A map of the railroad system of South Carolina in the second decade of the twentieth century showing location of Clemson College. Taken from the 1917–1918 *Clemson College Catalog*. 
CHAPTER VIII

Stability, Stress

1910–1918

In the autumn of 1910, the enrollment at Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina reached 703. Of these, eighty students enrolled in the preparatory course, twenty in the two-year short courses, some in agriculture, and others in textiles. The freshman class had 243, the senior class, eighty-seven. South Carolinians numbered 691 with all counties represented except Allendale and Jasper. In addition, five students were from North Carolina, two each from Kentucky and Georgia, and one each from New York, Nebraska, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, and the District of Columbia.

By 1912, Latin American students were in the student population, hailing from Panama, Brazil, Cuba, and Jamaica. All but two had Latin surnames. Two of the three Brazilians bore distinctly Anglo Celtic surnames, causing wonder if they were missionary sons (one listed Rio de Janeiro as his hometown) or even descendants of Confederate émigrés. In 1913, the first student at Clemson then considered “nonwhite” was a Japanese student enrolled in textiles.

South Carolina had growing and changing demographics; the state’s population had increased from 1,340,316 in 1900 to 1,515,400 in 1910 (a 13 percent rise). The African American population increased by 7 percent, while the white population grew by 21 percent. In addition, the state’s urban population rose 2 percent as the rural dropped to 85.2 percent (urban meant here as a village or town with a population of 2,500 or greater). The two trends of population growth and the drift to towns continued at least until 1990.1 The relative decline in the African American percentage resulted in part from the decline of the agrarian economy, the increased severity of both de jure and de facto segregation, and the greater difficulty African Americans had in obtaining jobs in towns throughout the southern textile states.

South Carolina’s “textile boom” was centered in the Upstate, and the years when the opening of new mills was at its greatest coincided with the start of Clemson’s textile program. Further, the new mills no longer turned out only yarn or unfinished cloth as production of usable or “finished” cloth began. While Upstate investors became wealthy from the textile business, the industry created a strong separation in the white population in the towns. Generally, African Americans received little benefit from this industry, and their migration from South Carolina intensified. By 1911, as Riggs took office, the Upstate was the hub of this industry,
driven as it was by cheap power, cheap labor, and good transportation. By the end of Riggs’s presidency in early 1924, the Upstate dominance was firmly entrenched. Clemson Agricultural College was both benefactor and beneficiary.²

Clemson remained one of the largest of the southern land-grant colleges, with 281 students in various agriculture courses, 271 in engineering, and the remainder in textiles. A key person in the enrollment of students, James Corcoran Littlejohn served variously as assistant to the college’s president and as registrar. Littlejohn, born in Jonesville in 1889, had enrolled at Clemson in 1904. Graduating in 1908 in “mech-elec” (a student term for mechanical and electrical engineering), he stayed after graduation, working as the campus electrician. Then he served as an instructor in woodworking and mechanical engineering, and by 1911, as registrar and assistant to the president. He held the latter posts until 1926.³

The students were representative of the white males of the state. The majority of the students came from villages under 2,500 and from the country, and most were sons of farmers. The average age of all the students had risen to 19.5 years. Organized as a military corps, the students were subject to military or, as Walter Merritt Riggs said, “semi-military” discipline. Riggs, named acting president on the resignation of Patrick Hughes Mell on December 3, 1909, took office immediately. On January 1, 1911, the trustees appointed him president.⁴
The Faculty

In 1910, the faculty, all males, numbered fifty-four, of whom four held PhDs and two, the doctor of veterinary medicine degree. The campus physician held a medical degree and taught hygiene as a part of military instruction. Of the remaining faculty, thirty-two had attained the bachelor of science or arts degree, one held a master’s in engineering, and thirteen held the traditional master of science or arts. Two listed no degree. The staff numbered twenty-one: sixteen men and five women.

Almost all the faculty lived on campus. Generally, the professors (one per subject) lived in two-story brick homes. F. H. H. Calhoun, associate professor of geology and chemistry professor, one of the four PhDs and first track coach, and his bride, Grace Ward Calhoun, lived in a two-story wood-frame house with large porches, front and back. On the back porch was a well. The house had seven large rooms, one closet, a pantry, and a bath. Even though the classroom buildings and the barracks were fully plumbed and electrified, faculty residences were not all plumbed, although all were electrified.5

The Community

At about the same time that the local Baptist congregation was being formed, the Pendleton circuit of the Methodist church proposed the establishment of a congregation near the college. Three years passed, and in 1905, Maj. Samuel Maner Martin (b. 1875), a mathematics instructor at Clemson, pressed the Methodist conference for a church near the college. After graduating from the Citadel (1896), he taught in Johnston (Edgefield County). Joining the Clemson faculty, he served as assistant commandant of the Clemson cadet corps under A. G. Shanklin when most of the regular army officers served in the Spanish-American War. He married Elizabeth Conway Simpson, one of R. W. Simpson’s daughters. The cadets gave Martin the honorific title of “Major,” by which he was known for the rest of his life.6
In December 1907, the S.C. Methodist Conference gave the Rev. Mr. John Hagan Graves the task of organizing a Methodist congregation at the college. He joined the preaching rotation for the college Sunday chapel services. In February 1908, the conference appointed a Clemson Methodist board of trustees and registered a congregation of eighteen members. Graves spent much of his time appealing to other area Methodist congregations for support. The conference transferred him in 1909 and replaced him with the Rev. Mr. Melvin B. Kelly.

Buoyed by the conference-wide support and by the stipend the college trustees paid to the congregations with resident pastors for their counseling services to the cadets, the Methodists prepared to purchase a lot, next to Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, on which to build their church. A two-story frame house was re-sited and converted into the parsonage. F. Raymone Sweeny, a 1906 Clemson graduate and instructor in the engineering faculty, designed the church in brick Gothic with an offset entrance tower and steeple. By October 1912, with construction of the church nearly finished, the pastorate of the Rev. Mr. Philip A. Murray also ended.

With 87 percent of the cadets belonging to one of the four denominations physically represented by the churches in the community (4 percent belonged to some other Protestant denomination, such as Lutheran, Universalist, or Quaker, and one found very few Roman Catholics, Jews, or nonaligned), President Riggs announced on April 1, 1913, that students or parents would select one of the four town churches to attend each Sunday, and that roll would be taken at the church. Those who chose not to select a church remained quietly in their barracks, rejoining their squad at Sunday midday mess. The college administration was able to discontinue its Sunday service and could disentangle itself from the thorny problem of selecting the preacher each week.

Adult social life revolved around the campus. The president’s wife organized the weekly sewing meeting held at the president’s home. By the time Riggs became the president (January 1, 1911), his family was well established in a Queen Anne style home, which he had purchased through Baker and Klutz, a Tennessee-based architecture firm noted for its “fine homes plan books.” Riggs had paid for the purchase and erection of the home on college “bequest” land in 1906. When he became president, he chose not to move into the smaller, eighteen-year-old president’s home next door. The college converted it into a four-apartment dwelling, and it served as such until the 1950s. The Riggs home remained a campus landmark until its destruction in 1976. When Riggs died, the board compensated his widow for the house. It became the home for President and Mrs. Sikes and in 1940, the Poole family home. It was located west of the current (2011) president’s home. When demolished, the college built a low-rise residence hall in its backyard.
The sewing circle met regularly and became the nucleus of the Clemson Woman's Club of which Mrs. Lula Riggs served as the president. The Woman's Club adopted a set of organizational and procedural guidelines, but when a suggestion was tendered to join a nascent federation by its first chapter in Seneca, the club did not do so. While the Woman's Club developed into a unique Clemson College organization, the men had formed a Masonic lodge. A number of the faculty, such as Maj. Martin, became very active locally and in the lodge's regional structure.

Besides belonging to the sewing group, most of the women joined the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), the local chapter of which was named for Andrew Pickens. The DAR marked the graves of Revolutionary soldiers, which attracted the chapter's attention to the Old Stone Church yard. In turn, a number of early Clemson faculty were vitally interested in the Old Stone Church, although their involvement with it did not seem to have been connected to that of the Daughters or Sons of the American Revolution. As early as 1893, Dr. O. M. Doyle of Seneca and J. Miles Pickens of Pendleton had issued a call that led to the creation of the Old Stone Church and Cemetery Improvement Association, which adopted a constitution and bylaws on December 4, 1893. By 1899, the association had created an endowment fund and in 1902 began its preservation efforts by erecting a stone wall around the cemetery at a cost of $516.66 (2009 equivalent $13,147.34). The wall enclosed the burial places of three veterans of the American Revolution, two veterans of the War of 1812, and twenty-five veterans or casualties of the American Civil War. At the time of the wall's construction, two Clemson cadets, E. M. Rembert (October 1, 1874–September 9, 1894), an orphan, and Wade H. Martin (March 18, 1877–March 13, 1896), leaving his widowed mother alone, were both buried there. R. N. Brackett served as the early historian of both the church and yard.

Many women of Clemson also joined the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). Their local chapter was named for John C. Calhoun, and they took on the task of marking the graves of Confederate veterans as well. Some years later, the UDC, led by Mrs. Alester Holmes, acted as a critical force in the first major restoration of Fort Hill. Members of the John C. Calhoun Chapter gave many hours as the hostesses at the house, a task held previously by members of John F. Calhoun's family.

While the local stores carried some food items, a meat wagon arrived at Clemson from Pendleton once a week, causing the women (faculty and staff, black and white) to race to it to buy desired cuts. Local farmers brought in produce in seasonal rounds. Poultry and vegetables were raised on campus, usually in kitchen gardens, and some households kept a milk cow and calf. As housing space got tighter, this lessened. The availability of milk, eggs, and other products for sale from the college's "home farm" vacillated both by policy and productivity.
Of the four men who met together in the autumn of 1886, now only Richard Wright Simpson and U.S. Senator Benjamin Ryan Tillman remained. They, along with Robert Esli Bowen, M. L. Donaldson, and John E. Wannamaker, were five of the original seven life trustees named in Mr. Clemson’s will. Alan Johnstone, the president of the Board of Trustees, had been chosen by the surviving six to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Daniel Keating Norris in 1905. Then on January 11, 1909, toward the end of Mell’s administration, Bowen died.

The life trustees selected Richard Irving Manning (b. August 15, 1859, at Homesly Plantation in Sumter County) to take Bowen’s seat. Educated at the University of Virginia, he had joined the Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity. In 1881, he married Leila Bernard Meredith of Richmond, Virginia. The farmer-turned-banker served in the S.C. House from 1892 until 1896 and then in the senate from 1899 to 1904. His wife, their eleven sons, and two daughters moved to Columbia, where they were active in Trinity Episcopal Church. Manning also served on the national boards of the Episcopalian Church. In 1915, he was elected South Carolina’s governor and was reelected in 1917. He would be the second sitting governor (after Tillman) to serve on Clemson’s board. Interestingly, prior to his enrolling in the University of Virginia, Manning attended the Kenmore school operated by Henry Strode prior to his becoming Clemson College’s first president. In his political posture, Manning ranked as a “progressive,” and much of his governorship (and his positions on the Clemson board) reflected his deep concern for education. As governor, he would use his authority to secure the passage of South Carolina’s first county-option compulsory school attendance law. He firmly supported Walter Merritt Riggs.

The last of the life trustees, Alan Johnstone of Newberry, had been one of the first legislative trustees elected, but he had not been reelected when his first term had ended in 1894. When Daniel Keating Norris died in 1905, the other life trustees selected Johnstone to succeed him on January 23, 1905. This action alone suggests the waning of Tillman’s influence, given that the “Tillman” legislature was responsible for Johnstone’s “non-reelection.” Johnstone’s election as the second president of Clemson’s board, upon the resignation of Simpson from board presidency (although not from the board), was a continuing sign of the fading Tillman presence. Certainly, some part of that was due to Tillman’s preoccupation with federal work as a member of the Senate Naval Committee during the era of the naval arms race, which embroiled the British Empire, the Japanese Empire, the Russian Empire, the German Empire, and those in the United States with imperial ambitions in the building of the battleships. However, much was the result of Tillman’s declining health.
There were several other major changes in the makeup of the board. First, Richard Wright Simpson died on July 11, 1912. Seventeen months later, Paul Hamilton Earle Sloan, secretary-treasurer to the Board of Trustees, resigned as of January 1, 1914. Samuel Wilds Evans replaced Sloan.

Evans, born on June 21, 1882, was the son of recently deceased Trustee W. D. Evans and Mary Pegues Evans. A Clemson alumnus, he also attended Draughan’s Business College. On July 1, 1908, he joined Clemson’s very small business staff. Three years later (April 12, 1911), the Rev. Dr. W. H. Mills married Samuel Wilds Evans to Rosa Calhoun, born on December 25, 1875, the daughter of John Francis and Rebecca Noble Calhoun, at Fort Hill Presbyterian Church. The Evanses had two daughters. Selected on January 1, 1914, as secretary-treasurer to the board, Evans served in that role until June 30, 1947. He died on December 30, 1950.19

Two of the legislative trustees died in 1910: J. H. Hardin, elected in the first selection of those trustees in 1890, and John Gardiner Richards, first elected in 1908. One successor was the thirty-two-year-old Eddings Thomas Hughes. Upon Hughes’s graduation from Clemson in agriculture in 1901, South Carolina’s U.S. Representative Asbury Francis Lever added him to his Washington staff. Hughes attended Columbian University (in the District of Columbia) and received a bachelor of laws degree from South Carolina College in 1905. He married Mary Edna Carmichael of Marion, where he practiced law, and they had one son and one daughter. When Hardin’s term expired, Hughes was reelected for a full four-year legislative term (1912–1916), focusing on his main interest, agriculture.20

The other elected successor was S. T. McKeown, chosen by the legislature in 1912 from Cornwell in Chester County. He would be reelected in 1916. A farmer, McKeown served on the Fertilizer Committee (1913–1919), which regularly proposed the precise proportions of the elements used in fertilizers sold in South Carolina. Clemson chemists recommended these elements and examined closely the work of scientists at the experiment stations in South Carolina and in other states with similar soils and climates. This in turn was supported by the fertilizer tag sales revenue. Besides the Fertilizer Committee, McKeown served on the Crop Pest Committee (1913–1919), created to meet the threat of the boll weevil.21

In 1912, early in Riggs’s administration, the surviving life trustees selected Asbury Francis Lever, a U.S. representative from Lexington County, as a life trustee to replace Simpson on his death. Lever was an honors graduate of Newberry College. After a short stint in teaching, he joined Congressman J. William Stokes in Washington. Lever studied law at Georgetown University, from which he received the bachelor of laws degree in 1899. He spent one year in the S.C. House of Representatives and, in 1901, at the age of twenty-seven was elected to the U.S. House, where he served on the Agriculture Committee. Immersing himself
in agriculture, he quickly became the major intellect of the committee. When the Democratic Party gained control of the U.S. House, Lever was elected chair of the House of Representatives Agriculture Committee. There he helped to shape American modern agriculture.22

The first of the legislative trustees to leave the board in the Riggs era was Coke Danley Mann. Mann's rather “touch and go” health, which had taken him from his pulpit ministry, turned downward again, and in early 1912 he resigned his trusteeship.23 On March 12, 1912, the general assembly selected as trustee Ransom Hodges Timmerman, a farmer and physician, to replace Mann. Born in Edgefield County on June 29, 1865, Timmerman attended Furman University for two years before going to the Medical College of South Carolina, from which he graduated with his MD in 1888 at twenty-three years of age. That same year, he married Charlotte Thompson of Dillon County; they had two daughters. He stayed in Dillon practicing medicine before moving his family across the state, first to Aiken County and then to Edgefield County and Batesburg. Very civic-minded, he served in the state legislature from 1896 to 1900 and practiced medicine until 1949. In his sixty-two years of practice, he served actively in the Philippi Baptist Church and helped establish a bank and a hospital. He would serve on the Clemson board until 1928.24

Between 1913 and 1918, three more legislative trustees stopped serving for one reason or another. The first was William DeWitt Evans, who died on April 10, 1913. Born in 1849, he began his adult life managing his father’s plantation in Marlboro District. He did not attend college. In 1873, he married Mary Elizabeth Pegues, with whom he had seven daughters and four sons. He was in the state house from 1886 until 1889 and the senate from 1890 to 1893. Evans was active in the state Democratic Party, as state president of the Farmers’ Alliance, and president (1899–1900) of the state Agricultural and Mechanical Society. Not only was he active in agricultural (and state fair) issues, but he also served as a trustee for South Carolina College (and the University of South Carolina) from 1890 to 1898 and Columbia Female College from 1893 to 1896. On
March 6, 1901, the governor appointed Evans to the Clemson board to replace the deceased H. M. Stackhouse. He was then elected to three successive terms. Of Evans’s work for Clemson, A. B. Bryan wrote, he “gave devoted service to the College and its affairs in the formative period.” His son, S. W. Evans, a bookkeeper in P. H. E. Sloan’s college business office, became the board’s secretary-treasurer following Sloan.

The other two legislative trustees elected in April 1914 were Josiah James Evans, another son of W. D. Evans, and William Duncan Garrison. Josiah Evans was born in Bennettsville in 1885. After local schooling, he attended Clemson and the South Carolina law school. At barely twenty years of age, he was called to the bar on December 7, 1904. Settling back in Bennettsville, he worked as a farmer, attorney, and public official. At twenty-seven, he entered the state house for two terms before his election to the senate. While in the house, the legislature elected him a Clemson trustee four times from 1914 to 1930. He served in the state general assembly intermittently until 1950. Evans also served as a member of the S.C. Public Service Commission (1933–1944) and the State Development Board (1945–1947). A Methodist, he married Amanda Louise Gillespie on December 7, 1940, and they had one daughter. Evans died in 1960.

William Duncan Garrison had also graduated from Clemson. Born in 1878 in Anderson County, he married Alice Gertrude Seabrook in 1908. After he graduated from Clemson in 1903, he worked with the S.C. Experiment Station and remained devoted to the station’s needs and progress until his death in 1918. The legislature chose him when he had left the station and worked as manager of the Charleston Farms Corporation. When he returned to the experiment station, he resigned from his position on the board.

The legislature filled Garrison’s board position in 1916 with another Anderson County resident, Samuel Anderson Burns, born in 1876 in Sandy Springs. Following his education in the local schools, he married Sally McClure, also of Anderson County. Burns and his first wife had four sons: George, Pierce, Leon, and Ralph, who all would be Clemson graduates, and one daughter, a Winthrop graduate. In late 1919, he moved to Talladega, Alabama, and resigned his board position. He died on December 31, 1951.

As prominent as many of these trustees were, few, other than Tillman, Lever, and Manning, achieved the level of regional influence that Trustee Bernard H. Rawl reached. Born in Lexington on May 2, 1876, Rawl graduated from Clemson in agriculture in 1900 and then attended Pennsylvania State College. In 1902, he returned to Clemson as a worker in the Dairy Department, which he combined with studies at the University of Wisconsin until 1904. He returned to Clemson as an assistant professor in dairy science and department head. In 1905, the U.S. Department of Agriculture hired him to head its Dairy Division in the South, a position that took him to Washington, D.C. In 1909, he headed the USDA
Dairy Division and in 1918, served as assistant head of USDA’s Bureau of Animal Husbandry. He resigned in 1921 to become involved in California’s growing dairy industry. He had married Mary Dandridge Bunting from Petersburg, Virginia; they had no children. A Lutheran, he attended the Episcopalian Church with his wife. Rawl, elected to the Clemson board in 1909, resigned on July 13, 1921, when he moved to California.29

**Difficulties for the Board**

Given the issues that faced Clemson, the college was fortunate to have such an accomplished board to guide it. The board’s structure remained politically problematic. Although objections to the independent structure of the Clemson Board of Trustees arose from almost the first day the details of Thomas Clemson’s will were made public, a major test for the board occurred on September 1, 1905, when Dr. John Hopkins, who held property on the Seneca River, sued Clemson Agriculture College for damages to his land.

The trustees, in an effort to hold back the regular spring flooding of the river, had consulted in April 1894 with Col. W. A. Neal, superintendent of the state’s penitentiaries, on using some of the convict labor to build dikes protecting the college bottom lands from flooding. The agreement was made and work began.30 There were few mentions of the dikes until June 5, 1905, when the trustees “raised and widened the dyke [sic] so that it will absolutely protect the low ground from overflow.”31 Apparently this action caused flooding of Hopkins’s land and persuaded him to file suit.32 In December 1905, the board authorized an independent survey of the dike and the alleged damage.33 The issue dragged on for years.34

The suit specifically asked for destruction of the dike, restoration of the damaged land, and an assessment on Clemson of a penalty of $8,000 (2009 equivalent $188,758). Clemson responded that it acted as an agent of the state, which owned everything. The state had approved every step, and as a state it had sovereign immunity. The two parties agreed that this question of jurisdiction had to be settled first. Judge James Aldrich of the S.C. Circuit Court found in favor of the Clemson board on April 25, 1906. Hopkins appealed to the S.C. Supreme Court, which on January 27, 1907, concurred with the lower court.

Dr. Hopkins appealed to the federal courts on the applicability of the Eleventh Amendment and the legal principle of sovereign immunity. The U.S. Supreme Court accepted the case on December 7, 1910, and gave its ruling on May 29, 1911, reversing the lower court’s decision. The ruling found that “the Fort Hill place is not subject to levy and sale, it does not follow that the institution may not now or hereafter own property out of which a judgment in plaintiff’s favor could be satisfied.” Thus, the damages could be assessed, but the embankment
was, in essence, a part of the real property so not subject to that type (destruction) of remedy. The land (at least that deeded), therefore, belonged to the state, but the trustees, at least the seven life trustees, are not part of state. Although not the principal issue of the court action, the ruling recognized the authenticity of the peculiar (if not “unique”) nature of the structure of the board.

At almost the same time, John J. McMahan, a candidate for S.C. governor, also levied an attack on Clemson and directly on the trustees. On August 12, 1906, the Charleston News and Courier reported his Greenville speech in which he said, “But the entire organization of Clemson is wrong. It is supported by a tax on farmers, which some years far exceeds the usual income. The fertilizer tax should go into the state treasury and Clemson should be supported as the other institutions of the State by annual appropriations from the treasury.” That suggestion, which was neither unreasonable nor immoral, was nonetheless considered unconstitutional or, at least, illegal according to then-Trustee Smythe in his August 29, 1906, letter to Trustee J. E. Wannamaker. Smythe probably wrote it in response to McMahan’s speech.

McMahan also challenged the board structure because the majority was a self-perpetuating unit. He observed, “No State institution should be beyond State control. Trustees become old, become antiquated in their ideas, or for other reasons may be out of joint with the progress and demands of the times.” He went on to observe that “Clemson College is a close [sic] corporation, largely officered by the kinsmen and other favorites of these life trustees….” Certainly the last statement, as it related to kinsmen, was true as Mell declared in his letter to the governor. It is not hard to understand why the legislature, during the final months of 1909, launched an investigation of Clemson organizational and financial practices.

One of the more outspoken legislators was the Rev. Mr. J. H. Archer, a clergyman from Spartanburg, who considered himself a representative of the denominational schools. When he first came to public attention in 1897, he was described as “a tall, slim, wiry-looking man, with a scrub of a beard and a tangle of iron gray hair” and as a real opponent of Tillman (at least in pursuit of political power). By 1910, Archer focused his aim on Clemson, its finances, its generosity to its trustees (according to the attackers), and the quality of the education received.

With that as a background, the general assembly authorized a legislative “committee to examine into and report on the affairs of the various institutions of learning fostered by the State.” Composed of Senator T. I. Rogers and representatives John J. McMahan and A. Vanderhorst, the committee submitted a report to the legislature on January 29, 1911. The committee chose not to examine spending practices of the five institutions. While its report basically spoke favorably to the teaching at all five institutions, it raised an earnest question about cost per student, noting the cost per student was $128.75 (2009 equivalent $2,928) at
the Citadel, $150 (2009 equivalent $3,411) at Winthrop, $178.41 (2009 equivalent $4,057) at USC, and $241.06 (2009 equivalent $5,254) at Clemson. The sums included only the state-“appropriated” funds or, in Clemson’s case, the fertilizer tag fee. The investigators removed from the appropriations and (it would be hoped) from the fertilizer tag fee the cost of permanent campus improvements. But they did not take into account that the education (at that time) in mathematics or Latin required little beyond chalk, writing supplies, and library texts, while animal husbandry required animals and electrical engineering required the most up-to-date generators.

A second issue that they raised was coordination among the state schools. This, they reasoned, required two steps: first, establishment of an unpaid commission to visit states that had unified educational authority, and second, for the commission to present a plan for creating a coordinating authority. The legislators recommended that the governor and the state superintendent of education be on every higher education board. The report pointed out that every board except Clemson’s had one or the other officer, if not both. Inasmuch as the general assembly elected more than two to each Clemson board at whatever term it chose to set, then it might be assumed that the legislature chose not to do such. The committee also noted that the Citadel, Clemson, and USC all taught civil engineering, “which might be united in one, and with better results through concentrated effort.”

The legislators did not ask, however, a pertinent question: “What is South Carolina’s need in civil engineers?” Nor did they address the fact that Clemson’s federal charter, so accepted or designated by the state government, assigned “agriculture, mechanics, and military training” to Clemson, although not necessarily exclusively. Nor did they note that the state government was capable (as it had shown earlier) of assigning the “land-grant fields” exclusively to the land-grant schools. But they were not capable of forbidding those same fields to those land-grant schools. Instead, in the twelve-page document, they spent nearly one-third in generalities; about one-sixth on USC, the Citadel, Winthrop, and the State College for Negroes; and about one-half on Clemson, some of which was an honest attack on “nepotism.” And in fairness, the committee assigned no blame to any “nepotistic” hire in the performance of duties. On the other hand, given the racial and gender attitudes of the era and the available population in the region that fit the racial and gender attitudes of the state, the “nepotism” might well have been a political “necessity.”

The risk in placing on a board any state official simply because of his office appeared almost immediately upon the election of Coleman Livingston Blease (1868–1942) from Newberry as governor of South Carolina. Educated at Newberry College and USC, he graduated in law from Georgetown University in 1889. Admitted to the bar and elected to the S.C. House in 1890, he served as
speaker pro tempore from 1892 to 1894. After a period of time in local politics, he won a seat in the state senate in 1905. Senator Blease’s committee received several reports that decried the independence of the Clemson board and its supposed extravagance with the fertilizer revenue. Archer’s (the Spartanburg legislator) attack, much of which was focused on such “extravagance,” continued to resonate with Blease, who in the 1910 gubernatorial campaign became the champion of the textile workers.45

Blease won the election of 1910 on the basis of class warfare, and his attack on perceived privilege came full in his efforts to champion white textile workers against all others, especially African Americans. He aimed his first fury against Thomas E. Miller, the president of the Colored Institute (hereafter South Carolina State), who had voiced his opposition to Blease’s candidacy. After Blease’s election, he demanded that Miller resign. Miller responded, “Because I opposed your election to the Chief Officer in the gift of our beloved state, you have demanded my resignation, stating that you will not permit the State Colored College to do any business until my resignation is in your hand….I counted the cost before I opposed you, hence, I am prepared for the blow of your official act.”46 Of Miller, the founding president of South Carolina State, the legislative report that Blease would receive said, “…a president who had displayed excellent judgment and admirable ideals in his conduct of this institution.”47

Blease’s mean-spiritedness turned against higher education in general in April and May 1911 when the Peabody board was considering the distribution of much of the Peabody estate. His interference, which a Winthrop University historian called “racist,” added to the financial difficulties both Winthrop and South Carolina State bore.48

Blease’s anti-higher education thrust, however, was greatest against Clemson, in part perhaps because of Tillman, who, once Blease’s “captain,” now lay weakened by a stroke and appeared as the “dying chieftain.” Blease had fractured the Tillman coalition by singling out the textile “operatives” (as mill workers were called) for his attention. Blease’s opportunity came in the person of Floride Isabella Lee, Mr. Clemson’s granddaughter. Shortly after the sale of her share of Fort Hill to the state of South Carolina and into the demesne of the Clemson College campus and the death of her father, Gideon Lee Jr., she married her second cousin, Andrew Pickens Calhoun II (August 14, 1895), with whom she bore four children.49 She had also met John C. Calhoun of New York City.50 Together they proposed a scheme to Governor Blease, who was in the last year of his second gubernatorial term. They urged that the state now reject the Act of Acceptance, which should, they reasoned, pass the property back to Floride Lee Calhoun, who then would give the property to the state for the agricultural college, which would continue with all legislative trustees and with the name changed to Calhoun University. John C. Calhoun of New York stated that be-
Descendant Chart for
Anna Maria Calhoun and Thomas Green Clemson

Prepared by Jerome V. Reel, Jr.
tween all the other Calhouns, their many (and wealthy) friends, and the many admirers of John C. Calhoun, millions upon millions of dollars would be raised to endow the school.51

Blease took the idea and incorporated it into his message to the general assembly.52 The Tiger reacted quickly, suggesting that before the state government ventured too far down this path, John Calhoun’s family and friends should produce legal, dated, verified, and collectable bank notes as a guarantee.53 It was not long before the S.C. attorney general pointed out that the will itself had a fallback clause in the event the state rejected the conditional gift or attempted to modify any of the conditions. Further, he noted that Lee v. Simpson already had placed the will before the U.S. Supreme Court, which had found for the will (Simpson). There the matter ended, and Blease stopped his scheming.54 But the issue would come up again and again.

Buildings

Regardless of the various attacks on the school’s governing structure, the students (703 in 1910) remained crowded into the barracks. Barracks Two had opened in the spring of 1903 and allowed a 13 percent enrollment increase, which, when coupled with the cessation of the lower preparatory grade, raised the overall graduation rate. The increase was a sign of the slow addition of grades nine, ten, and eleven in some public schools and improvement in some high school standards. Nonetheless, a 1910 report claimed that, of the 166 public and private high schools in South Carolina, only thirteen were judged to be adequate. The thirteen (all white) included two private schools and graduated 250 students the previous year.55 Nonetheless, the pressure to enter Clemson grew.

Fortunately, the fertilizer tag sales had allowed continued accumulation of funds by the Clemson trustees so that a new barracks for 200 more cadets could be authorized by the board.56 Rudolph Lee designed Barracks Three with a col-
onnaded portico, which recalled the north porch on the 1904 Agricultural Hall. With the addition of a like entrance to Barracks Two, the style of all three barracks was similar, including the granite ground floor and red brick upper stories. Even though the styles moved from Romanesque to beaux-arts, the harmonies of the materials and the pitches to the roofs added to a sense of unity on the growing campus.

Two smaller buildings had been constructed along the drive that moved south from Bowman Field. Both were on the east side of the still-unsurfaced road. First came the greenhouse, all in glass and steel, reminding the few who traveled of the royal botanical greenhouses at Kew in Great Britain. Then came the enlarged Chemistry Building, in which the venerable Prof. Mark Bernard Hardin labored and taught until his retirement in 1911. Next to Chemistry, a new fertilizer laboratory designed by Lee continued the architectural language of Chemistry, while its basement became the campus post office.

In 1911, all the barracks—including Barracks One with a new fourth story and set of bathrooms, a slightly redecorated Barracks Two sporting its portico, and the almost new Barracks Three—greeted 804 cadets. The corps had increased by 23 percent since 1908. Even the main building, now called Old Main (in use for eighteen years), felt more spacious. With the agricultural programs transferred to the 1904 Agricultural Hall and with the YMCA moved into space in the enlarged Barracks One, the college library (in Main) doubled in space. That was fortuitous because in 1907, the U.S. Congress designated all land-grant college libraries as federal government depositories. Class space for the academic subjects allowed a bit of flexibility in scheduling. The basement was improved for the registrar and the business office.

The growth in students dictated an increase in the number of faculty, who were usually young and brought children with them. That led to the construction of a
new schoolhouse to accommodate the children of the faculty and staff and of the few others who built homes on the hotel hill. The cadets called them “hill folk.”

On the college farm, the milk production barn, which provided milk for the cadet mess hall, was refitted, and the teaching part of the dairy operation moved into a “half dairy barn” with a calf barn attached. Despite legislative criticism, which charged that the milk herd had been degraded as a result of inbreeding, milk production (measured in pounds) and quality (measured in fat content) had steadily risen. Sales of surplus products allowed the design by Lee and construction of a neoclassical and early art deco Dairy Building across the major north-south ravine. The sale of ice cream to the cadets led them to beat down a path up and down the ravine to the Dairy Building. A Clemson tradition had begun.

**Agricultural Directions**

The expansion to meet the economic needs of South Carolina continued in the era 1910 to 1918. Recognizing that agriculture remained the business of a large majority of the people of South Carolina and the Southeast, the Clemson faculty determined that one direction in growth would be in agriculture, with chemistry separate from it. By 1910–1911, the faculty instructing and doing non-experiment station research grew to three, where it remained in 1918. The animal departments’ faculties grew from six in 1903 to ten in 1918. Poultry and dairy had new appointments, as Clemson helped coax the Southeast slowly from row crops to more diversified agriculture. One of the interesting areas Clemson explored was to add a basic course in forestry in 1903. President Theodore Roosevelt (in office 1901–1909), in his domestic policy, focused on bringing large corporations under the control of the federal government and on conservation. While president, he designated four national game preserves, five national parks, eighteen national monuments, twenty-one reclamation projects, and 150 national forests, which set a “seal” of federal protection on about 230 million acres. His biographers noted that acreage equaled all the Atlantic seaboard states. Given this national movement toward conservation, it was unfortunate that neither Clemson’s trustees nor the S.C. Legislature was prepared to invest in a full-fledged forestry program that early in the state’s modern history.

**Extension**

The broadening of teaching received two federal stimuli in the years 1910–1918. The first was to some extent home-grown. The efforts of the early advocates of formalized extension, including Seaman Knapp, had led to a variety of ideas, including the creation of county agricultural societies, county fairs, and county experiment farms. The first two, while useful, met too infrequently to deal with
immediate issues such as infectious diseases and invasive pests, while experimental farms were almost too sedentary to be truly effective.

Since the 1890s, Clemson had considered extension to be a regular part of the school’s activities. As has been noted, a variety of methods were developed for extension activity. Much of this “unmandated” work was funded through the fertilizer sales. The most useful included farmers’ institutes scattered throughout the state, regular publication of research result brochures, youth work, and short and correspondence courses. The institutes took teams of specialists by train to well-located towns for two- and three-day meetings. Also a summer multiweek institute brought farmers and their families to the campus. Research bulletins were published in lots of 10,000. The separate courses for boys in raising corn and cultivating cotton, for girls in canning tomatoes, and for women in sanitation and food preservation helped to achieve better health and production.

The Smith-Lever Act

The extension work received no regular support from the state or the nation. While support for Clemson’s extension work came to a goodly extent from the college’s regular revenues, including the federal and state allotments through the Hatch Act and its subsequent legislative enhancements, the largest nongovernmental source was the General Education Board, a group that oversaw the distribution of some of the wealth accumulated by the Rockefeller family. But between 1910 and 1914, pressure from agricultural interests mounted for development of a federal “public service” side of agricultural policy. As early as the 1860s, northeastern states’ legislatures supported the local farm institutes. By 1904 in Texas, resident agents began to travel from farm to farm offering practical and up-to-date advice and instruction under the direction of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Clemson experimented with and modified the Texas model.

Eventually, Life Trustee A. F. Lever, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives and chair of the House Agricultural Committee, and Hoke Smith, a U.S. senator from Georgia, introduced an act written by Lever that provided federal money for agricultural extension work. The model Lever and Smith selected to use was the Clemson way of attaching the extension work to the land-grant college research system. As members of the college staff, the agents had disciplinary expertise and, by affiliation with the various agricultural experiment stations, were knowledgeable in local soils, crop and livestock problems, and new plants.

Each state operated its own program determining local needs. To support such, the federal government provided an annual appropriation through the Department of Agriculture and an annual “Smith-Lever” grant, which would have to be more than matched by the state. The amount of the grant was determined by the size of the agricultural population in each state. Some states attempted to
attach the resident agents to the state departments of agriculture rather than the land-grant college. In addition, in the seventeen states practicing educational racial segregation, the added issue of the “1890 Land Grant Institutes,” authorized by the Morrill Act of 1890, was a complication. They were not specifically mentioned in the Smith-Lever Act.

By the spring of 1914, the “extension bill” had passed both houses of Congress and sat on the U.S. president’s desk. Clemson President Riggs prepared to meet with the governor to clear the way for the bill. The S.C. Democratic primary had just named Richard I. Manning, a Clemson life trustee, to succeed Coleman L. Blease as governor. Manning took the leadership role in drafting appropriate legislation to submit to the general assembly, and in July, Riggs, with the approval of the Clemson Board of Trustees, signed the extension contract with the USDA. Still to be determined were the questions about serving African American farmers and the home and family aspects of the law.

The federal statute was clear. The Cooperative Extension Act clearly assigned the responsibility for the outreach to the institution designated as the agent for the agricultural experiment station, and Clemson served that role in South Carolina. But in South Carolina, pieces of the curricular foundation issues were divided among Clemson, Winthrop, which the state had created as the “teachers” college along with other fields, and South Carolina State at Orangeburg, which the state government had not yet authorized to grant the bachelor’s degree. At this point, Riggs had formed a good working relationship with Winthrop’s president, David Bancroft Johnson. Winthrop faculty and staff had been a part of the “Clemson extension train” since 1910. It was no surprise then when in June of 1914, Clemson’s business officer at Riggs’s direction established a salary line for home demonstration agents to be housed, supervised, and evaluated by Winthrop but paid by Clemson. Mary E. Frayser became the Winthrop officer through whom Clemson operated.

Riggs’s ability to work with other presidents also could be seen in the close working relationship/friendship he had with the new president of South Carolina State, Robert Shaw Wilkinson (1865–1932). From Charleston, Wilkinson was nominated to West Point (one of the first African Americans to be so nominated), but he obtained the BA from Oberlin. Afterward, he joined the faculty of the State University of Kentucky at Louisville, where he received the PhD in 1898. There he taught physics and chemistry until 1911, when he was selected as the...
second president of South Carolina State. He and Riggs worked closely together in an era when other college presidents in South Carolina scarcely noted State’s existence, aided by the fact that Riggs traveled frequently to Orangeburg to visit with his (Riggs’s) elderly mother. To help save money for the Orangeburg college, Riggs personally drew up several of the plumbing, heating, and electric plans for buildings.

Riggs preferred that the African American agents he hoped to hire be a part of Clemson’s staff; however, the Board of Trustees pressed to arrange for the African American extension workers to be supervised through South Carolina State. The board’s stance probably resulted from the racial attitudes of some (or perhaps, most) of its members, and they feared further antagonizing Governor Blease and the vocal Clemson critics in the state general assembly, the public, and some of the press.

Even before the passage of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, Clemson had placed agents in every county. Once arrangements were made with Wilkinson in 1912, officials at South Carolina State hired African American agents, assigned them to the designated counties, and evaluated them. However, Clemson’s secretary-treasurer drafted the paychecks. The African American extension staff received considerably less salary than its white counterparts. No one offered a reason for the reduced African American pay scale.

On the other hand, this set of decisions, which dodged bullets of political criticism, carried positive benefits for President Wilkinson and South Carolina State, as a legitimization of their equivalent status when the legislature, the governor (who was on the South Carolina State board), and several of the other public higher education entities in the state seemed to have ignored the Orangeburg institution.

W. L. English of the USDA served as national superintendent of the Division of Extension Work and Farmers’ Institutes, and also as land-grant school extension director agent for the Farmer’s Cooperative Demonstration work, all part of the Smith-Lever Act. Passage of the Smith-Lever law also brought a third federal revenue stream to Clemson, which combined with the state and county matching funds did improve Clemson’s financial position, although it did not completely fund the total extension cost. To add to the financial problems, once the federal government began funding the Smith-Lever program, then the General Education Board (GEB) ended its independent funding. President Wilkinson appealed directly, asking for a continuation of the annual gift of $2,500 from the GEB, but
within a few days he received an unfavorable letter from Wallace Buttrick, GEB secretary. Buttrick pointed out that the Smith-Lever Act specifically “excluded contributions from without the state where the work was done.”

The U.S. Department of Agriculture determined that fieldwork was the only extension work funded by the federal government. Riggs felt that theoretical work by researchers, when immediately concerned with statewide problems, should also be funded. The practical issue was in administrative ties. For the USDA, Bradford Knapp, son of Seaman Knapp, wanted the agents under the control of the state director of extension, who in South Carolina was W. W. Long, a Clemson faculty member. Riggs, and perhaps Long, favored ties to researchers for solutions to problems with coordination by the state director. From 1914 to 1918, the issue of the relationship of extension to research continued to arise in correspondence and in face-to-face meetings. In 1918, Riggs conceded. The toll on Long pushed him to take a leave of absence. He returned later and remained director until he died in 1934.

Smith-Hughes Act

Another new federal initiative appeared: the education of agricultural and industrial teachers for the lower schools and the supervision of such work. Introduced into the Congress as the Smith-Hughes Act (signed into law February 23, 1917), which the S.C. General Assembly accepted and the governor signed on February 28, 1917, the act, in the placing of the work, set up potential conflicts with the state superintendent of education. In addition, Winthrop’s president, D. B. Johnson, raised the issue of Winthrop’s role as did Wilkinson for South Carolina State. Riggs recommended that inasmuch as the state Department of Education was the lead organization, it should make the assignments within the framework of past arrangements. The program was trifurcated among South Carolina State for African Americans, Winthrop in home economics for non-African American females, and Clemson in agriculture and industry for non-African American men.

But the Smith-Hughes Act was clear on what it intended, and Clemson’s leader was Verd Patterson, professor of agricultural education. The Board of Education accepted the decision on September 14, 1917.

Other Public Service

During Riggs’s first eight years, the state also designated Clemson as the S.C. Crop Pest Commission. Again, the legislature assigned the task to Clemson but appropriated no funds. Prof. A. F. Conradi served as state entomologist, and his superior, H. W. Barre, as state pathologist. In this, there was a potential challenge from the federally established Institute for Entomology located at the University
of South Carolina. The land-grant tripartite mission of teaching (Morrill Act of 1862 and of 1890), research (Hatch Act of 1887), and extension (Smith-Lever Act of 1914) would guide Clemson for much of the rest of its history. The series of laws marked the apogee of federal leadership in agriculture.

The S.C. (Clemson) Experiment Station and the Extension Service produced a number of successes. Among them were elimination of hog cholera and bovine tuberculosis and tick control. To centralize the work and speed delivery, the state veterinarians (all Clemson faculty) and the supply center for the serums were both located at Clemson’s Sandhill Experiment Station at Pontiac near Columbia.80 This effort stripped the campus of its small professional veterinary staff, which ended the teaching of veterinary medicine at Clemson beyond some elementary courses in poultry science and animal husbandry.

**Engineering Studies**

Almost as early as 1900, Mechanical Hall began demonstrating that it was too small for the number of students who wanted to study engineering in its various forms. Small additions to the building occurred throughout its years of service.81 With the resignation of Prof. William H. Boehm as head of the Mechanical Department and from the college on September 1, 1901, the trustees elected Riggs as the head, and it was during this tenure that Riggs attracted Samuel Broadus Earle to the Clemson faculty.

Sam Earle was born in Gowensville in 1878, a son of a Baptist minister. Fortunately, because of his father’s calling, he and his four older brothers attended Furman at a discount. Apparently, “college” agreed with him, because after receiving the bachelor’s degree in 1898 (at age twenty), he stayed on to earn a master’s in language and mathematics. With that in hand, he went to Cornell University (as had Riggs) and then returned to South Carolina to join Clemson’s engineering faculty, serving under Riggs. In accepting Clemson’s offer in 1902, he turned aside offers from General Electric and West-
Earle soon began courting a young Clemson College librarian, Susan Sloan, one of the ten children of P. H. E. Sloan (the Sloans and the Earles were already distant kin), the secretary-treasurer of the Board of Trustees. They married in 1908. When Riggs was named Clemson’s fifth president, Earle became the director of the Engineering Division. Earle began taking students to visit large industrial plants, especially near Birmingham, Alabama, which was only a five-hour train ride on the Southern line. The close rail connections between the college and regional centers of business and industry helped strengthen the Clemson presence in the development of the “new South.”

Architecture

For some few years, the Clemson faculty had discussed the creation of a curriculum in architecture. Riggs, while director of engineering, had formed a small committee to determine the need and, if it were genuine, then to design a program and a course of study. He designated Rudolph E. Lee committee chair. Lee, born in Anderson in 1876, was the son of Thomas B. Lee, a well-known civil and mechanical engineer, and Miriam Earle Lee (a distant relative to Samuel B. Earle). Lee attended the Citadel from 1891 to 1893 and transferred to Clemson when it opened that year. He graduated with the first class in 1896 and was hired as a tutor for the entering class in the autumn of 1897. He also did advanced studies during summers at the Zanerian Art College (1898), Cornell University (1901), and the University of Pennsylvania (1903). At Clemson, Lee rose from assistant instructor in drawing (1897–1899) to instructor in drawing (1899–1903) and associate professor of drawing in 1903. At that rank, he chaired the faculty committee on architecture.

The committee concluded that the region needed a program in architecture with an emphasis on the construction aspects. The result was that the trustees
approved a curriculum solidly rooted in practical design and use. Students began their studies as engineering students with grounding in physics (and the areas of electricity, water, and materials) before proceeding into design and construction.  
The first class of architecture students began in 1913, and the first two graduates were in 1915. By June 1918, Clemson had graduated eleven architects.

Lee focused his attention on the design of rural schoolhouses, with great care lavished on fire safety, good lighting, ventilation, and sanitation. Limited to one-story buildings easily expandable and adaptable, these structures were designed to be locally built. Lee’s ideas on community schools appeared in several cooperative extension bulletins. He also rode the extension trains, encouraging and organizing local school communities. Although many of the simple buildings have disappeared, their memories remain in the rising literacy and numeracy rates as surely as the young teachers educated in the state’s religious and public colleges who did their important work in these structures.

The Rockefeller Gift

Besides Lee’s work on the power plant, enlargement of Barracks One, portico for Barracks Two, exterior of Barracks Three, Dairy Building, and Fertilizer Building, his greatest architectural contribution of these years was his design of the YMCA building. But the idea for the building and its funding belongs to others. Bits of discussions about the need for a student activities and club center had been part of the conversation for some time among faculty and staff. Who originated the idea of approaching John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937) about a gift for such a YMCA facility for Clemson College is not clear.

On April 7, 1913, Riggs asked the Board of Trustees for permission to ask Rockefeller if he would consider providing a gift of $50,000 to erect a Young Men’s Christian Association building at Clemson. Rockefeller had recently made similar gifts to Georgia Tech and Mississippi State. The trustees agreed to Riggs’s proposal. Briefly in a letter to Rockefeller, Riggs outlined the isolation of the college and the relatively large number of students enrolled. Rockefeller received the letter, read it, and asked one of his secretaries to find out a bit more, particularly if Clemson was a “state institution, the same as the other A & M Colleges, and also if you would give me your views as to the propriety of helping them…” Given the unusual arrangements of the land-grant colleges in the Northeast (Cornell, for example) and Clemson’s name (CAC), Rockefeller’s questions made sense.

The secretary’s response must have been favorable because Riggs met soon with Clemson College division heads, and they suggested that the YMCA building be placed on a line north of the Textile Building. Lee went to work almost immediately with a plan. The building would face east (onto Bowman Field), and taking advantage of the lay of the land, it would include a basement (with
daylight entering from the north, west, and south sides) and two upper floors. The plan included 36,000 square feet of floor space for a basketball court (Clemson had begun playing basketball in 1912 on Bowman Field and, in the winter, played the sport in the rear space in the Agriculture Building), two bowling alleys (and space for a third), a swimming pool, a private dining room, and a room for a quick lunch. The pool measured twenty-one by sixty feet (then the standard length for amateur competition). The building also contained an auditorium with a stage and two dressing rooms. The auditorium seated more than 400 people. On the second floor were nine bedrooms for visiting speakers, alumni, and guests. Rudolph Lee’s design went through several critiques, but he had taken the time to visit a number of YMCAs and so had produced advanced designs and facilities.90

Riggs sent Lee’s architectural plans to Rockefeller, and on January 17, 1914, the wealthy oil man and philanthropist wrote to say that if a few legal questions could be clarified, then he would commit two-thirds of the cost up to $75,000, to be delivered when the other one-third was secured. While Lee began making his building program final, Riggs contacted the trustees. Lee had help from Earle, Riggs, and advanced students in mechanical and electrical engineering and in architecture in getting the presentation plans together. The trustees met on April 15, 1914, and decided to request $50,000 from Rockefeller. They guaranteed that the site would be “held by the Board of Trustees of the College in trust for the social and religious work of the students of the institution.” Other resolutions emphasized that the YMCA would direct the work in the new building so long as it and Clemson’s trustees were satisfied with the impact the YMCA had on Clemson’s students. Finally, the trustees pledged to have $25,000 cash in hand for the other third by January 1, 1915.

Riggs took the resolutions, the general program, and the architectural drawings to New York in February 1914. There he met with the Rockefeller Foundation secretary and with the YMCA southern secretary; they discussed the documents and made a few suggestions. Riggs returned and presented the very slight modifications to the trustees. They adopted the entire package, which Riggs then sent to Rockefeller’s secretary. The positive reply was dated May 5, 1914.91

The full extent of the Lee-Riggs plan can still be seen or easily imagined. Lee’s original darker brick was not available, so a change was made to a lighter buff. The red clay tile roof and the bracketed eaves marked the building as Renaissance style. The capitals to the columns of the building bore the triangle, the chi rho, and the reference to John’s gospel, while the quarry tile, terrazzo, the frontal mosaic roundels, and pine flooring added to the Italianate feel.

When the building was finished and furnished, Rockefeller had given $50,000; the Clemson board, $15,000; and the students, faculty, alumni, staff, and friends, $13,000 for a total of $78,000 ($75,000 for the building and $3,000
for the furnishings). The very next year, Preston Brooks Holtzendorff Jr. (1903–1979), a graduate of the University of Georgia, arrived to become the general secretary of the C.A.C. YMCA. He became a strong positive force through his many years at Clemson.92

West of the building lay a full football field and a track, which looped around the field. The field ran east to west, with permanent stands on the south side. Behind the south stands as the ridge rose to form a knoll, the ground was leveled for tennis courts. Continuing west from the football field was the baseball diamond and bleachers that would be moved as needed from one playing site to another. The basement of the Textile Building served as the sports dressing room and office, and since the stairs to the track were not in a direct line to the field, it became customary for the players to enter the field running down the southeast corner onto the depressed playing field.93 Another tradition began.

**Student Life**

With fully one-quarter of the students playing on Clemson’s intercollegiate sports teams94 and with Clemson playing a wider array of colleges, Clemson found it ever more important to align itself with the emerging and rapidly growing National Collegiate Athletic Association. It did this in 1912.95

Football remained the most popular sport, although the brilliance of the Heisman years had departed. Frank Dobson, the head coach, a graduate of Lawrenceville, had come to Clemson from Georgia Tech. Clemson’s captain, William Henry “Bill” Hanckel, had the nickname of “Coach.” A student in animal industries, born in Pendleton but who moved with his family to Charleston,96 Hanckel played every minute of every game at the position of right end. The sixteen-cadet
team finished the 1911 season with six wins and two losses. The team lost to Auburn and Georgia Tech, and two of the wins were over South Carolina and Georgia.\textsuperscript{97}

Coaches changed over the seven years. The team grew to twenty-five players, two coaches, and three managers. The 1912 record remained 6–2 with the two losses at the hands of Auburn and Davidson. But a 21–13 win over South Carolina and a 55–7 victory over Florida played in Jacksonville were highlights.\textsuperscript{98}

Baseball also enjoyed popularity. Frank Dobson, the football coach, also coached the sixteen-cadet baseball team. While the team had break-even records across the 1911–1918 years, baseball was one of Clemson’s better sports. During the same years, track was by “Doc Rock” Calhoun with the assistance of Murray S. Gardiner, assistant professor of agronomy, who had been a track champion at Purdue. The team was undefeated in its dual meets and amassed the most points both in the Southern IAA and the Southern AAU. Clemson first played basketball in 1912 and posted an undefeated season. The lone home game against Wofford, played on Bowman Field, ended Clemson 56, Wofford 13. Seven men composed the team.\textsuperscript{99}

Among the favorite students was Frank Johnstone Jervey, a 1914 graduate from Charleston. As a cheerleader, he roamed the sidelines, whipping up enthusiasm with yells and school songs. One of his favorite songs warned,

\begin{center}
Don’t send my son to Auburn,  
The dying mother said;  
Don’t send him down to Georgia Tech,  
I’d rather see him dead;  
Send him to dear old Clemson,  
It’s better than Cornell,  
But rather than to USC  
I’d see my boy in _ _ _ _ . ("Yale" is a suggested fill-in.)\textsuperscript{100}
\end{center}

During the era, another of Clemson’s standout students was John Furman Ezell, a 1912 graduate. From Cherokee (Springs), Spartanburg County, Ezell majored in agriculture. He held the college hammer throw record in 1912, won two Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association medals, and lettered in football. He served also as business manager of \textit{The Tiger} and won the Trustees’ Oratorical Medal.\textsuperscript{101}

The Norris Medal, selected by the faculty, honored the best all-around student in the senior class. The choice for 1915 was Wallace Bruce Wannamaker, a son of Trustee John Edwards Wannamaker. He was the fifth of seven children born on Aeolian Hill in St. Matthews. “Dickery” studied animal husbandry and after college returned to work at the college with the cattle herds. When an undergraduate, he had joined the Senior Bulls, which he served as secretary-treasurer,
and the Calhoun Literary Society. Sadly for the Wannamakers, Wallace Bruce died in 1920 from a brain tumor.\textsuperscript{102}

A second Norris Medal winner was Thomas Stephen Buie in the Class of 1917. Born in 1896 in Marlboro, one of five children, he had joined as a Clemson student the Palmetto Literary Society. Buie was also active in the Methodist church and served as a reporter for \textit{The Tiger}. He majored in soils and became the regional director for the USDA Soil Conservation Service. Buie received his PhD from Iowa State College at Ames. Further, he wrote a number of books on cotton, including a career-capping volume, \textit{Soil Conservation in the Southeast, 1933–1953}. A scholarship was created at Clemson in his name.\textsuperscript{103}

\textbf{The School's Reputation}

After the harsh buffeting that Clemson had undergone by the politicians and the press during the years 1907 to 1914, Riggs sought to present as positive an image of Clemson as possible. This not only meant keeping a steady flow of positive news streaming to the press, the legislature, and the public, but also, where possible, solving unfavorable issues quietly and quickly. One major in-house matter arose in 1912.

Early in his presidency, Riggs had become concerned about financial matters in the mess hall. He contacted a private detective from Atlanta to investigate. Rather than seek trustee permission to contract and pay the costs, Riggs paid for the investigation himself. The detective later reported to Riggs that Augustus Schilletter, steward of the mess hall, had stolen between “five and eight thousand dollars a year”\textsuperscript{104} (2009 equivalent $109,743.32 to $175,589.31). Riggs called Schilletter to his office, presented him the evidence, and told him that if he stopped the stealing, he could continue to work. Any breach of behavior or effort by Schilletter “to stir up dissension among the students out of revenge,” Riggs warned, would result in Schilletter’s forced resignation. Schilletter agreed, since he did not resign until 1919.

There is no way to explain completely Riggs’s action except to note that Schilletter had held the position since the college opened in 1893, and he was well-liked by students and remembered kindly by alumni. Riggs, in only his second year as president, perhaps...
feared that an immediate resignation might likely lead to a public revelation or struggle that could have been the “final straw,” particularly with the legislature.\textsuperscript{105}

\textit{The Coming War}

Certainly a part of the counterbalance to any negative publicity came in the strengthening of cadets’ preparations for national defense. The experiences of the commandants during the Mell administration had not been good. The flag incident and several other pranks, each amusing in its own way, were collectively corrosive of the school’s reputation. Commandant J. C. Minus had written a letter to the State concerned about Mell’s “loose management” that, he felt, “broke down discipline and condoned grave infractions of the rules.” He pointed to Mell’s willingness to give “almost anything requested or demanded.”\textsuperscript{106}

Riggs took a more aggressive stance with the army officers assigned to Clemson. He and Trustee President Johnstone participated actively in the selection process, letting the candidates know that he was the final authority on discipline. Also he worked through Johnstone to remove the trustees individually and collectively from the disciplinary process. Riggs’s imperatives were first, support the military system when it was fair, and second, provide an orderly way for the president to be involved in the system when needed.\textsuperscript{107}

A second major issue involved the growing sense of looming change in the student body as difficulties in Europe continued to grow in the first half of Riggs’s presidency (1910–1918). While the almost continual flareups on the Balkan Peninsula, along with the naval arms race, did not affect the cadets, European politics reached the explosion point in the June 28, 1914, murder of the heir to the Austrian throne when he was on a state visit to Serbia. The division of Europe into two large and hostile army camps led to a series of war declarations beginning with Austria’s declaration of war on Serbia on July 28. In the United States, Woodrow Wilson had become U.S. president in 1913 and had pledged to keep the United States out of Europe’s wars. But as World War I deepened, the American public, with large numbers of the citizenry of German stock and many others holding deeply felt British, Belgian, and French sympathies, became increasingly inflamed, and the federal government had a hard time maintaining neutrality.

Congress passed, and President Wilson signed, the National Defense Act of 1916, which established the collegiate Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) among other features.\textsuperscript{108} The base for the law was the work in “military tactics and strategy” as specified in the Morrill Act of 1862. The Act of 1916 permitted the establishment of military training units in colleges other than the land-grant institutions and junior units in secondary schools.
For Clemson and its cadets, the act was both favorable and (perhaps) unfavorable. On the former, benefits included access for Clemson at federal expense to up-to-date sidearms, including the relatively new .45-caliber Colt automatic pistol, the heavy knife bayonet, and vastly improved Springfield rifles. A second favorable aspect of the law was federal financial support for the ROTC cadets. A third was a potential army commission for graduates who successfully completed the ROTC regimen. On the negative side, at the end of the cadet’s sophomore year, passing a fairly rigorous physical examination was essential for the cadet to progress into advanced ROTC. Those who failed the examination at Clemson remained in uniform and participated in all formations and general drills, but they had no access to federal summer camp, newer weaponry, or the modest federal student financial allotment. While this was not the first division in the corps (there had been “day cadets” prior to this), it did tend to split the student body.

The summer camps, at first held in Plattsburg, New York, soon became a rite de passage. For many it provided their first experiences outside the South; for most this meant their longest trip from home; and for others, as the infirmary reports suggested, the visit to the military camps produced unfortunate encounters with venereal diseases.109

However, before anyone went away to ROTC summer camp, a series of German decisions to resume submarine attacks on all ships, both war and merchant vessels, and to involve Mexico, which had been in a protracted state of civil war for a number of years, in the war against the United States led President Wilson on April 6, 1917, to summon Congress to declare war on the Second German Reich. The U.S. would not declare war on Germany’s major ally in the war, Austria-Hungary, until December 7, 1917.

News of U.S. entry into the war was announced to the cadets on Monday, April 9, 1917. Immediately, a cadet, Maj. Wayne Graham, noted for his oratorical skills, having already proposed at a Sunday class meeting that the class notify President Wilson that they were ready to go as a unit “over there,” so moved. The motion was met by cheering assent. Clemson’s commandant, Col. Allen Jones, U.S. Army, Twentieth Infantry, had received instructions from the War Department that the cadets (and all ROTC units) were to remain in school and await additional instructions. This forestalled a mass exodus of Clemson
cadets. By May 2, 1917, fifty-four seniors had been called to service, prompting one senior cadet, M. M. Brice, to write,

But some we may never see again,…
To part with our classmates forever.
And then, when you're serving for flag and your country
In no matter what land or scene,
We will know you are holding aloft the high honor
Of Clemson and old “Seventeen.”

Forty-eight seniors left by train for Camp Oglethorpe on Friday, May 3, after breakfast in the mess hall, and The Tiger began to publish deployment news of older alumni.110

The college prepared for graduation in June, but the question arose, “What about the seniors serving in the armed forces?” The trustees, at their April 4, 1917, meeting, adopted the statement, “that the faculty be authorized to graduate ahead of the usual time any members of the Class of 1917, who may be called into the service of the United States between this date and Commencement, provided the record of such student is satisfactory to the faculty.”111 Including the young men who went to the U.S. armed forces, 110 Clemson men received diplomas, three times the number in the first graduating class in 1896. Missing from the graduation platform was Richard Wright Simpson, confidant to Mr. Clemson, true author of the will, and president of the trustees for nineteen years. Of the men who had met with Mr. Clemson in the autumn of 1886, only Tillman survived.

Notes
1. Record, an individual volume issued for each Clemson academic year from 1910 to 1918. Graduate assistant Paul Alexander Crunkleton has developed these data in detail. The federal census was supplied through the Geostat Center of the University of Virginia Library Systems.
2. Edgar, South Carolina, 456–459.
4. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 2, 622 and 730.
6. Ibid.
8. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 380; and S 30 v 2, 879–880.
9. Fred Holder, an independent scholar, has done much research on the early buildings of Clemson University. He provided this information.
11. Ibid., 11, 13–17.
12. Ibid., 130: James A. Garvin, Andrew Pickens, and John Rusk. The remains of Gen. Robert Anderson were moved here during the filling of Hartwell Lake in 1960–1962. Since Brackett’s study, continued research has increased the numbers and names in notes 12, 13, and 14.
13. Ibid., 132: James A. Garvin and Andrew Pickens Jr.

15. Ibid., 135.

16. Calhoun, “Long, Long Ago.” A manuscript of a talk given is filed in the Littlejohn papers (CUL.SC.MSS. 68 f 70). It has been printed at least once and developed into a dramatic monologue delivered by Mrs. William Ballinger of Clemson. “Millie” Ballinger’s monologue has been recorded on DVD by Lance McKinney of the Clemson University Audio Visual Service Department, and a copy is in the Clemson University Special Collections.


18. The interpretation is based on Tillman’s waning health, his occasional absence from board meetings, and his extensive speaking schedule.

19. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 6, 191; S 6 f 9; and S 38 f “Evans.”

20. Ibid., S 30 ss 1 f “Hughes.”

21. Ibid., f “McKeeon.”

22. Ibid., f “Lever.” See also the introduction to the A. F. Lever Manuscript Collection in Special Collections in the Clemson University Libraries.


24. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 ss 1 f “Timmerman.”

25. Ibid., f “Evans.”


27. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 ss 1 f “Garrison.”

28. Ibid., f “Burns.”


30. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 1, 135–137,157, 162, 167, 178, 199. By January 22, 1895, it seems the dikes (frequently spelled “dykes”) were not finished.

31. Ibid., 397.

32. Ibid., 412–413.

33. Ibid., 414.

34. Ibid., 526.

35. CUL.SC.MSS 68 ff 71 and 72; Columbia State, May 30, 1911; and Columbia Record, May 30, 1911, speculates that “the decision differentiates Clemson college [sic] in this respect from the other colleges maintained by the State; it is not a State college in the sense that the University of South Carolina, Winthrop and the Citadel are….“


37. CUL.SC.MSS. 68 f 103.

38. Ibid., f 71.


40. Charleston News and Courier, an undated newspaper clipping in CUL.SC.MSS 68 f 68.

41. The Citadel, Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College, the State College for Negroes, the University of South Carolina, and the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College are so named, several incorrectly, in the report. The document decries (correctly) the omission of the “Institution for the Deaf and Blind.” State law classified this school with the state’s “penal and charitable institutions.”

42. A grueling fight led by partisans of the denominational colleges and joined by friends of the Colored Institute (at Orangeburg), the Citadel, and Winthrop prevented South Carolina College from receiving the “title” of “university” from the general assembly in 1905. A much more circumscribed bill won easy acceptance on February 17, 1906. See Hollis, University of South Carolina, vol. 2, 202–205.

43. CUL.SC.MSS 68 f 156, the third section entitled “Weakness Through Dissipation.”

44. Ibid., f 161, a typescript copy made by Mary Mills Ritchie for Littlejohn.

45. Edgar, South Carolina, 472–73.
46. South Carolina State University Archives: President’s files: Miller. A full text can also be read in the Columbia State, January 29, 1911.

47. CUL.SC.MSS 68 f 156; and Carologue, vol. 12, no. 4, 8–13.


49. Floride Isabella Lee Calhoun’s husband, Andrew Pickens Calhoun II, was the grandson of John C. Calhoun’s son Andrew Pickens Calhoun. The son of Duff Green Calhoun, Andrew Pickens Calhoun II was born on April 10, 1872, in Abbeville, and he died on January 12, 1942, in New York City. Their children were Andrew Pickens Calhoun III (September 16, 1896–May 9, 1963; no offspring); Margaret Calhoun (July 6, 1897–January 12, 1959; no offspring); Patrick Calhoun (August 19, 1899–February 27, 1946; no offspring); and Creighton Lee Calhoun (October 31, 1901–January 29, 1940; one son). The one heir (and Mr. Clemson’s last heir), Creighton Lee Calhoun Jr. (b. February 11, 1934), married Edith Thompson on December 2, 1956. They have an adopted son, Andrew Duff Calhoun, born on July 16, 1959.

50. John Caldwell Calhoun of New York City (1843–1918) was a grandson of John C. Calhoun, the great-grandfather of Floride Isabella Lee Calhoun. She and this man were first cousins once removed.

51. The Tiger, February 14, 1914.

52. Reports and Resolutions to the General Assembly, 1913.

53. The Tiger, February 14, 1914.

54. CUL.SC.MSS 68 f 244.


56. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 1, 448.

57. Ibid., S 38 f “Hardin.” The daughters were Mrs. C. C. McDonnell (Washington, D.C.); Mrs. Edgeworth M. Blythe (Greenville); Mrs. J. W. Gantt and Mrs. T. E. Keitt (both of Clemson College); and four sons: Dr. Laurie Hardin (Washington, D.C.); William Hardin (New Orleans); and George H. and Mark B. Hardin (New York City).

58. Record, 1911–1912.

59. CUL.SC.CUA. S 37 “Library History.”

60. Ibid., S 30 ss 2 b 7 f 1.

61. Ibid.; and The Tiger, October 17, 1911.


63. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 95.

64. Ibid., f 374; f 382; and Anderson Daily Mail, January (date on clipping unclear), 1911.

65. Rockefeller Archive Center, General Education Board (hereafter cited RAC, GEB). S 1.1 b 129 f 1178.


68. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 2, 940–941.

69. Webb, Winthrop University, 49.

70. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 322; and Webb, Winthrop University, 35–36.

71. Webb, Winthrop University, 34–35.


73. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 55.

74. In his skillful essay on Riggs, C. Alan Grubb notes that the Riggs correspondence with Bradford Knapp, the federal Department of Agriculture (they knew each other quite well), director of the extension service before (and after) the passage of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, more than suggests that the board was an internal source of objection to Clemson’s direct supervision of African American agents. Grubb, “The Master Executive: Walter Merritt Riggs, 1910–1924,” in Tradition, 99–111, and especially footnotes 23 and 25. See also CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 ff 49, 51–54; Potts, A History of South Carolina State College, 1896–1978, 63; and Hine, “South Carolina State College” in Agricultural History, vol. 65, no. 2, 153.

75. Harris, Blacks in Agricultural Extension in South Carolina, 6–10. The Clemson trustee vote came on January 5, 1912. See also CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 1, 831–832.
76. When USC (then SCC) celebrated its 100th anniversary, South Carolina State did not take part, nor was President Thomas Miller invited to join with the other institutional presidents when they met together in Columbia in 1906.

77. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 53.

78. RAC.GEB. S 1.1 b 129 f 1178.


80. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 ff 203–204.

81. Ibid., S 30 ss ii b 8 f 12.

82. Ibid., S 38 “Earle.”

83. See also Smith, “Herculean Task,” in “Cemetery Chronicles,” in *Clemson World*, Fall 2002, 19. Theodore Sloan of Covington, Tennessee, a member of the Sloan family of Pendleton, gave me a very large genealogical chart of the Earle family. I have given the chart to the Special Collections of the Clemson University Libraries. Mr. Sloan in turn received the chart from Clemson Professor Emeritus of Landscape Architecture Donald Collins, who found it in the back of a file cabinet purchased from the architectural firm of which Samuel Broadus Earle Jr., Clemson 1930, and son of Susan Sloan and Samuel Broadus Earle, was a member. I am grateful to all these for their help. “Tim” Sloan has been particularly kind.


85. CUL.SC.CUA. S 38 f “Lee.”

86. Ibid., S 30 v 2, 840–841.


88. Lee, *Rural School Buildings*, Clemson Agricultural College: Extension Work Bulletins, vol. 10, no. 2, April 1914. A new set was then issued as vol. 8, no. 3, July 1917. Part of the cost was borne by the South Carolina State Department of Education.

89. RAC. Rockefeller Fund, April 12, 1913.


91. Ibid.


93. Conversation with J. Roy Cooper at Ivy Duggan’s home 1971.

94. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 357.

95. CUL.SC.MSS Reel Collection f “Athletics.”


97. Ibid., 204–205.

98. Ibid., 1918, “Athletics” section, unpaginated.


100. Ibid., 1911, 227.

101. Ibid., 1912, 42.


103. Ibid., f “1917.” Clemson student Kimberly Stockwell researched this in 2009.


106. Columbia State, April 19, 1909.

107. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 2, 739–740.


109. On the camp, see Ibid., 366. On infirmary reports, see Redfern to Riggs in CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 ff 191, 205.


111. CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 2, 103–104.