for example, the SATC more than doubled the population of the school to 700; and at Illinois, with a pre-war studentship numbering ~3,000, the SATC detailed more than 5,000 students.[93]

Student training quotas, as enticing as they were, proved to be another frustrating source of contention between the colleges and the CEST. Questionnaires had been dispatched to the head administrators of colleges throughout the summer of 1918 inquiring as to the level of campus facilities, financial status, estimated costs per student, and, most importantly, an estimated max carrying capacity that might be accommodated without an undue burden. This number, as with many requests to the CEST, would be ignored. College presidents received telegrams in mid-September, long after quota sheets had been set, informing them that SATC plans had been revised on account of the draft age being lowered to 18. "New military program necessitates mobilization of all physically fit registrants under twenty-one within ten

[91] Harrison E. Cunningham, ed., "Meeting of the Board of Trustees" (University of Illinois, October 1, 1918), 136–37, UA-UoI, https://www.bot.uillinois.edu/board_meetings/minutes/minutes_archive.
[92] Levine, *Aspiration*, 24; University of Wisconsin-Madison Office of the President, "Comparison of 1917 and 1916 Fall Registrations by Colleges" (Internal Memo, Madison, Wisconsin, September 30, 1917), UoWM-A; Armstrong, "Princeton University During World War I."
[93] Albert Alexander Murphree to Thomas O. Otto, October 25, 1918, UA-UoF; Albert Alexander Murphree to Thomas O. Otto, December 27, 1918, UA-UoF.

months," wrote the CEST, "fundamental changes in college routine [are] necessary."[94] An August quota of 100,000 student-soldiers in the SATC had been increased by the CEST to 186,400 in October.[95] The University of Chicago had originally been allocated 1,500 students on 2nd October, but a week later the school was detailed an additional 300 without much warning.[96] Over $50,000 ($1.1-million AFI) of the University's private funds were expended in boarding up the arches on the Stagg Field bleachers to create makeshift barracks fit with steam heat and sky lights. Fraternity houses, already empty, were rented for more space and University buildings were gutted to create barracks and military classrooms to fit the excess students.[97] Iowa State similarly underwent a metamorphosis from college to military encampment. Initially authorized a quota of 1,500 students in early September, the number increased to 1,700 by mid-September and again to 2,200 (~560 of them women) at the end of September.[98] Edgar W. Stanton, Acting President, wired the CEST asking for a priority classification to alleviate issues in the requisition of supplies to meet the continually rising number of students. His wire was met with "no answer." In a 20th September wire, Stanton stressed again that the priority number was "absolutely necessary" or Iowa State would "have 2,000 men on our hands October first without any way to feed them."[99] There was still no answer. A telegraph the following day informed the CEST that there were "no cots, clean mattresses, or clean blankets available" for the barracks hastily constructed under the football

[94] CEST to COSATCs, "Athletics," Circular, (September 26, 1918), UA-UoM; Col. Robert I. Reese, "Athletics," Circular, (September 16, 1918), CLSC.
[95] CEST, "News Release" August 6, 1918, CLSC; Peyton C. March, "MEMORANDUM FOR THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE ARMY" October 1918, CLSC.
[96] "University Authorities Welcome New Student Army Training Corps," *DM*, October 2, 1918, Vol. XVII, No. 1.
[97] "Transforms Buildings Into S.A.T.C. Barracks," *DM*, October 9, 1918, Vol. XVII, No. 5.
[98] E. W. Stanton to Adjutant General, War Department, Telegram, (August 2, 1918), IS-USCD; E. W. Stanton, "Final Report to the Committee on Education and Special Training at Washington," December 3, 1918, 1, IS-USCD.
[99] E. W. Stanton to CEST, Telegram, (September 21, 1918), IS-USCD.

field bleachers, but Iowa State, "certain of 1500 men," would "do our level best to handle temporarily those above that number."[100] Iowa State was on its own.

In many ways the CEST was sticking to a circular of 12th September in which they informed President Meiklejohn of Amherst that while "every effort for prompt delivery" of necessary material would be made, it would "doubtless be impossible in all cases." The CEST informed administrators that colleges would need to be ready to open their doors on 1st October "irrespective of the arrival of bedding supplies" by making use of "facilities ordinarily employed" and "emergency arrangements as may be necessary."[101] The CEST's statement was rife with irony. Initial quotas of SATC detachments had already overburdened "facilities ordinarily employed," sending institutions scrambling to obtain, rent, or construct additional adequate facilities. Further detachments of students only added insult to injury. President James informed the CEST on 16th September that Illinois could house 2,000 men "with emergency equipment," but an additional 3,000 was beyond question as "facilities ordinarily employed" were being utilized by fee-paying students. "Unless we have 3,000 additional cots, mattresses, blankets by September twenty-fifth," he wired "[we] will be seriously embarrassed and 3,000 men may be without sleeping facilities."[102] Still the CEST insisted. When word reached the faculty that Illinois would be tackling a quota of 5,000 students, John A. Fairlie, professor of political science, wired the Comptroller that the number was "more than twice as many as is proposed for other institutions" and questioned whether the University was prepared to handle so many.[103] Much like Iowa State, Illinois was not prepared but had to make do. "Please," James pleaded with the CEST, "rush shipment of

[100] Buell to CEST, Telegram, (September 22, 1918), IS-USCD.
[101] CEST to Alexander Meiklejohn, September 12, 1918, AC-ASC.
[102] Edmund J. James to CEST, September 16, 1918, UA-UoI.
[103] John A. Fairlie to Lloyd Morey, September 10, 1918, UA-UoI.

this equipment."[104] The CEST response might have been expected: "it is thought that use of supplies available at the college or in the locality will meet any temporary emergency." [105]

Further irony set in as administrators scrambled to purchase blankets, cots, and even canvas tents but found that the U.S. Government had already purchased most of the civilian stock for military—and SATC—use. With 3,500 SATC students soon to be bearing down on Illinois and winter quickly approaching, the CEST informed President James that they desired institutions to "exercise initiative and resourcefulness in making the necessary arrangements for quarters and subsistence" rather than relying on military stocks.[106] Dean Clark, informed by the CEST that the private purchase of bedding by the University was "not desired" and unable to obtain from the same, exercised his "initiative and resourcefulness" by going door to door to gather up every available wool blanket in Urbana-Champaign, handing them out to students for three nights in a row as they arrived to campus. [107] Tents were purchased and erected outside of the armory for the School of Military Aeronautics, while the drill hall underwent extensive renovation to raise the floor 20ft to accommodate a mess hall for 5,000 underneath with showers and room for 2,000 beds above.[108] "We are reorganizing everything," wrote Dean Clark, "taking over all the fraternity houses, moving some of the girls to Urbana…nothing is as it used to be."[109] Despite emergency measures, SATC student-soldiers were not given permanent barracks at Illinois until 1st November.[110]

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[104] James to CEST, September 16, 1918.
[105] CEST to PSATCs, September 12, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[106] CEST to PSATCs, September 11, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[107] CEST to PSATCs, September 12, 1918; W. H. Cobb, "What Did Dean Thomas Arkle Clark Do For The Student Army Training Corps?," July 14, 1920, 4, UA-UoI.
[108] The Class of 1920 At The University of Illinois, *The 1920 Illio*, vol. Vol. 26 (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1919), 44, 47.
[109] Clark to DeGroot, September 19, 1918.
[110] "Permanent Quarters Assigned To S.A.T.C.," *DI*, October 30, 1918.

Furthermore, all types of promised material essential for the day-to-day running of the SATC had either been delayed or failed to reach the colleges before the armistice. Issues occurred throughout the country. "I can say that there was no more poorly managed undertaking than the organization of the SATC unit at Harvard," wrote Eugene Dupont, H'21-Wis'21, "the matter of uniforms, gloves, etc. alone deserve attention for it was absolutely farcical the way in which they were assigned to the new recruits."[111] Uniforms at Illinois failed to arrive until the end of October and, even then, hats were still forthcoming.[112] Even the University of Chicago's opening on 2nd October found them without "cots and other equipment" that had been "expected to arrive shortly."[113] The cots arrived the following week, ending a "period of uncertainty" for the SATC, but 4,000 blankets had to be sourced from elsewhere and uniforms sewn in khaki cotton rather than the official drab wool due to shortages.[114] The shortage bled even into personnel, with the CEST informing the Comptroller of Illinois that no army cooks could be secured for the SATC and that the University would be responsible for obtaining their own.[115] Construction and renovations for barracks, purchase of blankets and tents, and sourcing of cooks and fabric for uniforms burdened college treasuries as administrations were required to pay for any immediate expenses necessary for making their campuses ready. Logistical issues had to be endured to the best of ability, for the only concrete directive the CEST had issued was the official start date. On 1st October 1918, over 525 colleges scattered throughout the United States would have to open their doors as SATC encampments, blankets or not. When 1st October came,

[111] Eugene Dupont, "Alumni Records Office War Record Request, Eugene Dupont," August 27, 1929, UoWM-A.
[112] "Military Organization Is Whipped Into Shape," *DI*, October 20, 1918; "Student Soldiers May Receive Uniforms Soon," *DI*, October 9, 1918; "Only Issue Uniforms May Be Worn By S.A.T.C. Privates," *DI*, October 4, 1918.
[113] "University Authorities Welcome New Student Army Training Corps."
[114] "Organization of S.A.T.C. Taking Definite Form," *DM*, October 8, 1918, Vol. XVII, No. 4.
[115] Business Department, CEST to Lloyd Morey, September 18, 1918, UA-UoI.

over 140,000 students across the nation—some in uniform, some not—stood at attention in front of their college presidents and SATC commandants to be sworn in.[116]

The S.A.T.C.'s Administrative Issues – Military Officers vs. Collegiate Authorities

Instruction within the SATC program had been divided into two sections: an academic section for foreign languages, history, mathematics, and chemistry; and a military section for practical military instruction. A CEST memorandum of 8th October desired "a clear line of demarcation between military and the academic work," making clear that Commanding Officers had the "sole jurisdiction over the drill and the strictly military studies" (allotted eleven hours per week) while the academic authorities were wholly responsible for the academic instruction (allotted forty-two hours per week).[117] Courses related to practical and field instruction were more important to the military aims of the SATC, however. At Clemson students trained with machine guns in the hills around the South Carolina institution; at Princeton the students dug trenches, conducted bayonet practice, and practiced with shotguns and other small arms. Iowa State students received instruction in mechanics and engine repair. At the University of Illinois students learned artillery sighting on elaborately designed theatre sets. One group of students, the observers, sat ten-to-twelve feet above a miniature town in the mock basket of a survey balloon fitted with a telegraph; another group of students sat placed behind a wall with an obstructed view of the map ready to receive coordinates from those in the baskets; a final group of artillerymen were placed with no sight of the map whatsoever and relied on the middlemen to transmit correct coordinates for them to fire upon. All manner of special telegraphy, radio work, telephone repair, linesman work, and field signaling took place in campus machine shops across the nation. Blacksmithing at the University of Nebraska, cable splicing at the

[116] Axt, *The Federal Government and Financing Higher Education*, 75–76; Thelin, *A History*, 200.
[117] CEST to PCGs and COSATCs, October 8, 1918, YMA.

University of Michigan, horsemanship at Oregon Agricultural College, and pipe fitting at West Virginia University. Other classes in surveying, topographical drafting, and even meteorology were also offered.[118] It was expected that these courses would not interfere with the academic, but, as university administrators quickly discovered, the SATC's military instructors cared little for the academic work of students.

It was evident almost immediately that there existed a serious lack of trained army officers to detach to SATC units, leading the War Department to recall long-retired officers for duty on the homefront. To make matters of administration more complicated, collegiate presidents and faculty heads were at the same time being called to Washington to serve in emergency government roles. Indeed, so many academics joined the war effort in Washington that lunch at the capital Cosmos Club came to resemble an intercollegiate meeting of administrators and faculty members.[119] As a selection: Harry Garfield, President of Williams College, was called as Fuel Administrator; Raymond Pearson, the President of Iowa State, foremost dairyman in the country, was called as Undersecretary of Agriculture; George H. Denny, President of the University of Alabama, was called as head of the Cotton and Seed Department in the U.S. Food Administration; and his counterpart, Ray Lyman Wilbur, the President of Stanford, served as head of the Conservation Division.[120] With entire colleges in uniform and administrative capacities lessened by essential duties elsewhere, SATC Commanders came to exercise neigh absolute control over the campus. Those officers familiar with the collegiate sphere managed to keep academic and military work separate while retaining order. This was a small minority. The lion's share of officers proved entirely indifferent to the SATC's academic program, and many would exploit collegiate resources as a means to create grunts focused solely on drill and manual military labors rather than well-

[118] Dethloff and Adams, *Aggies Go To War*, 45.
[119] Levine, *Aspiration*, 35.
[120] Traxel, *Crusader Nation*, 319.

rounded and academically trained soldiers. Understandably, these officers were the cause of a great deal of tension between academic and military authorities, leading to the eventual demise of the SATC on college campuses.

When Malcolm H. Mabry, MS'20, arrived at Mississippi State A&M on 24th September 1918, he found "everything a big mess."[121] As would come to be the case in many SATC departments, the military authorities informed students that they would be doing so much drill that academic accoutrements would not be necessary. "I won't have any use for any of my books," Mabry wrote his mother, it was not a promising start.[122] Not long after the SATC matriculation at the University of Minnesota, President Marion L. Burton found himself frequently "disturbed" by reports from college heads of continual "interference with academic and scholastic work" by the orders of SATC instructors.[123] The College of Pharmacy had reported to the President that students were assigned to guard and kitchen duties during class hours and that SATC officers had informed protesting faculty members that, "it did not matter, that this was a military school, and so on, and so on;" the College of Chemistry reported that students were being delivered thirty minutes to an hour late to classes, thinking the academic work a "joke" and singing in the halls; and other faculty members reported that SATC officers were urging students to change from the professional schools to the war courses while spreading confusion about the compulsory nature of supervised academic study periods.[124] Burton wrote Major Ralph Adams, Minnesota's SATC Commandant, on 15th October that even if the interferences were "distinctly contrary" to Adams' "own wishes and desires," the Commandant would nevertheless need to make clear to SATC instructors "beyond all shadow of doubt" that "purely academic matters belong[ed]

[121] Malcolm H. Mabry to Mamma, September 24, 1918, MSU-ASC.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Marion LeRoy Burton to Major Ralph R. Adams, "Interference with Scholastic Work," October 15, 1918, UA-UoM.
[124] Ibid.

to the educational authorities and not to them." "It is not part of their function or duty," wrote Burton, "to advise students in regard to their academic work."[125] Despite these attempts, issues persisted.

The situation at Princeton was no less bogged down by issues between the military and academic authorities. Records are scarce but suggest a rocky relationship between President Hibben and Princeton SATC Commandant Colonel John Pierson. Charles A. Richmond, President of Union College, advised that President Hibben have "a little quiet talk" on a "very human basis" with Pierson to alleviate tensions, suggesting that all cordial interaction between president and commander had broken down.[126] Summing up the broader issue succinctly, Richmond ended his advice to Hibben by telling him that the conflict would "continue to arise until the military men come to feel as keen an interest in having the academic work well done as the academic men feel in having the military work well done."[127] It was not until the beginning of November that the CEST took any action to reign in SATC instructors. A CEST memorandum of 4th November informed college presidents of a problem they already knew—students were "seriously neglecting academic work" due to military duties "infringe[ing] unduly on academic schedules"—and gave only meagre suggestion that administrators "make such adjustments" that were amenable to all parties.[128] The following day SATC Commanders were directed to "make every possible provision for the requirements of academic study," but issues continued until the armistice.[129]

Hibben soon found that lack of respect for the academic side of the SATC went far beyond Colonel Pierson. When Hibben's office received orders to dispatch 107 students (in

[125] Ibid.
[126] Charles A. Richmond to John Grier Hibben, October 17, 1918, PUA-MML.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Col. Robert I. Reese to Arthur T. Hadley, November 4, 1918, YMA.
[129] CEST to COSATCs, November 5, 1918, YMA.

addition to sixty already called) to Fort Lee on 20th October, Hibben responded immediately that he was "greatly disturbed."[130] Peer institutions were dealing with similar problems. Illinois had been given a monthly quota of ninety dispatches in addition to constant calls to aviation schools or Officer Training camps.[131] On paper, the SATC had orchestrated to keep students in training; in practice, it facilitated rapid advance to combat roles. "We had a distinct understanding with your Committee that no students would be taken away until the 1st of January," Hibben fumed in his telegram to MIT President R. C. Maclaurin, the CEST Director of College Training, "if this policy is continued it will render all academic work absolutely futile."[132] Colonel Robert I. Reese, General Staff Corps, replied to Hibben that calls were "urgent for military reason" and thus "paramount to academic training."[133]

The SATC experience of the University of Alabama may be used as a prime example of the neglect that came to plage SATC departments across the country. Over a period of three months Alabama was terrorized by a figure known only as "Major Ord." Ord's arrival to Alabama is, at the very best, a puzzling affair. The *Crimson White* makes no announcement of his appointment, no pictures of his time on campus exist, and the University records have been seemingly purged of any reference to him; indeed, the only surviving mentions of the Major appear in the *Crimson White* from 26th October to 6th December 1918 and the *War Corolla*, the 1918 student yearbook. Further research identifies Edward Otho Cresap Ord II as Alabama's mysterious Major. A decorated military veteran, Ord had served in various Indian Campaigns in Texas during the 1880s, the Ghost Dancer revolt in 1891, the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, and the Moro Rebellion before becoming military

[130] John Grier Hibben to R. C. Maclaurin, October 20, 1918, PUA-MML.
[131] "Accept Fifty-Nine Men For Officers' Schools," *DI*, October 12, 1918; "85 From S.A.T.C. Sent To Officers Training Camps," *HC*, November 1, 1918.
[132] Hibben to Maclaurin, October 20, 1918.
[133] R. I. Reese to John Grier Hibben, Telegram, (October 22, 1918), PUA-MML.

aid to the governor of Arizona during the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1916.[134] He was in retirement when returned to the active list in 1917. From thence, information is conflicting. The *Who's Who in California* of 1929 notes Ord as having served in the Quartermaster's Corps in Big Bend, Texas, during the War, making no mention of service at Alabama, while *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography* of 1936 notes that he served as a military instructor at the University for over a year before being returned to the active-duty list.[135] At any rate, Ord became the SATC Commandant at Alabama sometime before October 1918.

Ord began consolidating his executive power across campus on the 26th of October. Striking first at athletics, the *Crimson White* reported that the Major had rescinded orders from "one of the officers" that football men would be excused from drill for practice.[136] Coach B. L. Noojin was no less annoyed when, a few days later, the Major ordered the athletic committee to cancel the football season and suspend all athletic practices to make room for drill. This was not uncommon. Yale, Harvard, Cornell, and Princton suspended their football seasons entirely.[137] A CEST circular to SATC detachments on 26th September 1918 had "strongly encouraged" sports between ad hoc campus teams, but deemed large university spectacles with intense training schedules and long distance travel "inconsistent with the soldiers' program of drill and study."[138] Dean LeBaron R. Briggs at Harvard said as much, telling *Crimson* interviewers that "plans for intensive military training [made it] highly improbable that the SATC candidates would have time for intercollegiate contests."[139] The War Department changed course on 3rd October, adapting the SATC curriculum to permit

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[134] Justice B. Detwiler, ed., *Who's Who In California: A Biographical Directory, 1928-29* (San Francisco, California: Who's Who Publishing Company, 1929), 438; *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. XXV (New York: James T. White & Company, 1936), 445.
[135] Detwiler, *Who's Who In California*, 438; *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, XXV:445.
[136] "All University Athletics Have Been Canceled," *CW*, October 23, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1.
[137] Judith Ann Schiff, "Yale and the Great War," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, December 2018; "Athletics Adjourned," *HC*, November 1, 1918.
[138] CEST to COSATCs, "Athletics."
[139] "Athletic Situation In Doubt," *HC*, September 24, 1918.

student practice one and a half hours a day.[140] Participation by all soldiers was deemed "desired," but the "spectacular contests" with "large gate receipts" were still considered inappropriate.[141] Cancelation of football for those in the SATC program was well within Ord's remit given the order of 3rd October, but the Major cancelled football across the entirety of campus. Other institutions did not do the same. At the University of Illinois, despite their overabundance of SATC men, the football schedule continued in full force with freshmen making up the dearth of upperclassmen on the varsity teams.[142] Even Stagg still managed to put out a forceable eleven to battle the Big Ten Conference, while Iowa State and the Ohio State University continued fielding teams.[143]

One week later, the *Crimson White* reported that the University Supply Store had come into the crosshairs of Ord's campus restructuring. A committee of investigation had been appointed by Ord to "determine the status" of the University-run store in relation to the University's designation as an SATC cantonment.[144] The University administration wished to keep the store, which supplied textbooks, pennants, paper, and "many things that the [military] Canteen can not well supply" to non-SATC students, but Ord and his committee determined that since the students were soldiers they should do their trading at a Post Exchange or Canteen. The Major then demanded that the Supply Store either close and turn its stocks over to the SATC or pay a twenty percent "canteen fund" out of the gross profits.[145]

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[140] Col. Robert I. Reese to COSATCs, "Athletics," Circular, (October 3, 1918), UA-UoM.
[141] Ibid.
[142] "Jones Sends Freshmen Against Varsity Team," *DI*, October 3, 1918; "Zuppke Selects Men For Varsity Squad," *DI*, October 4, 1918.
[143] "Army Heads To Send Decision On Big Ten Football Schedule," *DM*, October 4, 1918; "Big Ten Coaches Meet Today To Fix Football Schedule," *DM*, October 8, 1918; "Stagg's Team Will Meet Strong Eleven From Pier Saturday," *DM*, October 9, 1918.
[144] "Supply Store May Be Closed," *CW*, October 30, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2.
[145] Ibid.; Suzanne Rau Wolfe, *The University of Alabama, A Pictorial History* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1983), 136; Matthew Culver, "The University of Alabama in WW1," *The Frances S. Summersell Center for the Study of the South*, May 24, 2017, https://summersell.ua.edu/student-research/the-university-of-alabama-in-wwi/#:~:text=Sometime%20around%20the%20establishment%20of,only%20as%20a%20vilified%20ghost.

Faculty push back in defiance to Ord's overreach of authority on the Supply Store only added fuel to the flame. Ord responded by degrading meals served to the non-SATC men and moved them to shoddy residences despite their status as fee-paying students.[146] By 6th November Major Ord had completely assumed command of the campus, mandating compulsory study hours for both SATC and non-SATC students and ordering societies and clubs to cease operations entirely.[147] The CEST had asked institutions to suspend fraternity activities for SATC students on 16th October, stating that the social life (read: collegiate lifestyle) of fraternities were "incompatible in the very nature of things" within the new military establishment.[148] The order was rescinded on 8th November, the CEST again changing stance and informing Commandants that it was "desired that no restrictions shall be placed on elections to fraternities [and] that no restrictions shall be placed on fraternity activities."[149] Nevertheless, neither order seemed to affect the other colleges as they did Alabama. Clubs and organizations did not fall under either order, continuing operation based on student demand. Likewise, fraternities remained open and popular. The University of Illinois reported a "frantic rushing season," and the University of Chicago's Commandant did not receive the order of 16th October to bar SATC men from fraternities until the day before it was rescinded.[150] Ord had once again made sweeping changes that effected both SATC and non-SATC students well beyond the scope of CEST memorandums.

It seems that Major Ord had set out to dismantle all traces of the academic college, going as far to degrade non-SATC students to second class citizens. On the morning of

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[146] "Non-S.A.T.C. Men's Petition Should Be Heard," *CW*, November 6, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3.
[147] "Societies Killed By Authorities," *CW*, November 6, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3.
[148] Chesleigh H. Briscoe and Raymond A. Pearson, "College Life and Fraternities," Administrative Memo, (October 16, 1918), Department of Military Science Subject Files, IS-USCD; CEST to Arthur T. Hadley, "College Life and Fraternities," Administration Memo, (October 16, 1918), YMA.
[149] CEST to Arthur T. Hadley, Administration Memo, (November 8, 1918), YMA.
[150] "Major Dana Receives Order Forbidding All Fraternity Activities," *DM*, November 7, 1918, Vol. XVII, No. 22; "Frantic Rushing Season Results In 139 Pledges," *DI*, October 13, 1918.

Saturday, 2nd November, non-SATC men were called to assembly "suddenly and without warning," marched in military order to the Phi Gamma Delta fraternity house, and then made to drain sewage water from the basement with buckets "under pain of punishment."[151] One student told *Crimson White* reporters that, "the worst kitchen or latrine police that could be given S.A.T.C. men for breach of military discipline was not comparable in unpleasantness to the task."[152] Another told that water in the basements was knee deep and, in at least one house, "the sewage system defective, and conditions in the basement were almost intolerable.[153] The *Crimson White* subsequently published an open letter to the military authorities reminding Ord that he was "not the Kaiser."[154] The *Crimson White* was not heard from again until 5th December. It was later revealed that the newspaper's editors were arrested and thrown in jail by Major Ord "on account of certain articles published" and the newspaper censored entirely.[155] The *Crimson White* was not the only paper censored by the military authorities. An order from Harvard SATC Commander Colonel C. A. Williams forbade any SATC student to "be connected in any way with college publications" due to censorship issues and because "military work would suffer," leading the *Harvard Crimson* to cease operation.[156] Other papers simply suspended operation due to the demands of the SATC course. The *Daily Princetonian* ceased its operation due to "radical change in undergraduate purposes," with the "daily routine" of the SATC being "so exacting as to preclude newspaper work;" and the *Yale Daily News*, which reported the cessation of the former two papers,

[151] "Non-S.A.T.C. Men Forced To Perform Menial Tasks, Clean Basements Of Houses," *CW*, November 6, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3.
[152] Ibid.
[153] "Non-S.A.T.C. Men Protest Strongly," *CW*, November 6, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3.
[154] Wolfe, *Alabama*, 139.
[155] "The Former S.A.T.C.," *CW*, December 5, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4.
[156] "Colonel Williams' Order Aimed At All College Publications," *HC*, October 4, 1918; "Harvard Crimson Suspends Publication During War," *YDN*, October 12, 1918; the paper was later resuscitated by graduate editors, see "Carry On," *HC*, October 25, 1918.

ceased due to all six of its editors having become involved with military operations.[157] None of them had been jailed, however. *Crimson White* editors were held in confinement for a month until the President's return in December. When President Denny returned from Washington, he found a campus overcome with "confusion and disorder" caused by students having been given conflicting orders with "disturbing frequency" since 1st October.[158] It is from this point that Major Ord leaves the archive. Quite literally, as the *Crimson White* stated that he "left, it is reported, for the West."[159] A final note in the 1919 *War Crolla* reconciled the students to their military experience: "Our association to the 'Major.'"[160] "If we are sufficiently keen to absorb only a fraction of his diagnostic acuity," the students wrote, "we need never fear passing over an empyema or malarial cachexia."[161]

The exact source of Major Ord's authority remains a puzzle. Colonel George LeRoy Brown, who had served as a military instructor at, among others, the University of Tennessee, Delaware College, and the University of Arizona before coming to Alabama in July of 1917 to head the ROTC department, was still on campus in some form of administrative capacity but subordinate to Ord despite his higher rank. Of this the archives yield no answers. A further survey of the working relationships between SATC Commanders and collegiate administrators elsewhere reveals that tense and strained relations existed primarily in colleges where the War Department detached commanders unfamiliar with and misunderstanding of the collegiate space. President Robert L. Slagle wrote that the SATC Commander at the University of South Dakota was "not at all satisfactory" due to his indifference towards

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[157] "Daily Princetonian Suspends Publication During War Period," *YDN*, October 15, 1918; "News Decides To Suspend Publication During War," *YDN*, October 19, 1918; "Eli Daily Discontinued for War," *HC*, November 8, 1918.
[158] "An Emergency Duty," *CW*, October 23, 1918, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1.
[159] "The Former S.A.T.C."
[160] The Corolla Board, *The War Corolla, 1919*, vol. XXVI (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The Students of the University of Alabama, 1919), 227.
[161] Ibid.

academic affairs at the University. “We were particularly unfortunate,” Slagle wrote in a final report, “in having at the head of the military side of the work an officer of mediocre ability with an assistant who had not enuf [sic] education to gain admission to the high school and was not at all in sympathy with university ideals.”[162] The Commander at John Wesleyan College was similarly “not in sympathy to college standards or college ideals,” going as far to “disregard on one occasion at least, college propriety in relation to the young ladies.”[163] For these commanders, their detachment to campus focused on one thing: making soldiers. Though an extreme case, Major Ord is a prime example an army officer who snubbed the official delineation between military and academic work and commandeered collegiate resources on account of military necessity during a moment of national crisis.

In colleges where the detached Commander was selected from the existing faculty, tensions were far less escalatory. Summoned to Washington as Undersecretary of Agriculture, President Pierson remained to serve on the CEST’s advisory board until the end of the War. As the entire Iowa State campus was in uniform, the SATC Commander became the de facto head administrator of the college in Pierson’s absence.[164] By a happy stroke of luck, the War Department had selected the seventy-four-year-old General James Rush Lincoln as the SATC Commandant. Lincoln had been serving as a military instructor at Iowa State since 1883, having been recalled from retirement and placed on active duty as a Major in 1917. Lincoln was an experienced soldier with nearly sixty years of military experience dating back to his service with the Confederacy during the Civil War. Much like Ord, Lincoln exercised a wide swath of authority over the campus, especially during an influenza-pneumonia outbreak that coincided with the arrival of SATC students in October. The outbreak killed fifty-one and

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[162] Robert L. Slagle to Edward E. Nicholson, November 29, 1918, UA-UoM.
[163] Sammuel Wein to Edward E. Nicholson, December 2, 1918, UA-UoM.
[164] “Pearson to Washington,” *The Des Moines Register*, April 5, 1917, IS-USCD; David F. Houston to Raymond A. Pearson, August 8, 1918, Raymond A. Pearson Papers, 1892-1983, IS-USCD; David F. Houston to Raymond A. Pearson, August 31, 1918, Raymond A. Pearson Papers, 1892-1983, IS-USCD.

infected thousands more—at the height over 1,200 filled Iowa State's campus hospital. General Lincoln acted quickly. The campus was quarantined, classes were cancelled, and roadblocks were erected with a system of passes to restrict movement between downtown Aimes and the college grounds. Despite coming close to enacting marital law on campus, relations between General Lincoln and Acting President Stanton were more than cordial. On account of his broad knowledge of the innerworkings of Iowa State, having served as Professor of Military Tactics for thirty-five years, Lincoln took great strides to maintain the separation of academic and military study, eliminating flashpoints between faculty and SATC officers that led to deteriorating relations elsewhere. Other colleges, such as the Iowa State Teachers College and Union College, reported similarly "superior" commandants, though this should be regarded as the exception and not the norm.[165]

Conclusion – The S.A.T.C.'s Misinterpreted Legacy

"The S.A.T.C. is to go out of business December twenty-first," wrote Illinois Dean of Men, Thomas Arkle Clark, "I shed no tears."[166] In contrast to Dean Clark, historians have treated the SATC experience favorably. Roger Geiger has written that collegiate administrators "generally praised" the program's coordination and centralization, while Levine has argued that the program was a "resounding success" throughout American higher education.[167] As this chapter has shown, the SATC was mired by logistical and administrative issues throughout its three month lifespan. Contrary to centralizing military training and coordinating college work with the military establishment, the SATC continually dispatched SATC students elsewhere for training and pitted administrators and military authorities against each other over delineation of power. Most visibly, the SATC completely dismantled

[165] H. H. Seerly to Edward E. Nicholson, November 27, 1918, UA-UoM; Richmond to Hibben, October 17, 1918.
[166] Thomas Arkle Clark to Horace E. DeGroot, December 10, 1918, UA-UoI.
[167] Geiger, *Higher Education*, 436–37; Levine, *Aspiration*, 33.

the pre-War college; as Rufus B. von KleinSmid, President of the University of Arizona, stated after the War, "curriculum and traditions have been literally pulled to pieces."[168]

Questions rounded over the SATC's future when news of the armistice broke. The CEST met with fervent resistance from administrators when it released plans for continuing the program until the end of the 1919 school year. Acting President Stanton wrote in his final report to the CEST that there was a "much better spirit" at Iowa State among the faculty and students since word was received that the SATC would be demobilized.[169] Other presidents began voicing similar sentiments as soon as the War ended. President Hibben wrote Secretary Baker on 15th November that it was "very necessary" that the academic functions of higher education be reinstated and be "disturbed as little as possible." "We have made our academic life wholly secondary to the training of our young men for immediate military service from the beginning," Hibben declared, "now with changed conditions I feel that the men who can be spared should resume their studies [and] should have this privilege if they so desire."[170] It was time to return to business as usual.

Throughout the end of November, Edward E. Nicholson, Dean of Student Affairs at the University of Wisconsin, wrote to mid-western presidents for their candid estimations of the SATC on their campuses. In fairness to Levine and Geiger's arguments, the responses Nicholson received were mixed. Larger universities, facing the same irritations as Alabama and complaining continually of military authorities decidedly against the collegiate way of doing things, deemed the SATC a failure; smaller schools, choaked by the overwhelming loss of students and tuition revenue due to the War, found the SATC's influx of fee-paying students worth the organizational and administrative imbroglios.

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[168] President von KleinSmid, quoted in Martin, *Lamp in the Desert*, 132.
[169] Stanton, "Final Report to the Committee on Education and Special Training at Washington," 3.
[170] John Grier Hibben to Newton D. Baker, November 15, 1918, PUA-MML.

"I certainly hope not to live long enough to see our universities again turned into mere officer nurseries," wrote W.G. Hastings, Acting Chancellor of the University of Nebraska, to Nicholson.[171] For many institutions the SATC proved to be a perplexing logistical nightmare, with one President lamenting that "the management and organization ha[d] been most deplorable."[172] Chief complaints revolved around three main issues: the complexities of the dual administration of an academic institution interwoven with an independent military cantonment, incessant secondment of students from academic work for "whatever might interest the military side," and continual clashes between academic faculty and military instructors over the proper allocation of student attention. Edwin Ladd, President of North Dakota Agricultural College, stated that the SATC was "a terrible mistake" and a "complete educational failure."[173] "I do not believe that the educational and administrative side of the college can be subordinated to the military and war department and make a success of education," he wrote.[174] Other presidents shared similar complaints. Dean Samuel Weir of John Wesleyan College stated the SATC was "not workable and the organization far from satisfactory," while L.W. Boe, President of St. Olaf College, called the SATC a "disappointment" that "firmly convinced [us] the whole system was wrong" as "each department interfered with the other."[175] Moral and spiritual ideas also caused clashes. Cotner University declared itself "decidedly against" the SATC as it had "compromised" the ideals which the institution stood for.[176] And administrators at Nebraska Wesleyan similarly complained that religious work had been "hedged around by so many restrictions."[177] These reports show a very different view than the rosy depictions offered by Levine and Geiger.

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[171] W.G. Hastings to E. E. Nicholson, November 27, 1918, UA-UoM.
[172] Edwin F. Ladd to E. E. Nicholson, November 26, 1918, UA-UoM.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Wein to Nicholson, December 2, 1918; L. W. Boe to Edward E. Nicholson, December 11, 1918, UA-UoM.
[176] A. D. Harmon to Edward E. Nicholson, November 29, 1918, UA-UoM.
[177] I.B. Schreckengast to E. E. Nicholson, November 29, 1918, UA-UoM.

The SATC did receive favorable reviews from administrators of smaller colleges. George S. Dick, President of the Kearney State Normal School, stated that the SATC had "not been an entire failure."[178] Along with letters stating that benefits of the SATC had outweighed the complexities, Dean Nicholson received many letters lamenting that the program had been disbanded before the end of the school year. "Personally I think it had been quite a success at Central," wrote M. F. Hoffman, President of Central College, "[however] I feel the way many other do, that this innovation had not had the time that was due to it in order to show its worth and to give those interested a fair idea as to its value."[179] Hoffman, along with presidents at the Dubuque College and Seminary, Jamestown College, and the University of North Dakota, among others, thought that the experiment had not been given enough time to give an adequate appraisal, but on the most part considered the program a "very decided success."[180] It must be noted, however, that complaint was made of poor academic work, domination of military authorities, and the cessation of collegiate life even among administrators regretting the SATC's disbandment.[181] Entirely glowing accounts of the SATC should be taken as the exception, not as the norm.

The colleges which Levine and Geiger have based their studies received new buildings and major increases in income and enrollment through the SATC. Levine notes that Pomona College "floundered" when America entered the War, until the SATC injected much needed capital to fill the coffers and bodies to fill the halls.[182] But, even then, this argument is overly sanguine. Levine and Geiger fail to examine the aftermath of the SATC on college finances. The daily expenses of the SATC fell to the colleges in the first instance, with

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[178] George S. Dick to Edward E. Nicholson, December 2, 1918, UA-UoM.
[179] M. F. Hoffman to Edward E. Nicholson, December 6, 1918, UA-UoM.
[180] Ibid.; Cornelius E. Steffens to Edward E. Nicholson, November 27, 1918, UA-UoM; B. H. Kroeze to Edward E. Nicholson, November 27, 1918, UA-UoM; Thomas F. Kane to Edward E. Nicholson, November 27, 1918, UA-UoM.
[181] Arthur Holmes to Nicholson, December 7, 1918, UA-UoM.
[182] Levine, *Aspiration*, 32–33.

repayment made at semester's end. Over $679,000 ($14.58-million AFI) had been expended by Illinois from September to December 1918, leading the Treasurer to report that the program had "exhausted the entire cash balance" of the University within three months.[183] Administrations at Chicago and Iowa State had incurred similar expenditures, fronting the entire cost of transforming football fields and classrooms into barracks and back again. Institutions not possessing of adequate facilities benefited from the U.S. Army stepping in to build them, but even then, they were often left in the lurch at the War's end. Ironically, contrary to Levine's own findings, such was the case with Pomona. The barracks at Pomona cost the College $16,000, of which the government paid $10,000 and an outside donor paid $4,000. The remaining $2,000—three to five thousand by Pomona's President's own reports—was footed by the College.[184] Other institutions similarly had to draw from their cash reserves to modify their campuses. Repayment was painfully slow and, at times, not guaranteed. "We have not to date received a cent for our expenses," wrote President B.H. Kroeze of Jamestown College, "I have had to barrow at the banks."[185] Illinois likewise had to barrow for operating costs as only $175,000 had been repaid by 8th January 1919. When their accounts were finally settled in May 1919, over $12,000 ($260,000 AFI) had been declared "excessive" by SATC representatives.[186] Further research is necessary for a more complete picture of the effects of SATC finances, but where larger institutions might have been able to make up such a shortfall, smaller institutions would have certainly found themselves having lost money rather than gaining it from the SATC.

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[183] Harrison E. Cunningham, ed., "Meeting of the Board of Trustees" (University of Illinois, January 8, 1919), 221, UA-UoI, https://www.bot.uillinois.edu/board_meetings/minutes/minutes_archive.
[184] Wilson Lyon, *The History of Pomona College 1887-1969* (Claremont, California: Pomona College, 1977), 188–89.
[185] Barend H. Kroeze to E. E. Nicholson, November 27, 1918, UA-UoM.
[186] Harrison E. Cunningham, ed., "Meeting of the Board of Trustees" (University of Illinois, May 16, 1919), 326–31, UA-UoI, https://www.bot.uillinois.edu/board_meetings/minutes/minutes_archive.

That the SATC program was an instrumental step forward for American mass education is a claim that I do not dispute with Levine. President of Parsons College, R.A. Montgomery, wrote in his report to the CEST of a phenomenon that took place across SATC institutions. "A new valuation of college education has come to many of these young men who have been accepted for the SATC," wrote Montgomery, "to some, the value of a college education has appeared for the first time."[187] Unlike never before, America's colleges and universities were open to larger swaths of the American public and, as long as one had a high school diploma, they were guaranteed entrance. I do not agree with Levine's assessment that the SATC catered to the "more well educated and financially comfortable," however.[188] Students enlisting with the SATC were plucked straight from American high schools and, rather than the educated collegians they were replacing in the halls of academia, many of them had never left their home towns—nor had any aspirations to—before the SATC cracked open the college gates. These student-soldiers, many of whom would never have passed entrance examinations, were certainly not the more "well educated."[189] "Some obviously come with little taste or inclination for study," wrote Monsignor Humphrey Moynihan of St. Thomas College, while Acting Chancellor Hastings wrote of "undesirables" who had been "making no effort" to complete any academic work.[190] They were also not the "financially comfortable." President Montgomery wrote that the dissolution of the SATC would leave many students "seriously embarrassed, financially" unless provision was made for "taking care of their obligations."[191] President Kroeze similarly wrote of SATC men who had "been

[187] R. Ames Montgomery to Edward E. Nicholson, November 24, 1918, UA-UoM.
[188] Levine, *Aspiration*, 31.
[189] Grenville Clark, "Pamphlet Outlining War Issues Course" (CEST, September 10, 1918), 3, Southwestern University Special Collections.
[190] Humphrey Moynihan to E. E. Nicholson, November 29, 1918, UA-UoM; Hastings to Nicholson, November 27, 1918.
[191] Montgomery to Nicholson, November 24, 1918.

imbued with a desire to obtain a Higher Education" but had "no other way of meeting their educational expenses" besides SATC funding.[192]

Newspapers and magazines with slogans touting that it was "patriotic to go to college" had flooded national life, intriguing many to the chance of attending the United States' most prestigious universities. Absolved from the burden of tuition and the costs of room and board, going to college and training for specialized positions in the Army seemed a preferable option to waiting for the draft. Though the end of the War brought the end of SATC funding, administrators urged their SATC men to remain and finish their academic courses for college credit. Thousands more who had only a few weeks' taste of a collegiate education longed to return. In the years following the War, student populations jumped from five percent of the population to more than eight percent of the population between the ages 18 and 20.[193] The SATC, for all its logistical issues, helped to facilitate this large-scale increase. Collegiate administrators would never again take the same course, however. When war again threatened the nation, nothing comparable to the SATC appeared on American campuses, for collegiate administrators recognized—in retrospect—that unrestrained military commandeering demanded more than institutions of higher learning could endure without compromising their academic and moral purposes.

[192] Kroeze to Nicholson, November 27, 1918, November 27, 1918.
[193] Earnest, *Academic Procession*, 284.

The Unmaking of Martial Minds, A Conclusion

At the turn of the century, the idea of a united American university was still relatively new. Indeed, according to Gruber, the entirety of American higher education lacked a clear identity and was without a defined sense of purpose.[1] The American landscape was dotted with institutions aligned to disjointed prerogatives—ranging from scientific advancement to strengthening the nation's martial might to the enlightenment of the human mind—each one vying for funding and national recognition. When Edward Slosson toured ten of the largest institutions from 1900 to 1902, he found that members of *the collegiate* "were so far apart in their statements about life and work and aims," when describing the same universities, "that one would have supposed that they were talking about different institutions."[2] Yet, amongst such confusion, one common aim lingered in the background: a long-standing commitment to educating citizens fit for national service in civil and martial capacities. For nearly three hundred years, this aim had served as American higher education's principal claim to legitimacy. The First World War would unite the other discordant elements under this single purpose with unprecedented intensity.

All levels of *the collegiate* renewed their commitment to some form of national service and pursued it undeterredly throughout the conflict. Colleges and universities eagerly put aside their academic aims to arm the nation with men, material, and research, embarking on a legitimizing mission to prove itself useful to the nation not only in times of peace but also in times of great national crisis. Such service to the nation during the First World War was formative, laying the foundation upon which a century of collegiate–government cooperation would be built. But an unpopular war in Vietnam, coupled with significant social and academic upheaval and changing attitudes towards the once clear-cut ideas of national

[1] Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 44.
[2] Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 44–45.

service, collegiate loyalty, and school spirit, would substantially weaken the martial character of collegiate–government cooperation. All but completely eliminated, the once fervent martial spirit of American higher education is now only to be found in the archives, embodied in the correspondence of Collegiate Era collegians and chiseled into cold marble of grand campus memorials.

The Unmaking – Firm Foundations

The First World War blurred the lines between society and the state, giving colleges and universities an unprecedented chance to prove their worth to broader American society.[3] In *Gentlemen and Scholars*, W. Bruce Leslie cautioned historians against overemphasizing the *national* at the expense of the *local* in collegiate history. I would normally agree with him. In an era when the majority of colleges enrolled fewer than three hundred total students annually, institutions were more closely tethered to the circumstances of their local communities than to changes within the broader national sphere. But the War smashed this barrier and brought *national* matters directly to the *local* doorstep. The colleges, already striving to extend their notoriety beyond the local sphere, readily placed their resources, buildings, and students at the nation's disposal, hoping to capitalize on the publicity and good favor that would follow. In this pursuit, administrators proved willing to pursue success at any measure, as students had done for decades, often exhibiting wanton disregard for academic aims. "It would be forgotten for a time," wrote William Summerscales of Columbia University in *Affirmation and Dissent* (1970), "that the university belongs to human civilization rather than to national purpose."[4] The non-martial aims of the college were laid aside on the mantel of national service, and no step for the defense of the nation would be too far.

[3] Ibid., 5; Earnest, *Academic Procession*, 245.
[4] Summerscales, *Affirmation and Dissent,* 141.

Contrary to the current historical narrative, the road to such an eager abandonment of higher education's humanitarian purposes began long before the War Department commandeered the colleges in the final months of 1918. Aided by the favorable interest of their studentships, some institutions had been working to foster closer commitments with the military establishment since the end of the Civil War. By 1913, collegians, instilled with a commitment to national service from their universities, embraced military preparedness as a historical and honorable means of fulfilling their obligations to the nation. One of the largest, if not the most prolific and active section of American society, members of *the collegiate* eagerly promoted preparedness and overwhelmingly engaged in interventionist actions. They were truly, as described by Edwin Morse in 1919, the "Vanguard of the American Volunteers:" they paid to spend their summers in SMICs, they routinely petitioned their administrations for increased on-campus military opportunities, they volunteered to undertake the dangerous job of driving ambulances in shell torn regions, and they risked their lives to push the early boundaries of military aeronautics. These things—and many more—they did before America had even entered the War. It should be of no surprise, then, that *the collegiate* endorsed and accepted the imposition of wartime measures—restrictions on academic freedom, limits on student free speech, pressure for mass enlistment and commission, and the thorough reorganization of the academic sphere under military oversight—as readily as, if not more readily than, the War Department. Conversion of the temple of Daskalos into the temple of Ares was driven just as much—if not more—from within as it was imposed from without.

Collegians played a more consequential role in shaping higher education's First World War experience than has previously been understood. Long presented as a section of American society disinterested and detached from national and world events, American college students were innately attuned to the goings-on beyond their college gates. By 1910, American college students had grown more voluntarily engaged and politically active in their

local, national, and global communities than had their predecessors. New clubs brought political movements and discourse to the campus, while organizations such as the YMCA involved students in humanitarian aid work both locally and abroad. Immersed within a collegiate experience that held such things as loyalty and service as the highest traits and ideals one could have, collegians felt the pressure to do their best in their new endeavors. They were expected to *do something*, to bring glory upon their *alma mater* by any means necessary, and prove themselves to their friends, their university, and, eventually, their nation. But, while fighting pitched battles on the great playing fields of the college gridiron, enacting strategy in the ever-ruthless world of student politics, or giving one's time and service to a seemingly endless list of clubs and organizations had allowed for ample opportunities to bring glory to one's college, it was the First World War which truly gave collegians the opportunity to prove their mettle.

It cannot be overstated that young men had been longing for an opportunity to prove themselves under fire since first hearing of what must have seemed like the greatest man-making and adventurous event in the nation's young history. Their grandfathers and numerous other Civil War veterans had instilled in them a belief that they would not be worthy of life's treasures until they had proven they would fight—and perhaps die—for them. In the absence of war, they cultivated a warlike environment unknown before, and not seen since, the Collegiate Era, in which they staged their own mock battles and risked their lives for *alma mater*. Even so, America's most promising youth were still left feeling as if they had missed their one great opportunity. They were loath to miss another, and the Great War, as was the Civil War for students in 1861, was for them the ultimate chance to prove that they were willing to sacrifice.

In the beginning they went in a trickle. America's first combatants were not an organized unit but rather individuals and sporadic groups of college students who departed

their studies for humanitarian aid services and alumni who quit their jobs to enlist with foreign armies. They soon began writing home to local newspapers, national magazines, and alumni bulletins in terms un-neutral and blatantly interventionist, enticing their collegiate comrades to join them with every word of the War's devastation. Their numbers steadily grew as a flood of uncensored interventionist writings called for all Americans, collegiate or not, to consider the role the United States ought to assume in international affairs. For those who had read the reports or had listened to speeches given by fellow collegians, they could hardly stand idly by while opportunities to *do something* abounded 'over there.'

By 1917, they were flocking to the ambulances, the airplanes, the officers' training camps, and any other outlet that would get them overseas as quickly as possible. "Everybody is coming to college now," wrote Dean Clark, "they are falling over each other to get in, and are holding up their hands and yelling 'Kamerad' for fear something will be done to them before they can be inducted into the service."[5] The game had changed, and the nation—and thus *alma mater*—was under threat. For students determined to *do something* by any means necessary, what higher form of service could they give to their nation (their collegiate nation) than taking up arms in its defense. To this effort they gave their all, with many making the ultimate sacrifice for God, for country, and for *alma mater*.

The Unmaking – Foundations Undone

Following the First World War, America's colleges and universities continued to entrench themselves within a growing collegiate-government research and manpower apparatus. The Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), authorized in 1916 as a replacement to the disjointed state of military training on Land-Grant and private universities, expanded rapidly throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Within a decade of its inception, more than 80,000

[5] Thomas Arkle Clark to Horace E. DeGroot, September 19, 1918, UA-UoI.

students were enrolled as cadets, forming a dependable cadre of university-trained officers from which the nation could draw. All the while, academics continued pushing the bounds of research for both civil and military technologies through government contracts and an increased reliance on academically trained experts in the civil service.[6]

Higher education's military background would be called upon again in January 1942 as the United States found itself once more on a war footing. The colleges were not found wanting. Echoing statements made by over 150 collegiate administrators in March of 1917, the American Council of Education pledged "the total strength of our colleges and universities…our faculties, our students, our administrative organizations, and our physical facilities" to the American war effort.[7] Restraint, however, would be shown in the collegiate response to the Second World War. The mobilization of American campuses was secluded to under two hundred of the largest institutions while the widespread commissioning of collegiate officers was largely confined to only those who had received military instruction in ROTC programs. Other collegians found themselves stateside, utilized for their brain power rather than a notable spirit longing to lead and fight. For those collegians who shared the martial sentiments of earlier generations, the anxiety surrounding last chances was not completely unfounded.

Nevertheless, *the collegiate* eagerly dedicated themselves to the national war effort in 1941 as they had in 1917. Harvard, Cornell, and other northeastern universities more than doubled their First World War service figures in both the number of fatalities and total number of students who saw service, while smaller colleges—befit with the advantage of nearly twenty years of growth—found their counts on equal standing with their longer-

[6] Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 226.
[7] Quoted in Roger L. Geiger, *American Higher Education since World War II: A History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019), XVII.

established cousins. Texas A&M, as example, contributed more than 14,000 of its sons as officers—more than any other university—while the University of Florida, which had furnished a meagre 317 of its sons in World War I, counted well over 10,000 in service. Professors and research students entered the war with a similar eagerness, helping to develop essential military technology. Among such advances were the Variable Time Proximity Fuse developed at Michigan and John's Hopkins, Radar at MIT, and, most famously, the Atomic Bomb by a collection of the nation's top university scientists working under the Manhattan Project.[8] Higher education was once again in the nation's service.

Out of fifteen million men and women mobilized for the armed forces during World War II, more than one million were educated in campus training programs during the war, with many hundreds of thousands more claiming collegiate associations as alumni or previous students.[9] A conspicuous absentee was the SATC. A casualty of its own failures during the First World War, the federal government—in conjunction with the colleges—declined any renewed attempt at military control. This is not to say that small programs did not exist; on the contrary, programs like the Navy's V-12 program, the Army's Specialized Training Program, and various programs under the auspices of the US Army Air Force produced over half-a-million men.[10] The latter two programs proved to be only temporary measures as they suffered from the same incessant call-up of men that plagued the SATC. On the whole, where the government relied upon American colleges and universities for training and manpower during the First World War, they drew primarily upon the academy's ability to produce groundbreaking research during the Second.

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[8] Genevieve Monsma, "It Happened at Michigan: How Research at U-M Helped End World War II," *The University MRecord*, September 2, 2025; "Research Corp., MIT Aided WWII Microwave Projects," *Research Corporation for Science Advancement*, November 30, 2012.
[9] Geiger, *American Higher Education since World War II: A History*, XVII.
[10] Ibid., XVIII.

From 1945 to 1962, higher education's role during moments of national crisis was further refined. The U.S. government, rather than fully mobilize campuses for war, would instead rely on established military programs for officer candidates, minimizing disruptions and maximizing uninterrupted spaces for essential research. Under this revised framework, collegiate-government cooperation continued to rapidly expand: ROTC numbers peaked in the 1954-1955 school year at over 376,000 cadets across 337 institutions, and higher education's research apparatus found itself engaged in military developments.[11] With equal attachment to both civil and military service, American higher education was making great strides to fulfill the purpose it had set itself to so fervently in the First World War.

Then came Vietnam. From 1962 to 1973 more than seventy-three colleges witnessed large-scale student anti-war demonstrations, many aimed at the foremost front-facing element of collegiate-government cooperation: military training. Though ROTC numbers had dropped below 192,000 and concerns arose over higher education's role in the development of military technologies, over eighty percent of officers in Vietnam continued to be graduates of ROTC programs.[12] By this measure, to demonstrators, the ROTC represented everything wrong with the Vietnam War, American Imperialism, the draft, and higher education's collaboration with the same. In the beginning, protests were peaceful. At Harvard and Dartmouth, students stormed and occupied buildings demanding their administrators disband ROTC programs, while countless other universities saw sit- and teach-ins of a similar caliber.

That all changed on 5th May 1970. At Kent State University four were killed and nine injured when members of the Ohio National Guard fired into a crowd of student demonstrators on campus. Those students who had no longer wished to devote their time or energies to military studies as had their predecessors, now had neither the patience nor grace

[11] Brubacher and Rudy, *In Transition*, 227.
[12] Dethloff and Adams, *Aggies Go To War*, 298.

to suffer those that did. The time had come for *the collegiate* to rethink its commitment to national service. On 7th May, an arsonist burnt the Navy ROTC headquarters to the ground at Stanford. Following suit, agitators had hurled firebombs at ROTC buildings and armories at the Washington University in St. Louis, the University of Nevada, the University of Utah, and Ohio University within the week.[13] By 30th May, more than thirty ROTC buildings had been damaged or destroyed, and numerous other campus research buildings faced similar damages. The Pentagon was described as "worried;" within four years eighty-eight programs had closed in a mass expulsion of military programs on private college campuses that resulted in a drop of ROTC enrollments across the nation to under 73,000 cadets.[14] Despite it being estimated that more than seventy-five percent of students during the Vietnam Era remained in favor of military training on campuses, military programs continued to shrink in the wake of the Vietnam War.[15]

Military training, albeit in a much more reduced and subdued manner when compared to 1916 or 1950, is still a common feature of modern American higher education. As of 2023, over 1,400 ROTC units were active, producing approximately 8,500 officers each year, or roughly one-third of the active-duty officer corps across all branches. The days of largescale military training, however, are a thing of the past. Among the twenty largest ROTC programs, sixteen have average corps of cadets numbering under two hundred, despite being housed at universities enrolling between 20,000 and 50,000 students. Cornell recently welcomed its largest ROTC class since 1993. At thirty-three, these uniformed students are easily lost in a sea of over 16,000 on-campus undergraduates.

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[13] "Arsonists Hit ROTC Building," *The Ohio State Lantern*, May 8, 1970, Vol. 87, No. 140; Wyndham Makowsky, "ROTC Revisited," *The Stanford Daily*, March 10, 2010; Elizabeth Phelan, "'A Watershed Moment': Reflecting on the Burning of the ROTC Air Force Building—50 Years Later," *Student Life*, May 5, 2000; Robert D. McFadden, "College Strife Spreads," *NYT*, May 8, 1970.
[14] "R.O.T.C. Protests Worry Pentagon," *NYT*, May 31, 1970.
[15] Doug Wissing, "The Return of ROTC," *American Legion*, December 20, 2012.

The reduction in the military's physical presence on college campuses has only made the intense origins of collegiate-military cooperation more obscure, while the civil obligations of higher education's commitment to national service have grown larger and more complex to the point that we take them for granted. It is lost on students that the origins of such collegiate-government cooperation lie within the intertwined ambitions of young collegians intent on proving their worth, emerging universities which were themselves striving to demonstrate their own value, and a young nation navigating how to exert a global presence upon a very old world.

The Unmaking – Archival Potpourri

Though broader and more detailed than any previous study, this dissertation has only scratched the surface of America's collegiate World War I experience. The breadth of college life is so vast, the catalog of student traditions so varied, and the history of institutions so deep, that we must be wary of championing any one college as an acceptable representative for the rest. The discrepancies of collegiate life at one institution vs. another, and another, and so on, are enough to set even the most dedicated researcher's head spinning. Patterns do emerge, but one is quickly faced with the daunting prospect that there are over five-hundred other individual and unique institutional histories, ever-changing studentships, complex customs, and varied reactions to local, state, and national events that might produce different results. There is always the pull to visit "just one more" archive, but the issue that has plagued this study, and I would venture other major studies of higher education as well, is still the same: there are just not enough pages, and never enough time. Even if there were, as stated by Lawrence Veysey, "the university must be understood as a magnet for emotions, not alone as a project of conscious definition."[16] It is for this reason that I believe many academics have largely avoided higher education during the First World War.

[16] Veysey, *Emergence*, ix.

Chronologically, it was but a moment in higher education's long history—an easily skippable blip between two radically different and easily contrasted eras. A blip in history it may have been, but one intensely foundational in its reverberations.

Higher education has always been a transitory place; people and ideas constantly move and change the makeup of institutions from year to year. I have realized throughout researching this project that it is within this difference that we find similarity. If anything may be said with certainty regarding the composition of American higher education during the War years (1914-1919), it is that institutions throughout the nation, especially those in the American West and South, were more alike to their elite Northeastern cousins than they have been understood to be. Whether an institution was homogenous and wealthy or heterogeneous and more reflective of the nation's population, collegians operated in a shared culture that would look just as much at home at Yale as it would at the University of Arizona. Henry Canby was right in his assessment that the younger colleges had "modeled their life and aspirations on the older colleges," and did so in every aspect of student culture and campus experience.[17] What differed were merely the colors, the names, and the shouts—the physical manifestations of *the collegiate*—while the feelings, the emotions, and the ideals underlining collegiate life persisted unchanged from institution to institution. Furthermore, despite being physically and socially removed from the major cities of America's East Coast, the First World War was not mentally removed from the minds of students in the American West. The same feelings of *noblesse oblige*, the same pressures to *do something*, and the same whole-hearted commitment to the national war effort were characteristics exhibited by the colleges irrespective of differences in region, wealth, and student composition.

[17] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 24; Thelin, *A History*, 156.

Much is still to be done, however. Women's Colleges, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, and dedicated religious colleges are notably absent in this narrative. These often subaltern institutions engaged in the same quest for legitimacy during the First World War that characterized the experience of their larger collegiate counterparts. HBCUs hosted SATC programs alongside white counterparts, Women's Colleges undertook Red Cross and YMCA work on largescale while women in co-ed institutions filled campus positions normally restricted to male students, and institutions with overwhelmingly non-Protestant populations—Jesuit colleges such as Boston College and Georgetown, as well as universities with large Jewish enrollments like Columbia (~forty percent) and New York University (~fifty percent)—produced commissioned officers and enlisted men in numbers comparable to those of predominantly WASP institutions. Their history is an equally rich and important one.

Additionally, student anti-war protests were existent and peace-oriented groups formed a small, but sizable minority of students.[18] At least in the beginning, some students did not share the same fervency for the war. Among them is Brent Allinson, H'18, chairman of the Harvard International Polity Club and "prominent figure" in the Harvard Union for American Neutrality. He had failed to register with the Chicago Draft Board, signing up for diplomatic service to avoid a combat assignment instead. When word of his "Pacifist utterances" reached authorities in Washington, however, he was recalled from his post in Switzerland and sent to jail for draft dodging, going in protest against "the curse and infamy of international war."[19] Other students include Charles Francis Phillip and Owen Cattell of Columbia University, who were arrested on 1st June 1917 for distributing pamphlets urging university men to resist registering for the draft.

[18] "Give Allinson 15-Year Term," *Boston Herald*, July 30, 1918.
[19] Ibid.

Columbia has its own complex history, and the entire institution flipped with a tremendous ferocity in the lead-up to America's declaration of war. On 1st February three petitions left Columbia for the White House: the first was signed by over 100 faculty members in favor of severing diplomatic relations with Germany, the second was signed by an opposing group of faculty, and the third was from a group of students who were "sympathizers of both the Allies and the Central Powers"[20] Earlier that January, after two years of voting to ban student drill, the Student Board switched sides and began inviting military officials to speak on the necessity and value of military training. At the same time, professors continued to vocally decry preparedness, one faculty member claiming that it was "damnable, and having gone into effect it will be still more damnable."[21] "The pacifists have got their work in and have got it in darned well," announced Bob O'Loughlin, Col'18, captain of the Crew, to students at a 9th March mass meeting, "all of this talk about the yellow streak in Columbia. It's a lie!"[22] Student debate fluctuated over intervention until America's declaration of war settled the matter. America was at war, and so was the college. Even Dean Frederick Keppel, who so fervently denounced the paramilitary training occurring at Plattsburg, would leave the university to do his patriotic duty on the morning of 19th April to become Assistant Secretary of War.[23] These histories require further examination if our understanding of higher education's First World War experience is to be complete. For now, they are beyond the limitations of this dissertation.

The Unmaking – Martial Minds Unmade

In October 2025 it was announced that Cornell would be forming a "Committee on the Future of American Higher Education." As American colleges and universities face a loss

[20] Summerscales, *Affirmation and Dissent*, 50.
[21] Ibid., 48; "Compulsory Drill Decried At Meeting," *CS*, January 16, 1917, Vol. LX, No. 80.
[22] "500 Students Sign Blanks For Duty In Training Corps," *CS*, March 9, 1917, Vol. LX, No. 117.
[23] "Dean Keppel Leaves College To Join U.S. War Department," *CS*, April 20, 1917, Vol. LX, No. 149.

of public trust and an alarming "erosion of the longtime compact between universities and the federal government," the Committee is intended to help the University navigate a "defining moment" in higher education's history. Erosion, the Committee might soon find, is nothing new.[24] Higher education's deep commitment to military training and research—birthed during the First World War and further cemented in World War Two—was the first casualty of the collegiate-government compact. Anti-war protests and academic revolutions in the late-1960s broke Princeton's commitment to being "in the nation's service," and enticed students at Yale to forego fervent belief in "for God, for country, and for Yale." Instead, *the Collegiate* forged forward with more humanitarian objectives, keeping the military at arm's length.[25]

Martial temperament on campus is now a thing of the archives, an object of discussion for the history classroom. The guardhouses for *alma mater*, the nourishing mother of four "bright college years," sit empty. One would be hard pressed to find students who would give their lives for their *alma mater* as eagerly as they did over a century ago. It can be argued that students have moved on, have become more restrained, or have become increasingly attentive to their academic pursuits. For some, they more readily fit the accusations levied on their collegiate predecessors: they are simply disconnected from national and international events within an updated but no less bacchanalian collegiate lifestyle. Whatever the case, things have changed. Class rushes with canes and bats have given way to orientation groups aimed at warm and inviting welcomes; students prove their worth with high school resumes, good grades, and continued community voluntarism rather than with their fists or a violent impulse to out-do one another.

[24] Kavita Bala, "Committee on the Future of the American University," Cornell University Official Webpage, *University Statements*, (October 1, 2025), https://statements.cornell.edu/2025/20251001-future-of-the-american-university.cfm.
[25] Thelin, *A History*, 306–16.

Such is quite the conundrum: students continue to fill stadiums and cheer the home team, still rush fraternities and attempt to get "tapped" for secret societies, and still inhabit the same campuses, the same quads, and the same dorms. Nothing fundamentally separates the students of the 1910s from the students of today when their activities are taken at face value. The difference is in their purpose. For many students, college is only the stairway to bigger and better things, a halfway house for success; but, for students of the Collegiate Era, college was the proving ground in which they attained the success and notoriety necessary for their future endeavors. We must realize that the collegiate experience changed American youth as its lifestyle freely overwhelmed and enclosed them in their own world. Canby recalled just as much. "Like all that confident generation," he wrote, "I accepted the college as I found it, and believed in its life and its spirit with a fanatic devotion."[26]

A collegian's fervent dedication for institutions and the people that comprised them was a product of the martial, warlike environment they inhabited. When William H. Edward said that "a man who could make the marvelous runs that Baker did when he was a member of the Princeton football elevens was certain to make a splendid soldier," he spoke only for students of that age.[27] They had internalized a "readiness to spend and be spent" in the service of their nation—their collegiate nation—at any cost.[28] The obituary written about Edward Tinkham is telling of such readiness. In September 1917, Tinkham left the Camions and joined the Naval Air Squadron for the remainder of the War. He died on 30th March 1919 due to complications caused by influenza. A Cornell professor wrote upon hearing of Tinkham's death,

[26] Canby, *Alma Mater*, 25.
[27] "Tells Of Baker's Skill As A Flier."
[28] Henry Lewis Stimpson, quoted in Nettleton, *Yale In The World War*, 1925, 1:9.

> Tinkham returned to us from France, filled with an almost holy zeal for the cause of the suffers in the war. He was a man who seemed to have laid aside his youth in order to fulfil his mission. He spoke again and again to groups of students, talking in the simplest of language and by his unselfish fervor carrying conviction to all who heard him…when Cornell gave him to the war, she gave of her very best. He was the stuff of which heroes are made.[29]

To imagine a current Cornell student being called a collegiate hero for giving his life in a foreign war would be a stretch today. Make no mistake, students still go to war. Six Iowa State Cardinals, six Fighting Illini, and thirty-three Texas Aggies have died in conflicts since Vietnam, with two Wisconsin Badgers paying the ultimate sacrifice as recent as 2024. They were not lauded as collegiate heroes, however. Such deaths often gone unnoticed; indeed, many students will never notice the addition of six Cornellians to the bottom of Cornell's Second World War memorial in Anabel Taylor Hall, choosing to continue, as students are wont to do, in blissful ignorance of futures willingly forgone and prices unselfishly paid for *alma mater*'s continued existence.

The idea of giving one's life for one's nation, much less one's college, is as alien to contemporary students as shirking one's duty was to those in the Collegiate Era. The same may yet be said of higher education's long-standing commitment to producing educated citizens for national service. As recent as November 2025, Cornell's President Michael Kotlikoff wrote that "continuing contributions to the nation's health, welfare, and economic and military strength" would not be possible unless efforts were undertaken to revive the "decades-long research partnership between Cornell and the federal government." President Kotlikoff's pledge of renewal was by no means intended to revive the martial character of yesteryear, its aim being to resecure research funding from the U.S. government rather than

[29] Cornell University, *Military Records*, 124.

put students in uniform, it nonetheless affirmed that sustained support for the nation's military strength was still considered "critical to advancing the University's core mission."[30] That such a reaffirmation might reinvigorate even the slightest degree of collegiate martiality is doubtful. Yet, one cannot help but wonder whether *the collegiate* of the present day fully comprehends the part their institutions once played in the making of martial minds.

[30] Michael Kotlikoff, "An Agreement to Restore Cornell's Federal Research Funding," Cornell University Official Webpage, *University Statements*, (November 7, 2025), https://statements.cornell.edu/2025/20251107-agreement-to-restore-cornells-federal-research-funding.cfm?utm_source=sfmc&utm_medium=email&user_id=4761432&utm_campaign=&program=&segment=&timestamp=.

Appendix I: A Table Enumerating Collegiate Sizes, Enlistments, Commissions, Deaths, and Humanitarian Participation During World War I

Institution	Male	Female	Total[1]	Flag Officers	Officers	Enlisted	Total	War Dead	Disease Related Deaths	SATC	AFS (% of Male)
U. of Alabama[2]	669	92	761	*	*	*	2,254	26	*	*	1 (0.15%)
Alabama Polytechnic Institute[3] (Auburn University)	857	23	880	3	414	590	1,004	31	*	*	*
Amherst[4]	430	0	430	*	*	*	1,475	34	*	338	30 (7%)
U. of Arizona[5]	269	197	466	*	*	*	649	13	*	600	2 (0.7%)
U. of Arkansas[6]	505	350	855	*	*	*	~780	32	*	1,400[7]	*
Beloit[8]	251	137	388	*	*	*	~700	15	*	~1,400[9]	15 (6%)
Boston College[10]	2,306	0	2,306	2	183	363	546	15	10	761	*

[1] Philander Priestley Claxton, *Report of the Commissioner of Education, Yr. 1916-17*, vol. Vol. 2, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917).
[2] The Corolla Board, *The War Corolla, 1919*, vol. XXVI (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The Students of the University of Alabama, 1919), 2.
[3] Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), 318–19.
[4] "Amherst Men Who Received Decorations," April 29, 1919, War Materials Collection, AC-ASC; Claude M. Fuess, *The Amherst Memorial Volume* (Amherst, Massachusetts: Amherst College, 1926).
[5] Douglas D. Martin, *The Lamp in the Desert, the Story of the University of Arizona* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1960), 135; Adelaide Elm, "The University of Arizona: The War Years, 1917-1918," *Arizona and the West* Vol. 27, no. No. 1 (Spring 1985): 37–54.
[6] DeLani Bartlette, "100th Anniversary of World Wat I Armistice: When U of A Answered the Call to the Colors," *University of Arkansas News*, October 9, 2018.
[7] Inclusive of some 600 wireless operators, truck drivers, mechanics, carpenters, and cement workers over the summer of 1918.
[8] "We've Been Here Before: The 1918 Pandemic," *Beloit College Magazine*, April 28, 2021; Beloit College, "Beloit College World War I Collection," *Beloit College Archives*, n.d.
[9] It is noted that this was the number of personal detailed to the college. For such a small institution, the number is questionable.
[10] Boston College, *Boston College in the World War* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, 1922).

Boston University[11]	1,379	847	2,226	1	520	733	1,253	24	3	827	10 (0.7%)
Bowdoin College	485	0	485	*	*	*	1,215	29	*	*	22 (4.5%)
Brown[12]	876	264	1,140	*	584	1,390	1,974	42	21	618	18 (2%)
Butler College	170	284	454	*	*	*	~800	16	*	264	*
U. of California[13]	3,825	2,667	6,492	5	2,238	1,920	4,158	99	43	1,926	68 (1.7%)
U. of Chicago[14]	4,055	4,455	8,510	*	*	*	~4,000	53	*	~1,800	34 (0.84%)
U. of Cincinnati[15]	1,396	1,239	2,635	*	*	*	235	29	6	*	2 (0.14%)
The Citadel[16]	251	*	251	*	276	40	316	16	*	200	*
Clemson[17]	803	*	803	*	*	*	1,549	32	*	>500	*
Colgate[18]	434	*	434	*	363	~640	~1,000	22	*	~400	3 (0.6%)
U. of Colorado[19]	909	493	1,402	*	*	*		55	*	~800	5 (0.55%)
Colorado Agricultural Coll.[20]	715	334	1,049	*	204	242	446	9	*	1,187[21]	*

[11] Trustees of the University, *Boston University World War Record* (Boston, Mass: Boston University, 1921).
[12] War Records Committee, *Brown University in the War* (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University War Records Committee, 1919), 41.
[13] Alumni Association, *The University of California Honor Roll* (Berkeley, California: University of California, 1919).
[14] Editors of the Cap and Gown, *Cap and Gown 1919*, vol. Vol. 29 (The Junior Class, University of Chicago, 1919), 84.
[15] The Student Body of the University of Cincinnati, *The Cincinnatian (1919)* (Cincinnati, Ohio: University of Cincinnati, 1919), 221–27.
[16] The Citadel, "Army ROTC At The Citadel Celebrates 100 Years," *The Citadel Memorial Europe*, October 21, 2016.
[17] Brock M. Lusk, "Tigers in the Trenches: A Study of Clemson in the Great War" (Masters of Arts, Clemson University, 2015).
[18] Howard D. Williams, *A History of Colgate University 1819-1969* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1969), 282.
[19] Thomas M. Marshall, "The University of Colorado in War Time," *University of Colorado Bulletin*, October 1918; Shannon Derthick, "A.A. Paddock: The Early Battalion at CU Boulder," November 2, 2021.
[20] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19; "Big Part Played By Agricultural College in War Work," *The Rocky Mountain Collegian*, January 16, 1919, Vol. XXVIII, No. XIV.
[21] Includes 723 students trained during the summer of 1918.

(Colorado State University)											
Columbia[22]	4,116	773	4,889	*	*	*	~9,000	~200	*	*	48 (1.2%)
Connecticut Agricultural Coll.[23] **(University of Connecticut)**	209	12	221	*	35	143	178	9	*	411	*
Cornell[24]	5,039	767	5,806	2	4,598	8,851	13,449	264	100	*	105 (2%)
U. of North Dakota[25]	486	392	878	*	*	*	861	33	*	470	*
North Dakota Agricultural Coll.[26] **(North Dakota State University)**	474	164	638	*	100	234	334	11	*	~400	1 (0.2%)
South Dakota State College of A&M Arts[27] **(South Dakota State University)**	480	203	683	*	125	~390	~500	25	*	~650	*
Dartmouth[28]	1,468	*	1,468	*	*	*	2,407	112	52	695	118 (8%)
Davidson College[29]	375	*	375	1	368	368	736	20	11	223	2 (0.53%)

[22] Columbia University Archives, "World War 1," *Columbia University Libraries*, n.d.
[23] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19; Nick Hurley, "ROTC Turns 100: UConn and Military Training: Part One: The Early Years, 1893-1920," *UConn Library Archives and Special Collections*, March 28, 2016; David Landry, "Mansfield and the C.A.C. During The Great War," *Mansfield Historical Society*, May 4, 2020.
[24] Cornell University, *Military Records of Cornell University in the World War* (Cornell University, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1930).
[25] Jan Orvik, "The Other Great War," *UND Today*, April 14, 2020; Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 219.
[26] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[27] South Dakota State College, "War Work of the South Dakota State College," *South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts Bulletin*, October 1919; Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[28] Eugene Francis Clark, ed., *War Record of Darthmouth College 1917-1918; An Account of the Part Taken by Darthmouth College and by Its Officers, Alumni and Undergraduates in the World War* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Trusties of Darthmouth College, 1922); Laura Stephenson Carter, "Cold Comfort," *Dartmouth Medicine*, Winter 2006.
[29] Cornelia Rebekah Shaw, *War Record, Davidson College* (Charlotte, North Carolina: Presbyterian Standard Pub. Co., 1923).

Delaware College[30] **(University of Delaware)**	216	74	290	*	156	111	267	6	*	*	1 (0.46%)
U. of Florida[31]	441	0	441	*	160	157	317	17	9	*	1 (0.24%)
Fordham University[32]	1,585	0	1,585	3	*	*	~1,800	36 (60)[33]	*	~500	3 (0.18%)
U. of Georgia[34]	689	0	689	2	~1,700	~1,450	3,152[35]	45	11	624	2 (0.29%)
North Georgia Agricultural Coll.[36]	188	29	217	*	*	*	371	10	*	*	*
Hamline Uni.[37]	224	196	420	*	82	245	336	8	3	222	*
Hamilton Coll.[38]	222	0	222	*	227	534	761	13	*	178	8 (3.6%)
Harvard[39]	5,226	0	5,226	*	3,773	11,319	15,092	371	139	1,707	325 (6.2%)
Hobart Coll.[40]	138	100	238	*	*	*	~300	15	7	188	4 (2.9%)
U. of Idaho[41]	304	223	527	*	207	1,112	1,319	35	*	~500	*

[30] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[31] Pam Hawley Marlin, "UF and World War 1, 1914-1918," *UF Then and Now*, March 2014.
[32] Aurelien Clavaud, "'The Will of God': How Fordham Threw Itself At World War I," *The Observer*, May 4, 2022.
[33] Thwing notes that sixty associated members of the University did not return. This is against Fordham's own historians noting that thirty-six were on the University's Honor Roll in 2022; Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 214.
[34] Eric Rangus, "After 100 Years, Remembering UGA's Fallen," *UGATODAY*, November 7, 2018; Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[35] Only accounts for UoG graduates, in Office of Instruction, UG, "Early Military Training," *University of Georgia Army ROTC*, n.d.
[36] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[37] Henry L. Osborn, *Hamline University in the World War* (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Hamline University, 1920).
[38] The College, "Hamilton College Service Record 1914 - 1919," *The Hamilton College Bulletin*, November 1919.
[39] Frederick S. Mead, ed., *Harvard's Military Record in the World War* (Boston, Massachusetts: The Harvard Alumni Association, 1921).
[40] Col. C.R. Anderegg and Lt Col. John Norvell, *Hobart and William Smith Colleges' Legacy of Military Service* (Geneva, New York: Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 2022); Warren Hunting Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, "World War I & The 1918 Flu Pandemic At HWS," *Hobart and William Smith Colleges Archives Online Exhibits*, n.d.
[41] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.

U. of Illinois[42]	4,646	1,204	5,850	6	3,399	2,882	6,281	181	*	3,411	30 (0.6%)
Indiana Univ.[43]	1,701	963	2,664	*	*	*	3,798	59	*	>1,000	4 (0.2%)
Iowa State A&M[44]	2,268	659	2,927	2	4,971	875	5,846	103	*	3,700	8 (0.3%)
State University of Iowa[45]	1,920	849	2,799	*	*	*	*	83	*	1,700	*
Iowa State Teachers' College[46] **(University of Northern Iowa)**	476	3,662	4,138	*	*	*	541	8	*	49	*
U. of Kansas[47]	1,669	964	2,633	2	~590	~2,400	>3,000[48]	130	*	~2,500	*
Kansas State Agricultural Coll.[49] **(Kansas State University)**	1,547	953	2,500	5	431	1,703	2,134	48	*	>1,100	4 (0.25%)
U. of Kentucky[50]	911	243	1,154	*	829	1,959	2,788	21	*	>1,200	*
Lafayette College[51]	612	0	612	*	*	*	1,056	32	*	>1,100	2 (0.32%)

[42] Edward S. Johnston, "History of The Military Department University of Illinois 1868-1921" (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, April 6, 1921), 26, UA-UoI; does not include nearly 2,700 aeronautic students.
[43] "IU and World War I," *Indiana University*, n.d.
[44] Iowa State's numbers have been inflated by the addition of the following: SATC (1,536/25), Naval (136/0), and Mechanical Training Units (2,028/26); James Leftwich Lee, "A Century of Military Training at Iowa State University 1870-1970" (Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Iowa State University, 1972), 146, IS-USCD.
[45] David McCartney, "Old Gold: US and SUI Enter World War I," *Iowa Now*, April 12, 2017.
[46] Special Collections and University Archives, "Brief History of UNI, 1876-1995," *University of Northern Iowa*, n.d.
[47] M. W. Sterling, "The Memorial Roll," *Bulletin of the University of Kansas, Alumni Catalogue* Vol. XXIII, no. No. 4 (February 15, 1922); KU Libraries, "The Student Army and Navy Training Corps," *The 1918 Influenza Epidemic at KU*, n.d; University of Kansas, "The War Record Of The University of Kansas," *University of Kansas News Bulletin*, June 1918.
[48] Number is not inclusive of faculty or students still attending UoK.
[49] The Senior Class, *The Royal Purple 1919*, vol. XI (Manhattan, Kansas: Kansas State Agricultural College, 1919), 32.
[50] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[51] Yumna Hussain, "How Lafayette Became A Military Training Camp During WWI," *The Lafayette*, April 8, 2022; Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 215.

Lehigh University[52]	775	*	775	*	*	*	1,921	46	*	539	9 (1.16%)
Louisiana State University and A&M College[53]	721	194	915	*	*	*	*	31	13	*	*
U. of Maine[54]	1,012	193	1,205	2	387	1,313	1,700	35	*	850	1 (0.1%)
Marietta College[55]	186	69	255	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	23 (12.3%)
Massachusetts Agricultural Coll.[56]	651	17	668	1	442	661	1,053	50	16	~300	*
Massachusetts Institute of Technology[57]	1,815	18	1,833	7	2,528	2,448	4,976	128	54	>4,000	47 (2.5%)
U. of Minnesota[58]	4,964	2,838	7,802	*	1,415	2,112	9,710	91	*	6,183[59]	8 (0.16%)
Mississippi A&M[60] **(Mississippi State University)**	1,190	0	1,190	2	1,909	3,814	3,892	86	65	839[61]	*
U. of Missouri	2,775	1,388	4,163	*	*	*	*	117	*	*	28 (1%)

[52] Cynthia Tintorri, "A Lasting Tribute: The Alumni Memorial Building," *Lehigh University Alumni News*, May 26, 2025; Special Collections, "Photo Story: Lehigh 1915-1919," *Lehigh University Library & Technology Services*, 2023.
[53] Angela Michelli Fleming, "Louisiana State University During World War I: A Military Tradition" (Master's Thesis, Louisiana State University, 2017); It is worth note that Fleming does not note how many students served nor the number of SATC men.
[54] Klein, *Survey*; "University Mess Is Big Undertaking," *The Maine Campus*, November 19, 1918, Vol. XX, No. 5; "The University of Maine and The War," *The Maine Bulletin*, January 1918.
[55] Many colleges are absent of information regarding War Records. Marietta College, according to Beman Gates Dawes' Mother, was under the command of a anti-war president, giving us a possible reason for a lack of a War Roll in the 1918/19 yearbook.
[56] "Massachusetts Agricultural College In The War," *The M.A.C. Bulletin*, May 1921.
[57] War Records Committee, *Technology's War Record* (Boston, Massachusetts: Alumni Association of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1920).
[58] War Information File, WW1, U. of Minnesota.
[59] This number has been inflated by vocational courses.
[60] Bureau of War Records, *The Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College War Record* (Starkville, Mississippi: The Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1921).
[61] Does not include 2,254 students in Training Detachments and Military Vocational students.

School of Mines and Metallurgy[62] (Part of the U. of Missouri)	*	*	*	1	193	247	440	9	4	115	*
Michigan Agricultural Coll.[63] (Michigan State University)	1,382	330	1,712	*	450	1,500	1,950	47	10	~1,200	*
U. of Michigan[64]	5,202	1,260	6,462	*	*	*	>10,000	222	*	>3,800	35 (0.67%)
Montana College of A&M Arts[65] (Montana State University)	436	248	684	*	*	*	573	16	*	300[66]	1 (0.22%)
U. of Nebraska[67]	2,838	1,988	4,826	*	*	*	2,200	113	58	>1,500	7 (0.24%)
U. of Nevada[68]	244	197	421	*	104	288	392	17	*	<200	2 (0.8%)
New Hampshire College of A&M Arts[69] (University of New Hampshire)	509	114	623	*	253	428	681	18	*	~1,000	2 (0.39)
U. of New Mexico[70]	133	84	217	*	69	326	395	4	1	160	*

[62] University of Missouri, "War Records," *School of Mines and Metallurgy Bulletin*, January 1920.
[63] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19; Megan Badgley Malone, "M.A.C. World War I Casualties," *Archives @ MSU*, April 9, 2018; Catharine Neely, "The Reality of World War I," *Archives @ MSU*, September 11, 2017; Catharine Neely, "Exhibit - From Campus to Compound: Michigan State University during World War I - A View of the Great War from the M.A.C Record," *MSU On the Banks of the Red Cedar*, n.d.; Catharine Neely, "Exhibit - WW1 Timeline (April 1917 - April 1918) of War Related M.A.C. Events," *MSU On the Banks of the Red Cedar*, n.d.
[64] Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 216; The Students of the University of Michigan, *1919 Michiganensian* (University of Michigan, 1919).
[65] Dale Martin, "Sixteen Names on a Plaque," *Bozeman Magazine*, November 1, 2018; Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[66] Only includes member of Section A; Section B, the vocational section, does not have adequate records.
[67] R.W. Wenger, ed., *The Cornhusker 1919* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1919).
[68] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19; Samuel Bradford Doten, *An Illustrated History of the University of Nevada* (Carson City, Nevada: University of Nevada, 1924), 160–61, 218.
[69] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19.
[70] C.E. Hodgin, "War Service of the University of New Mexico," *University of New Mexico Bulletin*, June 1919.

New York Univ.[71]	5,297	1,168	6,465	*	*	*	1,476[72]	36	*	1,564	6 (0.11%)
North Carolina State College[73]	723	0	723	*	~400	~1,000	1,897	34	*	593	4 (0.55%)
U. of North Carolina[74]	1,053	6	1,059	*	*	*	2,400	33	18	*	*
Norwich Military Academy[75]	145	0	145	5	345	147	741[76]	16	*	250	*
Northwestern[77]	2,602	1,077	3,679	*	*	*	3,084	65	*	3,606	15 (0.5%)
Oberlin[78]	615	1,063	1,678	*	*	*	~1,500	32	*	>300	9 (1.5%)
The Ohio State University[79]	3,848	1,247	5,095	*	2,777	3,814	6,593	135	*	~4,500[80]	6 (0.15%)
Oregon Agricultural Coll.[81]	1,146	517	1,663	*	1,178	753	1,931	65	*	>2,000	*

[71] Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 214.
[72] This number is most assuredly larger than that given by Thwing in 1920 as other institutions with similar studentships count involvement numbers between 4,000 and 6,000.
[73] Tim Peeler, "World War I Transformed NC State," *NC State University*, April 6, 2017.
[74] UNC Libraries, "World War 1," *A Nursery of Patriotism: The University at War, 1861-1945*, n.d..
[75] Norwich University, "The Roll," *Norwich University Record*, November 2, 1918; "War History Gives Credit To Norwich," *The Norwich Guidon*, March 8, 1929, Vol. VIII, No. 20.
[76] This number is inclusive of all Norwich students and alumni who gave service but were no included in "Rolls" prior to 1929.
[77] Northwestern Libraries, "Northwestern Remembers the First World War," *Northwestern Libraries*, n.d..
[78] Oberlin College, "Oberlin College and Military Service in World War I," *Oberlin College Archives*, n.d.
[79] Wilbur H. Siebert, *The History of The Ohio State University, Volume IV: The University In The Great War; Part II: Our Men In Military Service*, vol. Vol. IV (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1938).
[80] Inclusive of 2,111 SATC and 2,363 Military Air School students.
[81] Special Collections & Archives Research Center, Oregon State University Libraries, "World War I," *Where's Waldo? A History of Waldo Hall and the Changing Role of Women at Oregon State*, n.d.,; OSU Libraries - University Archives, "1910-1919," *Chronological History*, 2004.

U. of Pennsylvania[82]	4,413	862	5,275	*	*	*	9,204	212	*	>1,500	33 (0.74%)
Pennsylvania State College[83] **(Pennsylvania State University)**	2,280	148	2,428	*	1,039	1,116	2,204	73	*	>1,400	*
Pennsylvania Military College[84]	85	0	85	4	208	142	>350	12	*	*	*
U. of Pittsburgh[85]	2,004	575	2,579	*	*	*	2,726	63	*	~3,500	3 (0.15%)
Pomona[86]	245	322	567	*	79	217	293	5	2	~500	9 (3.7%)
Purdue[87]	1,847	238	2,085	*	1,903	2,110	4,013	67	30	>1,500[88]	2 (0.1%)
Princeton[89]	1,615	0	1,615	*	2,809	6,170	8,979	151	*	>1,600[90]	181 (11%)
Rhode Island State College[91] **(University of Rhode Island)**	264	40	304	*	142	160	302	22	*	783[92]	2 (0.75%)

[82] The Alumni Register, *Pennsylvania: A Record of the University's Men in the Great War* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania, 1920).
[83] The Alumni Association, *Penn State In The World War* (State College, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State College, 1921).
[84] Clarence Russel Moll, "A History of Pennsylvania Military College - 1821-1954" (Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, School of Education, New York University, 1954), 318, Widener University Archives and Digital Collections.
[85] Emily Wolfe, "Old News: 1918 And The First Great Pitt Quarantine," *The Pitt News*, March 25, 2020; Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 215.
[86] Wilson Lyon, *The History of Pomona College 1887-1969* (Claremont, California: Pomona College, 1977), 188–89.
[87] Mary A. Sego, "Remembering and Honoring Our Purdue World War I Veterans Who Gave Their Lives - Lest We Forget," *Memoirs & Memories, Tales From The Purdue University Archives and Special Collections*, November 11, 1916.
[88] This number does not include the over 2,900 Auto Mechanics, 750 Radio Operators, and 200 Concrete Workers; Bob Kriebel, "Old Lafayette: World War I Takes A Toll Locally," *Journal & Courier*, October 22, 2018.
[89] Princeton University, Office of the Secretary, *Princeton in the World War* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1932).
[90] Mark F. Bernstein, "Why Princeton Was Spared," Magazine, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, (December 17, 2008).
[91] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19; Classes of 1920 and 1921, *The Victory Grist 1920-1921*, 28th Anniversary Number, vol. Vol. XXII (Kingston, Rhode Island: University of Rhode Island, 1921), 168.
[92] This number includes 515 men trained during the summer of 1918.

Rutgers[93]	658	33	691	*	420	418	838	23	*	~400	3 (0.45%)
U. of South Carolina[94]	545	48	593	*	*	*	531	28	*	*	1 (0.18%)
U. of Southern California[95]	1,858	1,248	3,106	*	*	*	>600	*	*	~900	1 (0.05%)
Stanford[96]	1,644	556	2,200	*	*	*	~3,000	77	*	*	54 (3.4%)
Syracuse University[97]	1,922	1,838	3,760	*	*	*	>2,400	90	*	>1,200	32 (1.7%)
U. of Tennessee[98]	850	160	1,010	3	1,025	1,850	2,875	29	*	1,580	*
U. of Texas[99]	1,840	909	2,749	1	2,180	~820	>3,000	75	25	941[100]	4 (0.22%)
A&M College of Texas[101] **(Texas A&M University)**	1,068	0	1,068	2	1,233	984	2,217	63	*	*	*
Trinity College[102]	235	0	235	*	*	*	517	20	9	~170	6 (2.6%)

[93] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19; William H.S. Demarest, *History of Rutgers College* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers College, 1924), 536–38.
[94] Chris Horn, "A Century of Remembrance," *University of South Carolina*, November 9, 2018.
[95] Diane Krieger, "USC and the U.S. Military: 100 Years of Fighting On," *USC Today*, March 10, 1917.
[96] Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 218; "Stanford War History Records Three Thousand," *The Daily Palo Alto*, June 16, 1919.
[97] Thwing, *Colleges and Universities*, 214.
[98] Brooks Clark, "UT In Times of Crisis," *Torchbearer, The Magazine of the University of Tennessee*, May 20, 2020.
[99] The Students of The University of Texas, *The 1919 Cactus* (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas, n.d.).
[100] This number does not include some 22,000 students trained in the School of Military Aeronautics, Air Service School for Radio Operators, and the School for Automobile Mechanics.
[101] John A. Adams Jr., *Keepers of the Spirit: The Corps of Cadets at Texas A&M University, 1876-2001*, Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University 89 (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), 99.
[102] Nick Cimillo, "Trinity and World War I, Part 15: Stories to Remember," Student Newspaper, *Trinity Tripod*, (February 16, 2025); The Junior Class, *The Trinity Ivy 1920*, vol. Vol. XLVIII (Hartford, Connecticut: Trinity College, 1919).

Tufts[103]	1,406	135	1,541	*	*	*	>1,000	21	*		20 (1.4%)
Johns Hopkins[104]	849	117	966	4[105]	906	344	1,250	29	*	~700	7 (0.8%)
U. of Utah[106]	928	794	1,722	*	*	*	2,581	*	*	~1,200	5 (0.5%)
Utah State Agricultural Coll.[107]	409	231	640	*	*	*	>1,000	33	*	~600	*
U. of Virginia[108]	1,082	0	1,082	3	1,300	1,523	2,823	64	*	1,800	21 (1.9%)
Virginia Military Institute[109]	391	0	391	5	1,176	231	1,407	57	*	378	*
Virginia A&M College[110] **(Virginia Polytechnic Institute)**	506	0	506	2	640	1,657	2,297	26	1	929	*
U. of Washington[111]	1,875	1,350	3,220	*	*	*	>4,000	58	*	~2,000[112]	4 (0.2%)
State College of Washington[113] **(Washington State University)**	929	474	1,403	*	301	586	887	33	*	~1,800[114]	18 (1.9%)

[103] Anne Sauer, "World War, 1914-1918," in *Concise Encyclopedia of Tufts History* (Metford, Mass.: Tufts University Digital Library, 2000).
[104] "Hopkins Alumni Active in War," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, June 3, 1919, 1, 10, Student Affairs, War Service Records, 1917-1919, UA-UoI.
[105] Including the President and Secretary of War.
[106] Allan Kent Powell, "Utah and World War I," *Utah Historical Quarterly* Vol. 86, no. No. 3 (Summer 2018): 219–20.
[107] Utah State University, "Aggies at Arms: Impact of World War I and World War II," Digital Exhibit, *The Built Environment*, (n.d.).
[108] John S. Patton, "WAR HISTORY," *Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia*, January 1922; "On View Now: 'The Aviator: Remembering James Rogers McConnell,'" *Notes from Under Grounds, The Blog of the Albert and Shirley Small Collections Library*, April 10, 2017.
[109] Superintendent Nichols references over 2,000 VMI students having served, see: E.W. Nichols, *Annual Report of the Virginia Military Institute for the Session of 1918-1919* (Lexington, Virginia: Virginia Military Institute, 1919).
[110] VPI, "Virginia Polytechnic Institute In The World War," *Bulletin of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute*, November 1927; Virginia Tech, "About," Online Exhibit, *VPI In World War 1*, (n.d.).
[111] "Student Veteran Life," *University of Washington*, n.d.; "Washington on the Western Front," *University Libraries University of Washington*, n.d.
[112] Does not include over 5,000 students in the Naval Training Station on the U. of Washington's campus.
[113] Klein, *Survey*, 2:318–19; "Officers Like W.S.C. Conditions," *The Evergreen*, October 4, 1918, Vol. XXV, No. 1.
[114] This number is inclusive of SATC and vocational students at the College on 1st October 1918.

Wesleyan University[115]	504	*	504	*	*	*	~1,200	26	*	409	16 (3.1%)
West Virginia University[116]	681	346	1,027	1	*	*	~2,700	50	*	*	1 (0.14%)
U. of Wisconsin[117]	3,475	1,656	5,131	*	*	*	>4,000	100	*	~3,180	29 (0.8%)
Williams College[118]	514	*	514	*	1,153	1,291	2,444	49	20	315[119]	35 (6.8%)
U. of Wyoming[120]	119	167	286	*	117	142	259	9	*	197	1 (0.8%)
Yale[121]	3,059	208	3,267	8	5,090	9,142	14,232	227	82	~900	187 (6.1%)

Totals:

Institution	Male	Female	Total	Flag Officers	Officers	Enlisted	Total	Dead	Disease Related Deaths	SATC	AFS (% of Male)
103 Colleges	138,577	50,283	188,865	85	60,704	88,405	246,612	5,640	325	99,430 (of 186,400)	1,754

[115] "Historical Row: Wesleyan And World War 1," *Wesleyan Magazine*, August 1, 2017.
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