You are cordially invited
to attend the
Second Home Coming
of
Clemson Tigers
at the Old Lair
July 30th, 31st and August 1st.

W. M. Riggs,
President Clemson College.
CHAPTER IX

Riggs’s Last Years
1917–1924

As the World War I guns and cannons fell silent at 11 a.m. on November 11, 1918, various international peacemaking agencies, including the Young Men’s Christian Association, began preparing for European rebuilding and for the rehabilitation of combatants and their reinvolution in civil societies. The war had swept away many of the European imperial and royal families. As the old empires disintegrated, the emerging nationalities, ethnic groups, and linguistic groups, some with great religious differences, made separate armistices with the victorious Allies. The war had cost about ten million lives. For the United States, which entered the war late, the war dead numbered about 115,000.

World War I

The Clemson Agricultural College service flag honored 698 who served in the war, including 317 graduates.1 The Gold Star flag honored twenty-seven who died. Among the casualties in land combat was Augustus Massenburg Trotter, Clemson 1915, who died in the Battle of Belleau Wood, France, fought June 1–June 26, 1918. His schoolmate Lt. Mell Glenn wrote home, “I have just received news that a South Carolinian, a close friend of mine and a member of my regiment, Lt. Trotter of Camden, gave up his life while leading his men against a German machine gun nest….If any more of us have to go, may we be permitted to go as he has gone—our face to the enemy, in lead of others, urging them to press on.” Trotter was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal.2

Harry Clyde Horton, Clemson 1919, was killed on September 13, 1918. His commanding officer said, “Harry was worth all the rest of us together.” Horton, before he died, wrote his parents, “Don’t worry about me; just remember what we are fighting for. One could not choose a more glorious way of closing the book of life.”3 In October 1918, Henry A. Coleman, Company C, 306 Field Signal Battalion, Eighty-First Division, was killed near St. Die. A comrade wrote, “I have wished so often that I had been given such a happy disposition and the faculty of being optimistic like Hal under the most trying ordeals.” One day before the armistice, Lt. Richard H. Johnson, Clemson 1915, was killed as he led his men in an assault on enemy lines near Metz.4
Others died at sea, including Seaman 2nd Class Frank R. Stewart on a minesweeper that was completely destroyed on August 21, 1918. Another from the Class of 1915, John A. Simpson, died in the sinking of the *Ticonderoga* on September 30, 1918. And 1st Lt. Claude Stokes Garrett in the Army Air Corps was shot down by a German aircraft while reconnoitering the German lines.

Two men, Ensign Daniel Augustus Joseph Sullivan and Sgt. Gary Evans Foster, one who had attended Clemson and the other who attended later, received the coveted Medal of Honor. Ensign Sullivan of Charleston was aboard the *U.S.S. Christabel* when it entered into battle with a German submarine. A depth charge severely shook the *Christabel*, setting live depth charges free on deck. Sullivan threw himself on top of the charges, secured them, and saved his shipmates and the ship. He lived on until January 27, 1941. Sgt. Foster of Spartanburg was advancing against the enemy in his company when an enemy machine gun nest concealed in a submerged road opened withering fire. One officer and Foster moved forward. The officer was wounded, but Foster, using pistols and hand grenades, continued killing several and taking eighteen prisoners.5

The result of these efforts was a valiant attempt to rebuild Europe on more democratic lines. In that regard, the international YMCA asked President Riggs to go to Europe and help direct the educational efforts of the American armed forces. Because of the early success of the effort, the U.S. War Department assumed control of the program in April 1919. Originally dispatched to Paris, Riggs asked to be closer to the troops, and he applied for a transfer to Beaune, France, where the War Department had established a school to teach some 20,000 Americans skills in agriculture and elemental mechanics. Interestingly, like Thomas Green Clemson, he met the king and queen of the Belgians when he visited Chaumont, the headquarters of the American commander, Gen. John J. Pershing.6

By war’s end, the best figures list 698 former students (both graduates and nongraduates) who had been in uniform. However, Clemson, like many other schools (particularly land-grant colleges), also had a wartime program, the Student Army Training Corps (SATC), which placed large numbers of young men who were not Clemson students but who were billeted at Clemson on campus. Created and partially funded by the War Department, SATC was subdivided into two parts. The first, called Section A (at Clemson, at least), provided an accelerated officer-preparation program in which candidates received training and commissioning in three months’ time. Reading and writing were basic; emphases were on mathematics and military and leadership training. Section B students received eight weeks’ training to become mechanics, electricians, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, radio operators, topographical draftsmen, and other vital, skilled support soldiers. All manner were prepared at Clemson, and many would think of themselves as “Clemson men” until they died. Therefore, counts of Clemson men in World War I and Clemson men who died in that war (and for that matter, other wars) vary.7
Other consequences of the war included the outbreak of a devastating form of influenza. First appearing in military encampments in Kansas, it spread with the troops to the American East and on into Europe. Several Clemson men died from it both in America and in Europe. And with the large number of young men coming into Clemson for SATC training, it was nearly inevitable that the influenza (variously called the “Spanish flu” or the “Spanish lady”) broke out at Clemson. Cadets, SATC trainees, some faculty, and others became sick. State officials contemplated closing the college until they realized that the result would spread the illness statewide and beyond. Barracks One served as a sick ward, while the chapel and the upper floors of instructional space of Textile Hall became the space for the severely ill. Under Dr. Redfern’s direction, and with the help of several regional physicians and the town pharmacist, Mr. McCollum, the women of the campus, including the few stenographers and the wives of faculty and staff, nursed the sick of both the college and community. A very few died, among them the infant child of Mr. and Mrs. William W. Routten, an assistant professor of woodworking, and (the second) Mrs. Ben F. Robertson, whose husband graduated in the first class and was a chemist in the fertilizer laboratory.8

Faculty

Women had taken several other new roles both in the community and the college. In 1916, Mrs. Riggs converted the women’s informal sewing circle into the Clemson Woman’s Club. The idea was not original. The club faded away in the mid-1920s and was revived in the 1940s.9

The war directly depleted the emerging group of young potential college instructors, calling them into military service as it did young men in most fields. Clemson was not alone. The first woman to join the teaching and research faculty was Mary Hart Evans, an assistant professor of botany. Evans married assistant pro-
fessor of botany William Aull, and she remained on the faculty until the couple left for other employment. When her brother was called to military service in 1918, Rosamund Walcott was invited to join the architecture faculty. She stayed for a year before entering private practice. A third woman, Mabel Stehle, came to Clemson to teach entomology, and she also took over French instruction. These women joined the librarian, Katherine Tresco, whom the cadets called the “Goddess of Wisdom.” Tresco was not a faculty member but was classified as a member of the professional administrative staff, with the small spending authority as the division heads had.10

The entire faculty had expanded greatly between 1910 and 1918, driven in part by the new barracks space and in part by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. Some forty-five persons comprised the faculty in 1910, while the 1918 faculty roster included seventy (a 55 percent increase). All five divisions (Agriculture, Academics, Chemistry, Engineering, and Textiles) increased in number, while the greatest percentage (2.2 times) was in Agriculture, clearly driven by the additional research and program professionals located at Clemson on the experiment station staff. The county demonstration agents had been resident in every county of South Carolina since 1912.11 Bradford Knapp, the USDA director, noted that South Carolina and Clemson had achieved that mark first among the American states and territories; the achievement was accomplished two years before the Smith-Lever Act passage (that is, two years before the federal government began dispensing extension funds). The revenue for the county agents came from the fertilizer tag sales.

In 1919, a large number of former students began returning from military service. The faculty also welcomed back a few men who had been called into service. One was Maj. Joseph M. Cummins, previously Commandant Lt. Cummins when he left in 1916. Marked as a rare officer who showed no partiality when dealing with his charges and as a rare colleague, he was called “a good scout.” A border-stater, he had attained the AB degree from the University of St. Louis and remained at Clemson until 1922.12

Riggs and Mills in Europe

The United States (and most other belligerents) had made few plans for the demobilized young soldiers. The country’s first effort was to create on-site vocational and academic education. The YMCA initiated the project, but it quickly came under the aegis of the U.S. armed forces and became the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) University in Beaune. Staffed by military personnel and civilian academics recruited from the United States, the school enrolled men for short-term courses before they returned home.

Among the academic leaders who joined this effort were President Riggs and William Hayne Mills, the faculty rural sociologist. Mills came from Winnsboro, where his father had served as pastor of the Presbyterian church. Mills, educated
at Davidson College, was a member of Kappa Sigma and Phi Beta Kappa fraternities there. Following his graduation, he attended Columbia Theological Seminary, receiving the bachelor of divinity degree in 1897. He had married and held several rural pastorates when, in 1903, he received a call to serve as a Presbyterian missionary to the mill families of the Horse Creek Valley. Moved by the plight of the child workers in the mills, he led a campaign for the passage of child labor laws. Indeed, South Carolina’s first such law is generally credited to him. Mills then accepted the call of Clemson’s Fort Hill Presbyterian Church. His wife, Louise Pressley, and their daughter, Edith, moved into the manse beside the church. His dynamism in the pulpit increased the size of the congregation and caused the church building to be enlarged. The Millses knew the joy and sorrow of family, having a son and three other daughters, two of whom died in early childhood. In 1917, he resigned his pastorate to create the field of rural sociology at Clemson. One year later, he received an appointment to teach rural economics and sociology at the AEF University at Beaune, the same institution to which Riggs was also attached. From there, Mills returned to Clemson and took charge of the vocational rehabilitation program.

At Clemson, student enrollment dropped in January 1919 to 662, fewer than the Clemson men still in U.S. uniforms. The military discipline continued, SATC ended, and ROTC quickly reestablished. Students, returning from the Christmas holidays or from military positions and camps, were back in cadet uniform “giving substantial monetary aid to all cadets.”

While Riggs was in Europe, and on his recommendation, the trustees designated Samuel B. Earle to serve as acting president, which he did from February 13, 1919, until Riggs returned six months later. Riggs left a lengthy, detailed memorandum for Earle, who followed his instructions closely. The six-month period was marked by continuing cases of influenza, although not of the magnitude of the fall of 1918. There were more student disciplinary problems, and Earle and Commandant McFeeley were very nervous as April 1, April Fools’ Day, approached. Riggs would later note, “The mass-psychology of the student body was unsatisfactory. It has been so in the session before and during the spring of 1919; while I was in France, an open rebellion against the military discipline under Captain McFeeley was barely escaped.”

New Directions

Riggs returned to Clemson in midsummer and took up the reins of duty again. His first concerns were for the curricula. Even as agriculture across the state had diversified, sometimes with Clemson’s leadership, the curriculum needed changing. Specialization in one of the four branches: animal industry, which included livestock and poultry; plants; agricultural chemistry; and agricultural
education, a part of the Smith-Hughes Act, moved from the student’s junior to the sophomore year.

Industrial education, a second part of the Smith-Hughes requirement, had received approval by the Board of Trustees in July 1918, having been recommended by the faculty. Charles S. Doggett, director of Clemson’s Textile Department, was appointed supervisor. That same July, the college and the S.C. Board for Vocational Training signed a memorandum of agreement. The agreement designated Doggett as the state supervisor who oversaw work in agriculture, trades, industries, and home economics. Doggett, a Massachusetts native, was educated at Oberlin College. After graduation, he worked for five years in the textile industry, increasingly focusing on textile chemistry. Once he decided his special field, he attended Yorkshire College (now the University of Leeds), where he received first prize as the best student. While in the United Kingdom, he married Sarah Ann Verity of Bramley (Yorkshire). They went to Europe, where he studied at the Federal Polytechnic in Zurich, the University of Munich, the Royal Prussian Polytechnic in Aschen, and in Lyons. Upon returning with his family to the United States, he lectured at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and worked in industry until he accepted President Mell’s offer in 1905 to come to Clemson as head of the textile program. Thirteen years later, he accepted the offer to begin the industrial extension program.

Doggett spent most of the autumn of 1918 and the spring of 1919 with mill superintendents and owners developing a program that, modeled on agricultural extension, placed about thirty classes a year in the mills directly training the workers in such fields as mathematics, design, and technical aspects of the industry. By the summer of 1919, the program was set to begin.16

As soon as the college opened in September, Riggs again took a leadership role in American higher education. Early in his presidency, he had displayed a strong interest in the growth and development of the state’s African American college for agriculture, mechanics, and teacher education in Orangeburg, Riggs’s hometown. He was a southern progressive. His father had come from New Eng-
land, and his mother from Charleston. Riggs’s older brother had served in the Confederate army, and he had cousins and uncles in the Union army during the Civil War.  

In an address on July 30, 1919, in Orangeburg, he said, “A great gulf of experiences yawns between the colored soldiers who have lived in France and their brothers at home.” He noted that racial prejudice was not confined only to white southerners, but also to most white Americans. Even as he spoke, the great migration of young African Americans had begun from the southern agricultural states to northern and midwestern industrialization cities. Either Riggs did not realize what was happening, or he thought it not good, for in the same speech, he noted, “Education of all people, white and colored, must help solve the great race problem, which in the shade of ignorance assumes the outline of a menace.” Then he spoke in a manner typical of the southern (and perhaps from elsewhere) region, “Education will teach the negro that his natural home is in the land of cane and cotton, that his natural calling is the one which lies nearest to Mother Nature’s heart, that his interests are identical, not antithetical, with those of his white neighbors, and that in the South after all resides affection for him that nowhere else is to be found.”

As condescending as these words sound in the twenty-first century, they represent a most open-minded strain of white attitudes toward African Americans at that time, particularly in the South. Rather than viewing blacks as a dangerous threat who had no legitimate place in American life, Riggs apparently believed that the potential of the “negro” was as yet unknown and that blacks might benefit greatly from more and better education and white assistance.

**Long-Range Changes**

After the World War, the Clemson College student body increased. Eight hundred eighty-six students came from every county in the state and from eleven other states. Not only was the makeup of the student body changing, but so was the population of South Carolina. Its inhabitants had grown from 1,515,400 in 1910 to 1,683,724 in 1920, an increase of 10 percent. More striking, the African American population dropped from 55.2 percent to 51.4 percent of the state’s entire population. Urban population rose from 14.8 percent to 17.5 percent. The latter figure is a bit misleading, however, because villages with a population of 2,500 and over were still classified as urban.

After 1920, the two population trends were hastened by a natural phenomenon, a long, slow excruciating drought punctuated by rare, plummeting rains. The drought and the winds depicted in *The Grapes of Wrath* began in an area that stretched from a Montana-Texas line eastward, following the Missouri-Ohio River Valley lines to the East Coast and south to the Gulf Coast. The West would
suffer worse than the East, clay subsoils worse than gravel, and rough land worse than plain.\textsuperscript{22}

In many places, those whose holdings were small were more apt to be forced off their land. Whites, if they owned the land, generally reduced tilled acreage, and the males sought employment in nearby villages. Black landowners, barred from most town jobs, at first intensified planting efforts but fell deeper and deeper into the slavery of debt. Eventually, younger African Americans migrated to the rapidly expanding assembly line industries of the upper Midwest. Most of the people, particularly in rural areas, suffered from malnutrition. Of African American children in the South, the rate was 71 percent, while for white children, 41 percent.\textsuperscript{23}

For Clemson Agricultural College, an institution whose revenue depended on agriculture, and particularly on revenue based on the sale of fertilizer, this sword was double-edged. Many consumers gave up the product; others left farming. Over the first ten years of Riggs’s presidency (1910–1919), the fertilizer revenue fluctuated sharply from a high of $286,721.68 (2009 equivalent $3,044,113.10) to a low of $155,859.76 (2009 equivalent $1,654,751.11). The average was $236,787.58 (2009 equivalent $2,513,964.67).

Two problems faced the Board of Trustees. First, what really caused the wide revenue fluctuation? And second, what financial tactic should the board take to stabilize revenue? On the first issue, the answer was simple. South Carolina, although still rural (in a 1919 speech in Orangeburg, Riggs referred to South Carolina’s occupation as 80 percent agricultural), now moved toward a nonagricultural economy, and the fluctuating fertilizer revenue resulted from crop prices and the climatic wet and dry patterns.

At the time, Clemson’s revenue stability could conceivably come from one source only—the state. In the shortfall of 1914–1915, the state lent Clemson $62,400, which the college repaid in three years. Consecutive shortfalls in 1920–1921 and 1921–1922 led to state loans amounting to $262,842.11, which took longer to repay. The case was made. Beginning in the 1922–1923 fiscal year, the general assembly began regular appropriations to Clemson, in addition to the fertilizer revenue and the appropriations as part of the agreements between the state and federal government.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{Curricular Changes}

Besides the change in revenue sources caused by weather and demographic shift, a second major change was in curricula. Because he served as registrar, J. C. Littlejohn functioned as a gatherer of alumni statistics. He noted the frequency with which Clemson graduates led the classes at the Medical College of South Carolina. He reported this information to Riggs, who assembled a small group of
faculty, including R. N. Brackett and Riggs’s traveling companion, William Mills, along with others. Together they put together a block of courses that included biological sciences, chemistry, rural sociology, rural economics, American history, and nutrition. This was a first venture for Clemson in a premedical program, but it was not a curriculum.

The need, therefore, was for a general science curriculum in which to place a premedicine “course.” The trustees approved it on December 7, 1921. Brought forward at the same time were courses, also called “groups,” in the mathematical and natural sciences, modern languages (German and/or Spanish), and education. The choices of the courses did not reflect, necessarily, the existing strengths of Clemson’s faculty as much as they did perceived needs of South Carolina, particularly in its just-emerging secondary school system. At the time, the trustees considered that the natural sciences included the biological and chemical sciences. This decision continued the trustees’ concern for the overall educational condition of all the white people of the state that dated back before the college’s opening.

To understand the benefit against cost of the preparatory program, Riggs asked L. A. Sease, then headmaster of the school, to assemble the data and frame a recommendation. Sease concluded that since 1900, 1,299 young men and boys had begun Clemson as preparatory students. Of those, 504 moved forward to the first collegiate year. In all, forty-six had graduated, twenty-seven were currently freshmen, and eighteen were sophomores or juniors. There were no seniors, but forty-nine were then in the preparatory program. The resources the program required were two instructors ($3,800 per year in salaries in addition to their housing in the hotel), one classroom, and sixty-five beds in the barracks. With that information in hand, Riggs recommended that the trustees “abolish” (his word) the preparatory program. The trustees concurred, and the preparatory program ended on June 31, 1914.

The president, the trustees, and some of the faculty shifted their efforts to enhance South Carolina’s two major economic pillars of the early twentieth century, namely agriculture and textiles, by increasing one- and two-year curricula in those fields. Almost devoid of any but course work that bore directly on improved production, the two paths nonetheless included some instruction in leadership, such as parliamentary procedure.

On January 5, 1912, the trustees fulfilled (almost) Prof. Rudolph Lee’s dream by authorizing the curriculum in architectural engineering. Lee had hoped for a separate program, but the president and the board concurred with the faculty committee by making the curriculum a sub-unit within engineering. The first year was common with the other engineering “courses,” while the divisions in the second year introduced freehand and architectural drawing. Clemson announced the new program immediately. Two students began the program as sophomores in
the autumn of 1913. Both graduated in 1915. In that year’s southern schools of architecture competition, which included graduates of Auburn, Clemson, Georgia Tech, and Tulane, one of Clemson’s two graduates received first place. By graduation 1918, eleven students had graduated in that field.32

Taken together, these stirrings belonged to the beginnings of the technical and community college movements and the beginnings of Clemson’s arts and sciences programs. Much of this work was carried on in the summers, and, in some nonlaboratory subjects, the Clemson faculty took the course work out to clusters of students, particularly in more remote areas of the state.33

The college’s agriculture faculty had long recognized the importance of forestry. In 1903, Prof. Haven Metcalf taught the first forestry course at Clemson. Metcalf was a native of Maine, who had degrees from Brown (AM 1896), Harvard, and Nebraska (PhD 1902) in botany and bacteriology. From that beginning, forestry had been taught regularly, and with the South Carolina rural landscape gradually depopulating, the faculty turned to forestry as an alternative that helped maintain and slowly improve the soil. The college taught forestry continually into the 1930s. However, there were two impediments. First, the college needed to hire at least one more forestry professor, and second, it needed to acquire considerable additional land for good experimental forests, probably attached to the experiment stations. These needed a request from the Board of Trustees and appropriations by the legislature, neither of which happened.34

Nonetheless, the faculty had moved in the important direction of soil conservation. The federal government had signaled more than a mild interest with the creation of the national parks in 1872 and the designation of the national forests in the late nineteenth century. And on July 12, 1893, at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, University of Wisconsin Prof. Frederick Jackson Turner proposed to American historians his “frontier thesis” in which American innovation was generated on the “edges” of American civilization. The land frontier was closed; therefore, no more land or natural resources were thought to be available. As stewards of the land, public agencies had the obligation to use the resources wisely. Of course, without that as a clearly stated goal, the governments (federal, mainly, and states, occasionally) had tended in that direction. The educational set-aside land under the Northwest Ordinance (1787) was a major example of the wise use of land for the general public good as had been the Morrill Act of 1862. In that “chain of congressional acts,” the creation of Yellowstone National Park, during Grant’s presidency, was another landmark. Enacted on March 1, 1872, the reserve consisted of 3,472 square miles. Yellowstone was under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army from its creation until 1917.35 The federal government, through the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, in the presidency of Benjamin Harrison, created national forests within the Department of the Interior. Prior to that, the special agent in agriculture was assessor of the quality and conditions of all forests in the U.S.
With Harrison’s placing of 20,300 square miles in federal status and McKinley’s adding nearly 11,000 square miles, the concept was well established. In 1905, during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, the (by then) Bureau of Forestry transferred from the Department of the Interior. Thus, Clemson’s entrance into forestry was well timed nationally even though the hopes were not soon realized.

In the same year that the Clemson faculty called for a new interest in forestry as part of an overall agricultural program, the faculties at Iowa State College, the University of Georgia, and the University of Minnesota initiated forest studies at the graduate level. Yale began its School of Forestry in 1900. The Biltmore School of Forestry and Cornell University’s program followed shortly. The USDA had begun collecting forest data also in the late nineteenth century, and by 1905, the U.S. Forestry Service was established. Unfortunately, neither the S.C. Legislature nor the Clemson trustees took the action necessary to create such a program at the college.

**Athletics**

Even though Riggs strongly supported all intercollegiate athletics, he did not emphasize the sports to the detriment of either academics or the military. In the years leading up to U.S. involvement in World War I (1910–1917), football was a break-even sport in its won-loss record, with thirty-one wins, thirty-one losses, and four ties. The second half of the Riggs administration (1918–1923) resulted in little improvement, although during Ed Donahue’s four-year coaching stint (which straddled the two Riggs periods, running from 1917 to 1921), the team turned in three successive winning seasons (1917–1918, 6–2; 1918–1919, 5–2; 1919–1920, 6–2–2) and Donahue’s last and only losing season (1920–1921, 4–6–1). This was so heartening that when, in 1920, Heisman, who found himself involved in an unpleasant divorce in Atlanta, wrote to inquire about a job back at Clemson, Riggs responded indicating that Clemson contemplated no change. During the last phase of Riggs’s presidency (1918–1924), football posted twenty-six wins, twenty-two losses, and six ties (1918–1924) for a 53.7 winning percentage.

Basketball fared just as minimally. The team had five different coaches between 1911 and 1918, posting twenty-nine wins, twenty-three losses, and two ties (55 percent). Between 1918 and 1924, five coaches (two who had coached the teams earlier) led the cadets on to forty-two victories and forty-four losses (48 percent). The most successful season was 1918–1919, when the Tiger team, after opening with three wins and one loss, was forced to cancel the remainder of the campaign because of the influenza epidemic.

Clemson’s oldest sport, baseball, fared reasonably well in the first Riggs years (1911–1918) with 103 wins, sixty-four losses, and one tie for a very respectable 62.3 percent winning rate. Then from 1919 to 1924, the baseballers went into a
They posted only thirty-eight victories and two ties out of ninety-six games for a woeful 24.5 percent winning record. Some recovery began in 1922 and 1923, but the record was hardly strong.42

The other sports showed somewhat greater success. Track, after several weak years, had successes in 1921, 1922, and 1923, while the other popular sports included cross-country, tennis, and swimming. The last had been made possible by the building of the YMCA, which contained a (then) regulation-sized indoor pool.

Clemson “Integrated”

Sure signs of other slight changes also showed in the later Riggs years. One was a visit and chapel speech by George Washington Carver, the great agricultural chemist and senior research professor at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The students, who greeted him warmly, welcomed his appearance as the first African American intellectual to visit and speak at Clemson College. P. B. Holtzendorff, director of the YMCA, served as Carver’s host and introduced him to the cadets.43

In the 1924 class, the first non-Caucasian graduated from Clemson. A textile engineering student, Yukata Tsukiyama, had arrived at Clemson from Hiroshima, Japan, in 1922. He acquired a nickname, “Sooky.” Not a cadet, nonetheless he lived in the barracks and was a veritable whiz at table tennis, or ping-pong.44
Discipline

Student discipline and student activities changed greatly after the war. Two factors helped increase the change: a veterans’ job training program sponsored by the federal government and the rising age of the regular students. The federal program was the more immediate and, therefore, greater shock. The AEF University idea could not be sustained in France. The federal government “contracted” with the land-grant colleges to teach, feed, and house numbers of veterans, but every land-grant college was not expected to offer all fields of academic study. Clemson was designated to prepare farmers and a small number of civil engineers. Just like any group so selected, the veterans came from around the nation. They lived together in the barracks, and they wore their U.S. uniforms. But their educational backgrounds ranged from some high schooling to illiteracy. They rejected college discipline as childish (having already accommodated the military regimen), drank a great deal (it was the era of Prohibition), left campus at will, gambled, and fought. In their roaming, they found women with whom to dance and have “intimate relations.” A frustrated Riggs called in private detectives as he had done a decade earlier to try to sort out the problems of Schilletter and the mess hall. Neither Riggs nor the detectives were successful.

Regular student discipline also suffered. Cigarette smoking, although still prohibited, was more widespread. That, too, resulted mainly from the war. The ability of any enemy to draw a nighttime sighting on a glowing pipe bowl or the lighted end of a cigar was so great that as early as autumn 1914 all combatant agencies replaced most other forms of tobacco with cigarettes. Smoking them became the youthful style. On one occasion, Winslow Sloan’s store, which sat across the Greenville highway (now Old Greenville Highway) from Bowman Field, was reprimanded for selling cigarettes to cadets.

Hazing remained a continuing problem. E. A. Verner, a state legislator from Richland County, and Riggs corresponded extensively concerning it. And in a letter to M. J. Yeomans, a parent from Dawson, Georgia, Riggs confessed, “We had tried a great many experiments in order to eradicate hazing, but it is largely composed of boys’ nature. I doubt if it will ever be completely eliminated.”

With the opening of the school year 1919–1920, Riggs appointed David H. Henry, a Clemson graduate of 1898 and professor of chemistry, as director of student activities, replacing the commandant. Henry coordinated the student clubs, the class dances, and cadet travel to college sports events. The first dance, given by the senior class, did not please Riggs. He noted that the seniors were selling “dope,” the slang for Coca-Cola and sometimes other soft drinks; he worried about accounting for the money the seniors collected from sale of the refreshments. Further, Riggs thought that the lights were too low, preventing the chaperones (faculty and faculty spouses) from seeing what was happening. And he asked
whether or not Henry had published and posted a list of prohibited dances.\textsuperscript{50} By May 1922, Riggs seems to have resigned himself to these new ways, for in speaking to the cadets and their dates at the Junior-Senior banquet, he noted, “In the mystic domain of the jazz, youth shall seek affinity with youth, and we older lookers-on shall pretend to sigh for the good old days of long skirts and long hair, for unplucked eyebrows and uncovered ears.”\textsuperscript{51}

Amid the changes, more sexual issues came to Riggs’s attention than before the war. These were due in part to the rising age of the regular students (finishing tenth grade now was common and eleventh grade an emerging option) and to enrolled veterans returning from the war and seniors returning from summer camp experiences. In 1922, one regular student imported a “woman of pleasure” from Greenville on more than one occasion. He managed to sneak her into his barracks room where she would “entertain” him and then, for pay, entertain other cadet friends (frequently at least ten) of his. Riggs had the cadet arrested for operating “a bawdyhouse, which was frequented by immoral persons of both sexes for the purpose of prostitution…” Riggs also dismissed the cadet from the college, admonishing him to tell his father the reason, because Riggs was sending the young man’s father a full explanation (a procedure Riggs followed for all dismissed cadets). The ex-cadet returned within the week, begging Riggs for mercy. The father had insisted that if his son was “like that,” he would have to get married. His girlfriend (not the “woman of pleasure”) and family had consented; the date was set. But the “miserable offender” feared that the impending trial for operating the bawdyhouse and publicity would ruin both their lives. Riggs had the charge withdrawn.\textsuperscript{52}

\textbf{The Third Walkout}

The serious trouble began in the mess hall in March 1920. For a school that had student troubles in 1902 and 1908, and for Riggs, who had feared that trouble might erupt during his overseas absence in 1919, the problem that then ensued proved more than embarrassing. The typical winter daily menu started with a breakfast of fried bacon, fried potatoes, grits, gravy, wheat bread, corn bread, cane syrup, milk, and coffee. On March 9, 1920, the midday meal (called dinner) consisted of boiled ham, steamed rice, pork and beans, baked macaroni and cheese, mashed potatoes, gravy, bread pudding with cream, wheat bread, corn bread, and cane syrup. For supper that day, boiled ham appeared again with creamed potatoes, grits, gravy, pineapple preserves, wheat bread, corn bread, and cane syrup. Butter and milk were served at every meal. While adults might complain about the absence of vegetables and fruits, the younger cadets were more upset with the order of serving.
Freshman cadets were hired at the beginning of each term to serve as waiters. They picked up the filled platters and bowls in the kitchen and brought them to the long tables arranged perpendicularly to the wall; the circulation aisle ran between the files of tables. The company sat at the table with the seniors at the head on the serving aisle, then by class (junior, sophomore) with the freshmen at the foot closest to the wall. By this point, the freshmen were no longer “rats,” having survived the season and having received their “rat dips” (“rat diplomas”). The waiters placed the serving dishes at the head, and usually the food disappeared fast; waiters were loudly summoned to fetch refills until all cadets were filled or the supply of food exhausted. One freshman wrote home that all he had three times a day was a combination of cornbread, grits, and cane syrup, a concoction the cadets labeled “zip,” because, one said, “It zips right through you!”

The life of a waiter, although compensated financially, was one of great harassment. Thus, on the morning of March 9, 1920, when Commandant McFeeley learned that influenza had reduced the wait staff by six, he ordered (not “asked for volunteers” nor even “asked”) six other freshmen to take up the positions. No pay was mentioned, and several freshman cadets refused. Demerits were issued. A sympathy demonstration began, and some students sported red “Bolshevik” badges. Riggs met almost immediately with the junior and senior committees. They stated that there were three real problems: the mess hall food, both in quality and quantity, about which they had protested before but to no avail; the strict military discipline in which demerits were continually increased by the commandant without notice; and the presence of the war veterans, who chafed under the discipline and sowed the seeds of rebellion. The younger students met by classes and both voted to “walk out,” which many did. Some upperclassmen joined them.

Then Riggs responded. Food would be improved in quantity and quality, although it required an increase in food expenses and subsequent charges in the coming autumn. The students who took part in the two-day demonstrations, and who had been suspended and sent home, and those who had walked out, could return and apply to the Board of Trustees for reinstatement. Riggs promised to support their individual appeals, but he held firm that Clemson would remain military for all its students. Parents of all the cadets received a letter from Riggs setting forth his perspective and his offer. The freshmen and sophomores who had not taken part in two days of the strike were also sent home from March 12 to March 21 to let passions cool.

The Clemson Board of Trustees met immediately and stayed in session for a number of days. Meanwhile, other land-grant colleges such as North Carolina State, Massachusetts A&M, and Ohio State University had student unrest also, suggesting that whatever the issue, food served as a convenient “whipping boy.” At USC, a meeting of students asked its Board of Trustees and the governor to oust President William Spenser Currell. The student body president delivered the
request to the board. It was taken under advisement. Riggs, of course, met with Clemson’s board. He tendered his resignation to them. They turned it aside. Meanwhile, Riggs received letters and telegrams of support variously from the presidents, faculties, and trustees of Winthrop, South Carolina, Auburn, Iowa State, North Carolina State, and Colorado State. Clemson’s Board of Trustees reinforced Riggs by inviting all students to return on March 21, requiring all who had participated in the demonstration and/or the walkout to apologize and agree, with their parents’ written approval, to abide by the discipline. Riggs also wrote again to the parents.

Some parents were angry with Riggs and made efforts to hold meetings around the state. At most gatherings, attendance was slight, suggesting that many parents understood the problems of Riggs and the trustees. At a meeting in Columbia, the participants voted to ask the trustees to let their sons return and let them develop a common set of grievances. State Rep. D. L. McLaurin of Marlboro was reported as saying that Clemson was a “prison military camp.…. The usefulness of Clemson, in my humble opinion, has been ruined….These boys …have no confidence in the president of it; this is not a new thing…. Then he seized the opportunity to open old issues, at least two of which had been settled in S.C. and federal courts.

Unless we get rid of the life trustees and make Clemson a state institution in fact as well as in name, I am in favor of cutting the fertilizer tax and establishing a college that can and will be run in the interest of the farmers of this state; we do not care much for the military feature, we want a college that will feed our boys plenty of good wholesome food, take care of them when sick, treat them like human beings, and then require them to obey sensible regulations.

There was truth to some of his complaints about the military discipline and food. One can only conclude that, in the absence of any complaint about the education the students received from the faculty in class, the laboratories, the library, and the fields, teaching and learning were doing well.

But the unhappiness continued. Riggs appointed a student committee with faculty advisors to meet with the board; the committee had very strong support from the other cadets. While many alumni wrote supporting the college administration’s position, all were not positive. Joseph N. Tenket wrote from Florence, “You [Riggs] have built up the college wonderfully—but many of your dealings with students have been worse than high-handed; they have been unscrupulous. The sessions of the discipline committee in my time were a veritable ‘star chamber proceeding.’” One day later (April 6, 1920) T. C. Haddon, Clemson 1914 and employed by Winthrop College, wrote Riggs, “We boys of then doubt as to whether you really tried to see things from our points of view, although you would assure us that you did.”
Riggs moved carefully. The four student committees organized by class were abolished, and Riggs announced that he would involve himself more in the daily life of the cadets. Cadets could have a faculty member of their choice serve as their counsel at sessions of the discipline committee. Student life was moved from the commandant’s jurisdiction and placed under Prof. D. H. Henry of chemistry.62

Food quality and quantity improved, but mess hall problems persisted. At the end of the 1920 spring semester, in examining and settling the accounts, the commandant discovered that Mrs. Middleton, the matron of the mess hall who was responsible for the cleanliness of the hall, serving platters, and table utensils as well as the student waiters, had been “padding” the payroll in her favor. Riggs, who had trouble with the matron before, called her to his office and reprimanded her; however, he did not fire her.63 This would prove to be a mistake.

Finally, graduation day arrived. One hundred twenty-six students were awarded diplomas. Almost half (fifty-six) were in agriculture, fifty-one were in engineering, eleven in textiles, two in architecture, and six in chemistry. The graduation was somewhat subdued, but the occasion passed with no incidents.64

Summer Sessions

Summer session began shortly after spring commencement. To continue to support schoolteachers, the college offered two sessions: one for six weeks and the other for four. Eighteen classes were held on campus with housing available for single men, single women, and for families including their children. The state Department of Education took part in the programming.

In 1921, T. H. Quigley, regional agent for the department’s industrial education service, recommended that all students studying textiles take vocational education courses so that they might start night schools in the mill villages. Thus, the outreach that began as summer institutes for farming families nearly a quarter of a century earlier expanded into the rapidly growing textile industry to broaden both the skill and knowledge bases in South Carolina.65

While teachers made up the majority of the summer enrollees, there were also a small number of deficient students and new students who had been tested and found lacking in English and/or mathematics. F. H. H. Calhoun served as the summer school director, which he had done since the origin of the effort. The use of the campus and its facilities by such a wide group of South Carolinians—including farming families and clubs, public schoolteachers, conditional admits, and continuing students who had failed one or another of their past year’s courses—had remained a characteristic of Clemson since its founding (and many other colleges and universities, particularly those in the land-grant tradition).66

To provide summer campus facilities, the college opened and operated all laboratories, and made the library, still in the Main Building, available. All meals,
even for families, were in the mess hall. Regular students who lived in the area, along with some of the enrolled students, were hired as waiters. In addition, the YMCA offered several different moving pictures each week. This remained the pattern throughout the last of the Riggs years and on through the acting presidency of Earle.67

**Gauging Opinions**

When the 1920–1921 school year began, the enrollment rose to 1,007 regular students and about thirteen one-year agriculture (OYA) students. Clemson offered a series of intense courses in agriculture and textiles. The first was moderately successful, but the second did not last very long. “One year agriculture” gold rings were available for the men who completed the year. Those men were frequently a bit older; they did not live in the barracks, nor did they don the grey wool uniforms. Some roomed in one or another of the communities. The federally requested rehabilitation program also continued, but because the number of enrollees dwindled, it was not renewed.

Before the regular school year opened, Riggs directed Commandant Cummins to be particularly vigilant against hazing even if it meant locating “additional officers in the barracks.”68 Cummins complied and assigned two unmarried military instructors to live in each barracks with the cadets. Cummins’s reports in November stated that hazing complaints appeared to be lessening.69 This practice continued for the remainder of Riggs’s presidency. In 1923, freshman Harold Carlisle wrote his mother, “If you see any accounts and I guess you’ve already done so of hazing in the papers don’t believe a word.”70

All of these changes led to a rise in student academic response. For example, the winter session of 1921 found 95.5 percent of those students who composed the fall 1920 student body and who did not graduate in January back in school.71

Riggs was not certain the reforms and additions would smooth “the bristling fur of his young Tigers.” In the summer of 1921, he sent a survey to “select” members of the just-graduated alumni asking their opinion on a number of issues. First, he sought to gauge their thoughts about possibly abandoning the Clemson traditional four-year military program in favor of a new two-year Reserve Officer Training Corps model, which would allow juniors and seniors who had completed two years of required military training to decide whether or not to pursue two more years and be commissioned at the end of their studies. The alumni responded unfavorably. They liked the camaraderie of the military regimen, and they liked Commandant Cummins. Second, Riggs asked for suggestions. The newly graduated alumni proposed lengthening the senior visitation privileges. These proposals were implemented, and as part of an easing of the military discipline, marching to class on weekdays and to church on Sundays was eliminated.72
At the time, four churches existed in the white community: Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Baptists. The Presbyterian ministers held Jewish Sabbath services. The number of Catholic students in the community increased and outgrew the offering of the Mass in the President’s Office. To accommodate their needs, the liturgy and Eucharist, led by the Rev. Mr. Mackin of the Anderson parish of St. Joseph, were moved to the YMCA. General Secretary P. B. Holtzendorff, like Riggs an active Presbyterian, greeted them warmly and ensured that the cadet worshippers had coffee and toast after Mass.73

A more widely distributed survey, apparently to continuing students, asked about the new infirmary physician, Dr. Heath. Not all students were favorably disposed toward him. Many found him detached and a strict disciplinarian, often too clever to let the infirmary be used as a way out of the regular school and drill day. He did not stay at the college long.

**Student Life**

The Clemson students who were intercollegiate athletes and who participated in enough games or meets earned large “C” letters called “varsity” letters. (“Varsity” is an abbreviated or slang form of the word “university.”) The literary societies had increased in number to six, but nationwide their attraction had faded. Their success at Clemson likely resulted from the lack of social fraternities at the college. Dance clubs and newer academic discipline clubs were taking the place of the social fraternities and beginning to replace the literary societies. Among the oldest was the student chapter of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. Many disciplines had such societies that brought faculty and students together in less formal settings. The World War I veterans formed the American Expeditionary Force Club, which remained active during the years 1919–1923. Regional, county, and town clubs functioned fitfully. The closest group to a fraternity, the Square and Compass consisted of young men who were Masons.74 Some of the groups were local to Clemson, but others were broader, which helped break down the college's insularity.

Besides the various clubs and societies, the creation of Clemson's alma mater provided an unexpected addition. These are serious songs, even hymns, lauding and thanking the school for serving as a “nourishing mother,” which is the meaning of *alma mater*. Over the quarter-century of Clemson College student life, several young authors had penned such songs, but none had taken hold. That changed in the summer of 1918, when 165 Clemson cadets attended ROTC camp at Plattsburg, New York, along with ROTC collegiate units from around the country. For evening activities, the military staff held a school night, and each unit was called upon to sing its school’s alma mater. Clemson did not have one, although it had cheers in abundance. So cheers it would be.
Albert Cleveland Corcoran, member of the Class of 1919 and author of the words to Clemson’s alma mater. Taken from the 1919 edition of the Clemson College annual, Taps.

When he returned to campus, A. C. “Allie” Corcoran from Charleston wrote lyrics for a proposed alma mater. Written when the school was all-male, military, and in the shadow of World War I, the words reflected those aspects. Corcoran had the four stanzas printed in The Tiger. The glee club practiced it using the tune of the Cornell University alma mater, which had not originated with Cornell and was used by many other schools and fraternities. It was an Irish melody called “Anna Lisa” or “Amici.” Presented to the cadets in chapel, Corcoran’s proposed alma mater received loud cheers. The cadets loved it, learned it, and adopted it. They sang it to that borrowed tune until the summer of 1950.

The major student publications also remained highly important. These included the Chronicle, The Tiger, and Taps. One of the cadets immersed in the publications was Ben F. Robertson Jr., a second-generation Tiger and a “townie” from nearby Liberty. Known as a great jazz pianist, he was a horticulture major, active in the dance clubs, editor-in-chief of Taps, and a junior editor of the Chronicle. Like most of the cadets, he received a nickname, “Millie,” which he carried the rest of his life. From Clemson, Robertson went to graduate school in journalism at the University of Missouri.

**Engineering Efforts and Problems**

Nationally, the Association of Land Grant Colleges met in two large sections, agriculture and engineering. Riggs was active in both areas, serving for a time as chair of the engineering section. The group recommended that, to stimulate manufacturing, Congress should create a funded engineering experiment station attached to the state land-grant colleges. The problem with the concept was that in at least one state, Georgia, the state-supported school of engineering did not reside on the same campus with agriculture. And for that matter, agriculture
was fragmented. To gain the support of Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, Riggs urged the other land-grant presidents to include Georgia Tech in the bill, but the land-grant executive committee refused to do so. U.S. Rep. and Clemson Life Trustee Frank Lever actively supported the bill. Riggs did not give up, helping to form a national committee of practicing engineers and engineering deans to support the concept. But some schools opposed the idea because the program would be managed by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Eventually, when the Republicans gained control of Congress, the idea died.

In South Carolina, three public schools—Clemson College, the University of South Carolina, and the Citadel—offered engineering. The latter two offered civil engineering, and USC also offered electrical engineering. Some legislators were concerned about the multiplication of expensive programs in the state’s schools. In an effort to determine the extent of replication in state educational programs, the general assembly formed a Legislative Committee on Economy and Consolidation with Fred Telford as the chief investigator. Telford and the committee visited the three institutions, meeting with the presidents, the program heads, and the faculties. At Clemson, Riggs told Telford that he had no desire to consolidate the programs to Clemson. He believed that the other schools did “creditable” work in civil engineering, in part because it was not heavily laboratory oriented.

Telford compared the three schools’ curricula to each other and to “leading civil engineering schools.” He concluded that Clemson should reexamine its requirements for wood shop and foundry. He also contacted well-known engineering professionals at a number of schools to garner their opinions on the merits of each of the three schools. Some of those contacted had no opinion, but most who did were positive about Clemson. C. M. Spofford, professor in charge of civil and sanitary engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote Telford, “It would seem to me that the only one of the three colleges prepared to give a reasonably complete course in civil engineering is Clemson College, which has a considerable instructing staff in the various branches of engineering and in the sciences and mathematics upon which engineering is based.” Ultimately, the legislative committee recommended that all graduate work in the state in engineering and agriculture be housed only at Clemson. It would not happen.

**State Economy**

Even though the state’s economic base had diversified, adding textiles to its large occupations, the agriculture sector remained the major portion. And research was vital. A new experiment station, Sandhill, opened at Pontiac, giving much help to the farmers of the Midlands. In post World War I, their research demonstrated that diversification, particularly in dairy herds, hogs, and beef cattle, could be profitable. In 1920, the livestock division began successfully eradi-
cating cattle fever ticks and initiated a tuberculosis prevention program. It also gave much attention to hog cholera control and poultry pullorum.

The experiment stations also determined that adding limestone to the soil helped with growing Irish potatoes, soybeans, tobacco, corn, and cotton. The Pee Dee Station through these years reintroduced grapes as a commercial crop, but the crop required much hand labor, including at least three sprayings of the disease controls during growing season besides the hand harvesting. Also under study were peaches, plums, and pears. These were much more successful, and large orchards, particularly of peach trees, appeared in the Sandhills along the ridge. By 1922, the diversification allowed the railway shipping of 14,000 train carloads of S.C. fruits and vegetables to the Northeast.82

Riggs's Last Journey

The Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina underwent radical reformation during Walter Merritt Riggs’s fifteen-year presidency. Through his strong personality and vigorous leadership, the Board of Trustees withdrew from its previous role of close involvement in the daily operations of the college and the cadets. Further, the faculty, especially in the sciences and technologies, grew in qualifications and diversity. And Riggs’s active role in national advocacy and associations began to break down the provincial isolation that characterized most southern institutions.

It was that advocacy and his growing national reputation that called Riggs to Washington, D.C., on January 20, 1924. He traveled alone by train to meet with other members of the land-grant association’s executive committee. Members of that committee recalled that Riggs was in a jocular mood. The group of college presidents began their meeting in preparation to meet with the U.S. secretary of agriculture. After lunch the group walked the near mile to the office building. Raymond A. Pearson, then-president of Iowa State College, remembered that Riggs walked slower than the other members. After their meeting with the secretary and other staff, the committee returned to their hotel. After
dinner they met to prepare for the meeting scheduled for the next day with President Calvin Coolidge.

Two days later, the group gathered again except for Riggs, who did not feel well. The others met with the president and then went to Congress to meet with the U.S. House Committee on Agriculture. After those engagements, the committee returned to the hotel to see Riggs, whom they found awake and very interested in the results. But Pearson noted a blood-stained towel on the bed. Through the afternoon and evening, the hotel’s house physician and another physician attended Riggs almost constantly.

About 8:30 p.m., the outside physician proposed moving Riggs to a hospital for X-rays. Riggs’s breathing was rapid, although he seemed to have no pain. At 9:25 p.m. on the evening of January 22, 1924, Walter Merritt Riggs died, surrounded by land-grant college presidents from across the nation. A telegram was sent immediately to Clemson to Samuel Earle and James Littlejohn. They called on Mrs. Riggs, who made plans to go to Washington to accompany her husband’s body home. She asked to go alone.

The inside of Memorial Chapel, displaying President Riggs’s casket and the flowers sent in his memory from around the nation. Clemson University Photographs, CUL.SC.
Littlejohn, who served as both registrar and assistant to the president, sent telegrams to the trustees and other major state leaders notifying them of the death. When President Wilkinson of South Carolina State received his telegram, he penned in his desk day calendar, “Today my dear friend Dr. Riggs has died.” Wilkinson, a devout Episcopalian, then took from his shelf *The Book of Common Prayer.*

At Clemson, Mrs. Riggs prepared for her train ride. When she arrived in Washington, she was met at the train by President Brizzell of Texas A&M and Frank Johnstone Jervey, Clemson 1914, World War I veteran, staff member of the Department of War, and president of the Washington Clemson Club. They attended Mrs. Riggs, received her husband’s body, and accompanied both back to Clemson.

In tribute to the importance of his life’s work, the S.C. Senate recessed for fifteen days. In a memorial editorial, the Columbia *State* noted, “The state college for Negroes in Orangeburg, so often forgotten, has lost in him a friend that it will surely miss.”

Clemson held Riggs’s funeral in Memorial Chapel on the campus. The legislative delegation included Alan Johnstone, chair of the Senate Finance Committee, and the presidents of almost all the colleges in South Carolina. The small town’s clergy participated in the rite, which the Presbyterian minister conducted. The college’s class presidents served as active pallbearers, and the entire corps of cadets in full uniform served as the military escorts. Riggs’s body was borne to Woodland Cemetery on a western ridge of the campus, where he became the first servant of “dear old Clemson” laid to rest there.
Notes

1. CUL.SC.CUA. S 37 f “Cadet Corps 1893–1929” and f “Alumni 1910–1919”; S 10 f 187; also see note 7.
2. CUL.SC.CUA. S 10 f 208.
3. Ibid., f 208.
4. Ibid., f 207.
5. Ibid., f 187.
6. Ibid., S 17 f 198.
7. As a part of the Clemson Corps’s efforts to erect the Scroll of Honor Memorial (2006–2010) and to obtain a more accurate list of Clemson students who died in military service, a small group of undergraduate students (Christopher Alderson, Brian Ammons, Lyndsey Banks, Anna Lee, M. Heath, Jeffrey Metzler, and Charles Polly) undertook painstaking research into the individuals listed by the War Department and its successor as casualties in the American wars. Alex Crunkleton, graduate student, aided the work on the Medal of Honor recipients. Clemson Registrar Stan Smith and his staff assisted in their research. Nancy Cook Fisher, Clemson 1974 and a professional genealogist, provided the students a series of demonstrations and a bibliography (Web-based); she also corresponded with individuals about specific problems. Special Collection Librarian Michael Kohl and his staff worked directly with the students as well. The Office of Undergraduate Studies, through Associate Dean Jeffrey Appling, provided support for copying and for travel to depositories. Generous staffs at depositories including the USC Caroliniana Library and the S.C. Division of Archives and History helped the student scholars in their quests.
8. Barry, The Great Influenza. The book needs to be read closely to gain an understanding of the level of medicine in 1918.
9. Reel, Women and Clemson University, 7.
10. Clemson Record, various 1918 to 1924.
11. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 374; and Anderson Daily Mail, March 24, 1912.
13. CUL.SC.CUA. S 22 b 8 ff 91 and 92.
14. Board of Trustees to the General Assembly, 1918, 21.
17. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 198.
18. Ibid., f 367. The italics are mine.
22. Woodruff, Rare as Rain. The argument is the subject of this study.
24. Board of Trustees to General Assembly, 1925–1926, 18–19, gives an 18-year run of the revenue derived from fertilizer tag sales. This helps judge the health of the previous agriculture year (1909–1910 through 1926–1927). The revenue for 1919–1920 (reflecting the last year of World War I) was the highest ($313,472.54), and the lowest was 1921–1922 ($126,118.07). The state lent Clemson $150,000 that year to cover the shortfall.
25. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 246 and S 30 v 3, 185.
26. Ibid., S 30 v 3, 185–189.
27. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 ff 6 and 56.
28. Ibid., f 358.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., S 30 v 2.
31. Ibid., 840–841.
33. CUL.SC.CUA. S 10 f 180.
34. Ibid., S 49 b 20 f 13.
39. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 247.
40. Bourret, Clemson Football 2009, 203.
42. Bourret, Clemson Baseball 2010, 176–177.
43. The Tiger, November 28, 1923.
44. The story of Tsukiyama was gleaned from the Chronicle and Taps.
45. CUL.SC.CUA. S 22 b 8 ff 91 and 92.
46. It was interesting to quantify the types of tobacco advertisements in the Anderson and Greenville papers and in the student-operated The Tiger. All revealed the shift to cigarettes, although The Tiger moved that way more quickly.
47. CUL.SC.CUA. S 22 b 9 f 10 and S 17 f 218.
49. Ibid., f 209.
50. Ibid., f 205.
51. Ibid., f 564.
52. Ibid., ff 253 and 320.
53. At least a dozen alumni from the late 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s have thus defined the potage for me.
54. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 ff 212 and 213.
56. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 213.
57. Ibid., S 30 v 3, 21–33.
58. Ibid., S 17 f 213.
59. Ibid., S 30 ss ii b 9 f 8. Box 9 contains most of the documents concerning the walkout of 1920.
60. Ibid., S 17 f 213.
61. Ibid., f 216
62. Ibid., S 22 b 10 f 15.
63. Ibid., S 17 ff 219 and 220.
64. Record, 1919–1920; and CUL.SC.CUA. S 30 v 3, 77.
65. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 228.
66. Ibid., ff 238 and 242; and S 36 f 11.
67. CUL.SC.CUA. S 10 f 180.
68. Ibid., S 17 f 222.
69. Ibid., f 225.
70. Letter of Howard Carlisle in a typescript made by John Robert Carlisle, Clemson 1953, and sent to me by Jerry F. Carlisle on October 21, 2003. The typescript has been deposited in the Clemson Library Special Collections.
71. CUL.SC.CUA. S10 f 230.
72. Ibid., f 237.
73. Ibid., f 235.
74. The sources of the information are the annual memberships and lists published in the annual Taps. The Chronicle was the source for group activities.
75. The Tiger, February 20, 1919.
76. Taps and the Chronicle, 1919–1924, are the sources of this Robertson information.
77. CUL.SC.CUA. S 17 f 204.
78. Ibid., f 206.
79. Ibid., f 210.
80. Ibid., f 247.
81. Ibid., f 248.
82. Ibid., f 247; and Agricultural Experiment Station, *Miscellaneous Publications*, no. 27, 13–30.
83. CUL.SC.MSS 68 b 3 f46.
84. S.C. State University Archives, President’s Papers: Wilkinson.