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American Identities in Virginia Education:

Student Portrayals at The University of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, and Harrisonburg
and Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial Schools, 1900-1918

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Abstract

The students who attended The University of Virginia (UVA), Virginia Military Institute (VMI), Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial School (HSNIS), and Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School (FSNIS) during the early twentieth century (1900-1918) showed changes in Southern gender identities. At UVA and VMI young men challenged the southern ideals of how they felt about their education by disagreeing with faculty and showing stressors within their education. Young men also fell into conflict with each other on certain social behaviors such as the usage of alcohol which went against Southern Christian morals and gentlemen behaviors if one embraced the idea of drinking alcohol. Lastly, adolescent men were embracing their ideas of what a male physique body should be in this time. This caused numerous pressures for young men to adapt to a physique that their peers approved. If these ideals were not met they were often bullied for being overweight. The men who attended from 1900-1913 were challenged with adapting to what their faculty and peers wanted them to be.

This change in Southern identity was also the case for the two previously mentioned women's schools HSNIS and FSNIS. Women at these schools were also challenging their faculty by expressing their true feelings towards their academics. They also formed clubs to engage in social settings such as, pageants, hiking, and even rifle clubs. These clubs emphasized that women were following the ideals of the Gibson girl by doing more adventurous and physical activities that were outside of the Southern lady. Attending sports also showed how capable and strong women were to compete just as the men. However, once the United States enters the First World War men and women transition their identities again from Southern to a more nationalistic man: Men enlisted and engaged in less party like behaviors, and woman participated in courses and drills that contributed towards the war.

Introduction

Virginia's young Americans who attended college between 1900 and 1918 lived through a period of upheaval. The Progressive Era was characterized by inequality among races or nationalities, a rising middle class, and progressive ideologies in America. During this era, Americans were challenged by the rapid changes in labor rights such as welfare for poor immigrants and reforms in workplace safety that are captured in popular novels such as Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. Child labor reform also occurred during this era with children suffering harsh working hours and often dying in dangerous workplaces such as coal mines. Women's suffrage was also progressing during this era with the advancement of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that advocated for states to give women the right to vote, own property, divorce, and take custody of children.

This era also included World War I, which the United States did not initially become involved in until 1917 due to isolationist beliefs and documents that influenced Progressive Era Americans such as George Washington's *Farewell Address* and James Monroe's *The Monroe Doctrine*. These attitudes changed after the 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German U-boat that killed 123 Americans. In addition, the Zimmerman telegram was the ultimatum for the United States entering the war due to the Germans sending a telegram to Mexico asking them to unite with the Germans and invade the United States. This led to the need of public support which led to the creation of the Committee on Public Information, also known as the Creel committee. It was created by George Creel, who used propaganda to change the minds of Isolationist Americans to support the war efforts. The results sold war bonds and increased enlistment rates. Creel's contributions successfully increased public support for the war both abroad and on the homefront.

The influenza pandemic of 1918-1919 that occurred during this war killed more than 21 million Americans. This event required people on the homefront to contribute lots of support for the amount of sick civilians. These contributions were enacted through local volunteer programs that provided medical donations for hospitals helping to contain the flu's spread and restore Americans back to health. The American Red Cross assisted the public by increasing aid to sick Americans. The American Red Cross was so important that war fundraising assisted its expansion that averaged \$400,000,000 in 1918.¹ The American Red Cross also provided women the chance to enter a workforce and assist and save the lives of Americans.

Historians the Progressive Era, through the newer lenses of race, class, gender, and education, have the goal of including historical participants outside of the traditional narratives, which previously focused mainly on white experience and failed to always acknowledge racism, sexism, and xenophobia in United States history. An example publication that demonstrates the transition of how Progressive Era historians view race is Peter M. Rutkoff and William B. Scott's *Fly Away: The Great African American Cultural Migrations*, which highlights how African Americans migrated from South after the Civil War. Works like the above reveal more diverse discussions on how African Americans in this era created their own identity and dealt with problems in urban areas.² Khalil Gibran Muhammad's *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* provides histories of racist criminality. Muhammad reveals from great archival research that African Americans were reported to be the

¹ Marian Moser Jones, "The American Red Cross and Local Response to the 1918 Influenza Pandemic: A Four-City Case Study," *Public Health Reports* v. 210 supp. 3 (April 2010): 92-104 <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2862338/> [Accessed July 6, 2023.]

² Peter M. Rutkoff and William B. Scott. *Fly Away: The Great African American Cultural Migrations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 3,13.

most “dangerous criminal” race in population during this era.³ The author also reveals that in the early 20th century, social scientists began using racial statistics to judge and commit racial discriminatory punishments.⁴

Further elaborations on race from this era can be seen in Stephen Poulson’s *Racism on Campus: A Visual History of Prominent Virginia Colleges and Howard University*, where he demonstrates how race played a significant role in organizing and constructing Virginia colleges and universities. The book analyzes primary sources from six white colleges and one Historically Black University, Howard University. Moving chronologically he shows how racism was demonstrated on these campuses from 1890 to 2020, through visual images in yearbooks. Poulson provides one striking example from the University of Virginia, revealing a Lost Cause narrative that claimed the Confederate State’s actions and cultures were justified.⁵

In addition to changes in perspectives on race, this era was also characterized by class. A recent publication that addresses class conflict from the Progressive Era is David Huyssen’s *Progressive Inequality: Rich and Poor in New York, 1890–1920*, that argues how many of the Progressive Era reforms led to changes within cultural class division that continues to exist in modern times. The author believes that this was caused by imperial progressivism, where capitalism began to be adopted into democracy.⁶ This created class conflicts and opened discourse between low, middle, and upper classes on whether or not to support new labor laws

³ Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America, with a New Preface* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019), 3.

⁴ Ibid., 216-217.

⁵ Stephen C. Poulson, *Racism on Campus: A Visual History of Prominent Virginia Colleges and Howard University* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2021), 27.

⁶ David N. Huyssen, *Progressive Inequality: Rich and Poor in New York, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 14.

that were deemed better for a democratic society. Thomas Leonard's *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics, and American Economics in the Progressive Era* examines how the role of economists changed the way citizens in this era viewed professionalism towards social policy, leading citizens to mistrust the U.S. markets. In addition, Leonard discovers a high usage of eugenics in this era by white Americans, who believed that they were creating a healthy and productive white race. It also revealed a white class that expressed racist acts towards immigrants from Asia and Eastern Europe and African Americans by viewing the new diverse population as inferior and a racial threat to white breeding.⁷ These recent scholarly publications reveal that the Progressive Era was not as Progressive as some early scholars suggested.

Additional publications that demonstrate the shift of Progressive Era historiography can be seen in scholarly publications about gender. Amy McCandless's *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth-Century American South* focuses on womanhood in Southern education in the twentieth century. McCandless argues, that in the South, White women are forced into "preoccupation with antebellum conceptions of gender, race, and class"⁸ and displayed twoness, a state of living in the past and present during the Progressive Era. Overall, the author reveals southern schools were structured by "pedestal ideology," which was designed to educate and form women to fit into a traditional, submissive gender role. McCandless' text also reveals the experiences of Black colleges through private schools that were available for African American women. The author notes that Black women who desired a college education only attended coeducational institutions. To form this argument, McCandless utilizes annuals,

⁷ Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics & American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 89, 117.

⁸ Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth-Century American South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 13.

student handbooks, and oral history interviews conducted with past Black and White women in southern institutes to give voice to a previously ignored demographic that deepens the understanding of racialized and gendered experiences in the Progressive Era.

Further characterizing the experiences of Black and White women at the time, Francesca Morgan's *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America* reveals the thought process between patriotism and questioning White-male-dominated policies through the lens of White and Black women from the 1880s to the 1930s. Morgan reveals that women in this era engaged mostly in groups through expressing political identities of nationalists and patriots.⁹ The author dives into these political identities and discovers that White women's organizations began activism on women's suffrage later in the 20th century, while other groups showed no interest in engaging in gender politics. For example, Theodore Roosevelt mentions, "that women best served their nations by producing more babies and eschewing political activism."¹⁰

This statement triggered organizations to challenge the sexist remark while other groups like, the Woman's Relief Corps, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy focused on preserving the past rather than debate issues facing women in their era. This divide revealed not only the struggle of identity that women faced in this time, but also highlighted challenges in recruitment of young followers to join their group in order to preserve their Southern patriotism. Morgan also discusses the National Association of Colored Women and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which reveals Black

⁹ Francesca Morgan, *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press), 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

women's political activism against American imperialism and Black men's political leadership.¹¹ Taken together, this shows historians the controversy between White women struggling to find agreements on suffrage movements and racial minority struggles.

White Southern men also faced gendered expectations strongly enforced at the time. Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America* argues that masculinity has multiple forms yet a masculine ideal that is societally enforced as the only acceptable ontology for men dominate as "hegemonic masculinity." In the Progressive Era, the first tenet of hegemonic manhood was for men to be physically strong and Christian; this concept came to be known as Christian muscular culture.¹² Men in this era also faced extreme societal pressure to identify as believe that they were racially superior to African Americans, heterosexual, and reject all traits perceived as feminine.¹³

An understudied component of the robust historiography of the time is the experiences particularly of adolescents and their negotiation and portrayal of their gendered, racialized, and national identities and perspectives in the early twentieth century. Many historians do not mention the writings of everyday adolescents. However, students from higher educational institutions have left a myriad of primary sources such as yearbooks, bulletins, scrapbooks, and journals capturing the lived student experience in the era as they perceived it. These sources reveal robust discussions about gender and how young men and women were challenged to adapt to strict gendered expectations that changed during the nationalist fervor of World War I. My

¹¹ Ibid., 25.

¹² Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 117-120.

¹³ Ibid., 66, 68-69, 124.

desire in the following research is to investigate how Virginia college students portrayed gender at the beginning of the early twentieth century to World War I, particularly when it comes to identity construction and group participation.

This thesis will analyze primary documents of men's experiences at the University of Virginia (UVA) and Virginia Military Institute (VMI) and of women's experiences at Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial School (HSNIS) and Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School (FSNIS) found via digital and analog archives.¹⁴ This approach allows readers to obtain a greater depiction of what student life was like during the years of 1900-1918 by closely examining images and text from school newspapers and bulletins, personal scrapbooks, and annual yearbooks to identify how these students self-documented their lived experiences.

This thesis has three chapters. The first chapter of this document examines the gendered experiences of young men at the University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute from 1900-1917. I explore how they responded to the hegemonic ideal by analyzing their clubs, sports, and social life. The second chapter examines young women's lived experiences at Harrisonburg State Normal School and Fredericksburg State Normal School with a similar approach to UVA and VMI. I explore women's navigation of gendered expectations through their clubs, sports, and social life to become (or not) what McCandless describes as "the lady on the pedestal."¹⁵ The third and final chapter reflects on how students at all four of these institutions

¹⁴ The University of Virginia's digitized sources can be located through the virgo search at <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/>. The VMI digitized sources are located at <https://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/>. HSNIS can be located at <https://www.lib.jmu.edu/special/digital/>. FSNIS can be located at <https://archive.org/details/universityofmarywashington>. I visited the actual physical archives of UVA, VMI, FSNIS, and HSNIS between September 2022 and April 2023.

¹⁵ McCandless, *The Past and Present*, 12.

experienced during World War I a cultural shift, which altered idealized Southern manhood and womanhood to incorporate American, pro-war, nationalism.

Overall, my hope is that readers obtain a sense of student stories that reveal new details about the Progressive Era's discussions on gender with the rich history that Virginia shares as a commonwealth. Without a doubt, these institutions certainly reveal a two-fold sense of what faculty and staff expected students to show by their expression of appropriate patriotism, identity, and gender roles. But I argue that the students' ability to critique or resist these notions from both faculty and their peers are evident within their own clubs, sports, and social life. This research will bring these stories to life and enhance our understanding of identity construction and lived experience of white adolescent Southern men and women during the Progressive Era.

Chapter 1: Virginia Higher Education and Southern Manhood

The history of collegiate education is a well-studied topic. Its scholarly narratives explained topics such as race, class, and gender and range geographically from across eastern and western to Northern and Southern perspectives in the United States. Most works expand our understanding of young adults' experiences as they were becoming educated and taking positions in occupations or groups that impacted the United States politically, economically, and technologically. But in the early twentieth century, colleges in the South that educated young people in the region offered their own unique view on American gender separate from Northern and Western views on masculinity and femininity. In order to understand how Southern colleges taught students ideals of white Southern manhood and womanhood acts, one must understand the Southern states transformation after the Civil War. For this chapter, I will explain the redevelopment of Southern manhood as it manifested in two Virginia schools, the University of Virginia (UVA) and the Virginia Military Institute (VMI).

Southern Masculinity

After Reconstruction, white Southerners created their own forms of masculine identities that were different from their Northern and Western counterparts. Northern masculinity was characterized by embracing working in hard and industrial labor, white supremacist identity of being superior to immigrants and African Americans, and Christian Protestant identity. They also modeled ideal masculinity from prominent figures such as President Theodore Roosevelt, who influenced other men through his activities such as hunting, golf, or even his political campaigns. Northern men also modeled off of other figures such as the famous magician Harry Houdini, who encouraged men to embrace their daring personalities to try dangerous things, and Edgar Burroughs who wrote Tarzan and influenced men to break free from their “iron cage” and be real

strong adventure seeking men.¹⁶ What sets Southern masculinity apart is they are embracing more technologically advanced cities, embracing more pro-union stances. However they do share similarities with Northern men such as, white supremacist motives and racial attitudes towards immigrants and African Americans.

Southern white men were educated from Confederate figures such as Robert E. Lee, who embodied the Christian gentlemen male ideal of polite respectfulness and Confederate patriotism. Previous scholars have connected pre-war Southern manhood to the ideal of late 19th and 20th century. R. Eric Platt and Holly A. Foster's *Persistence through Peril: Episodes of College Life and Academic Endurance in the Civil War South* revealed struggles for confederate male colleges and military institutes to remain open during the Civil War. Through examining the colleges, the author reveals that these eleven confederate schools suffered low enrollment, death in faculty, and school invasions. However, despite these challenges, Southern male students and faculty continued to portray Confederate patriotism through depictions of Confederate leaders such as Jefferson Davis.¹⁷ His text overall revealed that because the South lost the war, white men's colleges gained their own identity and history that will adapt older ideals of manhood. Craig Thompson and Joe Creech feature articles of these ideals. For example, the authors argue that white Southern manhood in the 20th century drew from two older characteristics. One was the idea that men had to be Christian gentlemen. The form of politeness and Christianity in masculinity originated from Southern historical leaders such as Robert E. Lee. Southerners often

¹⁶ John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2002), 6-8.

¹⁷ R. Eric Platt and Holly A. Foster, *Persistence through Peril: Episodes of College Life and Academic Endurance in the Civil War South* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2021), 14.

viewed these past figures as being the epitome of self-control and politeness. Most of these teachings also stemmed from the Confederacy losing and their inability to handle the Northerners' insults about Southern culture. The second characteristic Thompson and Creech captures from Southern white manhood emerged after Reconstruction. Men in the South during this era began to romanticize Southern civilization, which was a practice to keep Lost Cause narratives alive despite the Confederates losing.¹⁸ These two authors reveal that Southern Confederate patriotism persisted into the 20th century by being adopted into Southern masculinity itself.

Michael Kimmel's classic *Manhood in America* identifies an idealized or hegemonic masculinity. In particular for America, men had to have three traits during the turn of the 20th century. The first was being strong physically while also staying Christian or in the authors' words Christian muscular culture.¹⁹ This was a significant change to Manhood because white men now had to be physically strong and adapt more militant, aggressive, and competitive characteristics to be seen as a man in this time. Second, American manhood required men to identify as straight, reject femininity²⁰, and seek sexist identities as seeing themselves as the superior gender. Lastly, white men were to think they are racially superior to African Americans.²¹ Kimmel's point about whites asserting superiority over African Americans can also

¹⁸ Joe Creech, "The Price of Eternal Honor" in *Southern Masculinity: Perspectives on Manhood in the South since Reconstruction*, ed. by Craig Thompson Friend (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 29.

¹⁹ Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 117-120.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 68-69, 66.

²¹ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 124.

be seen in Suzanne E. Hatty, *Masculinities, Violence and Culture*. This text also features unique perspectives on imaginative masculinities but discusses how Southern masculinity is produced from mass media. One particular example the author reinforces is *Birth of a Nation*, which reinforced the view that white men were stronger than African Americans. Kimmel and Hatty reveal how Southern institutions and media enforced a form of masculinity that also connected with white supremacist and sexist traits.

The Age of the University

Just as the idea of Southern manhood changed, so did institutions. At the end of the American Civil War, the Southern states were presented with many outcomes such as low finances, the rise of future Jim Crow laws and racist ideologies, and struggles in finding jobs. However, Progressive Southern politicians also created their very own educational system as a consequence of these outcomes. This educational system was specifically geared towards middle class white families, who would be able to afford and meet the schools income requirements. This was crucial because it reveals a middle-class requirement for these young men to become educated. Many Southern politicians sought to present ideas on fixing these financial, ideological, and educational problems in the South. Transitioning to the state of Virginia's ideas, the state presented one idea idea of focusing on advocating for Southern families to give their children progressive education, which would prepare rural populations "for participation in a cooperative democracy" and thus provide Southern citizens with a sense of purpose and responsibility.²² In order to achieve these goals, Virginia progressives ultimately needed to

²² Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth-Century American South*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1999), 20.

advocate for the state of Virginia to amplify jobs in education and create schools, colleges, and universities.

However, Southern politicians needed to decide how they should educate white men and women in the post-bellum South. Politicians concluded that men and women should not be educated together as they would both be seen as a distraction to one another. Michael Kimmel identified that the Southern politicians felt the genders had to be separated because boys would both be sexually distracted by the girls and slowed down academically since they believed girls were naturally less intelligent.²³ These discussions from Southern politicians were added into the Virginia Constitution of 1869, leading them to enforce more single-sex public education facilities, which would then teach these new Southern gendered ideals.

Before universities, colonial colleges began as places for elite white men to obtain professional training in law, philosophy, or religion. However, they also produced cultural values that were appropriate for white elite men that eighteenth century colleges could not achieve. After the Civil War, universities shifted to offer new fields in medicine, engineering, sciences, and law, which were open only to men.²⁴ In the state of Virginia, public higher education for men featured schools such as The College of William and Mary, established in 1693; the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, established in 1872; and The University of Virginia (UVA) and the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), which are the focus of the present research. UVA opened in 1825 and follow the previous university ideal courses, while also becoming the

²³ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 108.

²⁴ McCandless, *The Past and Present*, 85.

“most admired institution of higher education in the Southern states”²⁵ throughout the 19th century. This success was because of its vast amounts of faculty from Europe, which helped to create new academic programs in mathematics, sciences, and languages. It also rejected the past colonial colleges' definitions of proper education that focused on religion.²⁶ UVA began its first semester in March 1825 after numerous delays. The enrollment number was 40 students to eventually 116 students by the end of 1825.²⁷ VMI was established in 1839 with a total of 25 cadets enrolled. The institution was like UVA in that it provided white men with a higher education. VMI primarily offered its students the ability to gain military credentials that could transfer into the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marines.²⁸ It also met the state's demand for engineers and teachers after the Civil War.

Admissions and Curriculum at UVA and VMI

Admission and curriculum requirements for these two schools each featured similarities and differences in qualifications for being admitted and course structure. UVA required students to be sixteen years old, have a high school degree, and demonstrate good character by being well mannered and not displaying forms of inappropriate behaviors such as, violence, bad academic drive, or poor etiquette. Tuition cost was another requirement for these men to be admitted. Men at these schools had to be towards middle class as their cost for tuition would range from Boarding, Rent, Fuels and Candles, Books and Stationary, and the use of the Library and

²⁵ Virginius Dabney, *Mr. Jefferson's University: A History* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁸ Henry A. Wise, *Drawing Out the Man: The VMI Story* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1978), 74.

common rooms. Boarding would cost \$150 per semester, rent was \$8, Fuels and Candles \$15, Library and Common rooms combined was \$15.²⁹ This cost revealed that white families had to be at least middle class to afford the schools' tuition requirements. Those that could not meet those demands were unlikely to be admitted or even assisted with any financial aid at this time.

By 1900 UVA's course curriculum was composed of departments in Language, Literature, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Astronomy, History, Economics, Philosophy, Education, Journalism, and public speaking. Each student at this school had to take a series of hour-long session courses, which was a one hour a week class session of lecture, or two hours of laboratory work. Completion resulted in one of four degrees: a Bachelor of Arts, a Bachelor of Science in a Special Subject, a Bachelor of Science in Education, and a Bachelor of Science in Medicine.³⁰

As for VMI admission, Cadets had to be more than fifteen years of age applying and no more than twenty-two years old.³¹ The male physique requirements were a different admitted qualification from UVA because of the military expectations. Cadets applying cannot be below five feet in height, carry a disorder or infectious disease.³² And lastly future cadets cannot be married and if they are married while attending the institute in this era they "shall be considered equivalent to a resignation and he shall leave the institute."³³ Although less historical data is available for VMI, the tuition rates were similar to UVA as it was geared towards middle class

²⁹ Robert Viccellio, Erin O'Hare and Molly Minturn. "First Things First," *Virginia Magazine*. https://uvamagazine.org/articles/first_things_first. [Accessed June 17, 2023.]

³⁰ Philip A. Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia: 1819-1919: The Lengthened Shadow of One Man* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1921), 84-85.

³¹ *Regulations of the Virginia Military Institute, 1905*, (Lexington, VA: Virginia Military Institute 1905), 8. <https://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/digital/collection/p15821coll1/id/5829>. [Accessed September 23, 2022]

³² *Ibid.*, 8

³³ *Ibid.*, 8.

families. The tuition for the cadet was about \$375.00 per year, which is equivalent to around \$13,740.68 in 2023.³⁴

VMI curriculum also featured similar degrees as previously mentioned ones in UVA such as law, engineering, and education in 1842-1862.³⁵ However, in 1866 the curriculum broadened and featured more electives than before 1866. The new features in this time will include familiar electives that UVA also had in the early twentieth and nineteenth century. These classes were: Astronomy, chemistry, civil engineering, descriptive geometry, French, German, English, geology, Latin logic mathematics, moral philosophy, physics and mechanics.³⁶ In addition, exclusive courses offered at this military institute that UVA did not have were, military engineering, mineralogy, ordnance and gunnery, and military tactics.

Manhood at UVA and VMI, 1900-1915

From examining Southern manhood and the origins of these two Virginia institutions, I now explore how young white men learned the ideals of Southern white masculinity while at college. Their struggles to adopt a new, male identity can be seen in their clubs, sports, and social lives as reflected in bulletins, academic courses, and yearbooks from 1900-1915. Arriving as adolescents, UVA and VMI students identified with Southern manhood, mainly through their thoughts on academics, clubs, sports and social life outside of the classroom.

In addition, rather than listing every portion of each year, I will select key pivotal moments from a particular year to avoid redundant examples. The answers revealed from these

³⁴ *VMI Catalog, 1860*, (Lexington, VA: Virginia Military Institute 1860), 5.
<https://vmi.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15821coll1/id/1961>. [Accessed September 23, 2022]

³⁵ Wise, *Drawing Out the Man*, 25.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

student stories are crucial because scholars do not often think to incorporate how adolescents truly behaved in the early twentieth century. In this case, adolescents do not seem to have the opportunity to be really discussed in the Progressive era histories. Therefore, rather than silencing their true selves and sticking with the general idea that these are just students that went to school, I choose to bring their stories and activities to life to better understand them despite their sometimes objectionable behaviors, which illustrate a gendered history that may provide more evidence for historians and scholars to understand masculinity in the early twentieth century.

The overall purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that college was a time many young men struggled to learn and perform masculinity in the early twentieth century. This is because they were constantly interacting with different forms of masculinity, which can be seen from UVA and VMI. It also reveals that though faculty at these schools and secondary sources are stating that they are producing efficient proper adult white men, students in these schools instead adopted their own identities. They are showing resistance to adopting their ideal masculine roles, which is heavily expressed in their yearbooks which is their own space to elaborate on how they truly see and capture their experiences of being a white male in the twentieth century at these schools. Therefore, the examples within this chapter will consist of young white men struggling with faculty and academics, revealing that men were truly interested in other male activities rather than their studies. Clubs revealed their struggles in opinions for or against drinking alcohol. Sports is the final struggle which reveals conversations surrounding the male physique which led to oftentimes men bullying other men for not being muscular. For UVA and VMI in 1900-1916, the men in both schools had certain privileges that enabled them to publicize expressions of masculine themes: such as alcohol usage, idolizing certain male bodies in sports,

and body shaming others within their social lives, which shows their ideas of what it takes to be an accepted white male in the early twentieth century.

The Student Academic Experience at UVA and VMI

As the ideal student was admitted and the newly desired courses were enforced in the early twentieth century on each campus, men began to share struggles in adjusting to the new courses and often expressed desire to be doing other tasks. Examples of this can be seen in The Virginia Military Institute yearbook, *The Bomb*, and the University of Virginia's *Corks and Curls* yearbooks. These two yearbooks would provide an endless platform for students to voice their experiences as a student without the interference of higher faculty disapproving of their behavior and social life. Though they are conforming and going through these rebellions or disagreements to evolve into men as Michael Kimmel suggests.³⁷ I argue that they are expressing how they truly felt towards their new curricula and faculty, which reveals a struggle in appealing to the male standards of a proper student.

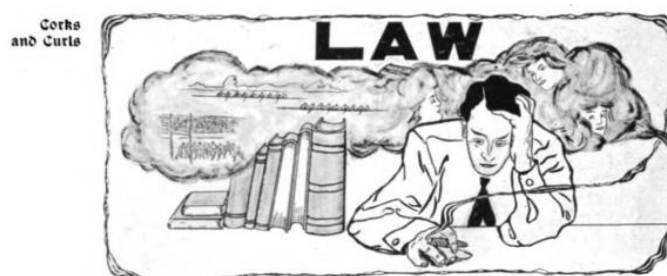


Figure 1 A student's depiction of a law major in distress. From *Corks and Curls*, 1904.

For example, in the image above we can see a stressed-out law student who is overwhelmed, and his only true interests are seeing women and football games.³⁸ This image

³⁷ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 109.

³⁸ *Corks and Curls*, 1904, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia), 36. See similar example in *Corks and Curls* 1905, 166; *Corks and Curls* 1908, 89.

suggests that young men are resisting this growth into mature adults. They are prioritizing girls and sports over their focus on studies, which disregards what Southern Politicians created these institutions to accomplish, which is creating idealized southern gentlemen. These sorts of internal struggles are what secondary scholars are missing: College students were not conforming; they were resisting maturity. This yearbook picture also suggests that this was no easy task and often student stress was common on this campus and men desired to go do previously stated activities instead.

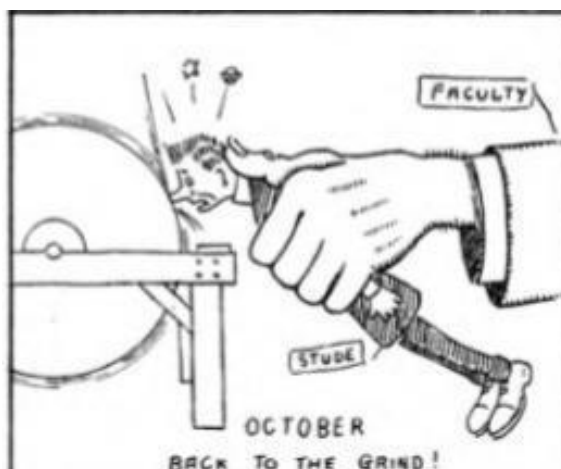


Figure 2 A student illustration of faculty overworking them. From *Corks and Curls*, 1910.

As for faculty and campus life, a yearbook section captures a negative attitude towards the faculty. From the image above one can note how a student is depicted as being forced by faculty to do academic work and it is grinding the student's body away.³⁹ In other words, the students are expressing feelings of struggles with their new standard academic work and they do not show any positive remarks at the start of their new curriculum in the 20th century.

³⁹ *Corks and Curls*, 1910. (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia 1910) 9. See also, *Corks and Curls* 1905. 15,166, and *Corks and Curls* 1908. 75.

Table 1. Fraternity Grade Average from Philip Bruce's *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919*.⁴⁰

Departments	1910-11	1911-12	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16
College	67.6	73.5	78.2	80.3	78
Graduate	79.5	84.3	86.3	85.7	87.5
Law	78.8	82.9	84.3	84.6	85.2
Medicine	82.9	64.9	77.7	75.2	77
Engineering	72.6	70.7	82.5	88.4	87.8

Table 2. Non-Fraternity Grade Average from Philip Bruce's *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919*.⁴¹

Departments	1910-11	1911-12	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16
College	68.5	77.2	80.1	81.4	80.6
Graduate	74.5	86	84.7	87.1	87.4
Law	84.5	86.11	84.3	84.8	85.7
Medicine	82.9	83.3	76.3	77.8	84.5
Engineering	72.7	75.3	84.8	86.8	86.4

⁴⁰ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, 277.

⁴¹ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, 277.

Furthermore, from the tables above, students involved in fraternities and non-fraternities had drastically different grade averages. Though the non-fraternity students did better in academics as compared to the ones involved in fraternal groups, they were seldom awarded academic honors. Historian of UVA Philip Bruce captures this discussion where a critic asks why athletic men were being awarded to “ribbon men and the application of others, better fitted, been turned down?”⁴² This reveals that the ones who are struggling to conform were being rewarded more than their harder working peers. This also reveals the type of men who are studying very hard and getting better grades do not fit in with the young men who are involved with the university fraternities.

VMI sources refer similar yet different expressions of students’ getting accustomed to classes. The cadet’s life was much different than the average student at UVA in the early twentieth century. The cadets had military duties consisting of military drills with classes in between. They also had to be more cautious and aware of the consequences of doing pranks or other sorts of activities since they were monitored by upperclassmen or staff. However, they did have a safe space in their yearbooks to express their adjustments. However, VMI sources are rather limited as opposed to UVA, which might suggest one had to be cautious on what they posted.

⁴² Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, 278.

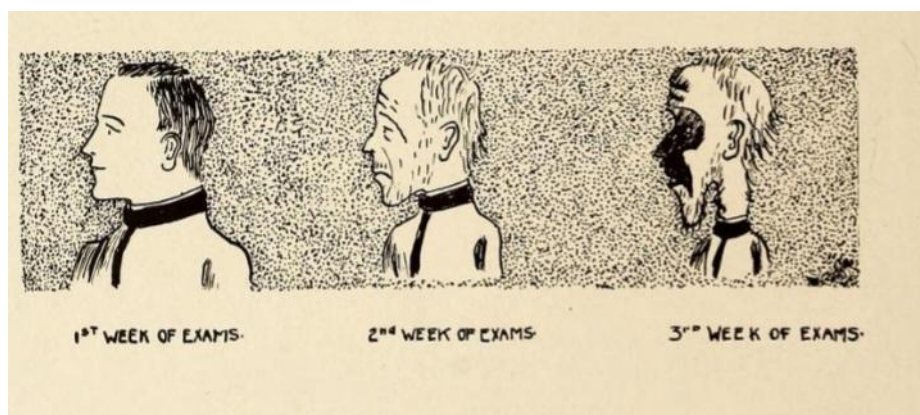


Figure 3 A cadet entry on course exams. From *The Bomb*, 1909

As seen in the 1909 cartoon illustration, a student is expressing the dramatic physical deterioration during the three-week exam period.⁴³ Studying in this time appears to cause loss of hair, weight, and confidence. In addition to exam and academic struggles, preparing for drills was also expressed in cartoons as a struggle for men to get ready appropriately or get in line at the right time.⁴⁴ While fraternities provided social release and fun, a cartoon of a fraternity drawn on the board being erased by a man labeled as faculty shows a connection like the faculty “grind” at UVA.⁴⁵

Overall, the students at UVA and VMI both share similar struggles in academics, and they ultimately may have different lifestyles which can be seen in excellent portrayal in their yearbooks.⁴⁶ Each share certain elements of stress in academic work and ways in which they

⁴³ *The Bomb 1909*, (Lexington, VA: Virginia Military Institute Archives 1909), 80.

⁴⁴ See similar examples in *The Bomb 1911*, 82; *The Bomb 1913*, 80; *The Bomb 1915*, 287.

⁴⁵ *The Bomb 1911*, (Lexington, VA: Virginia Military Institute 1911), 56.

⁴⁶ UVA example can be found in *Corks and Curls 1910*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia 1910), 9; See also VMI example in *The Bomb 1915*, (Lexington VA: Virginia Military Institute 1915), 286.

relieve these stressors whether it is ball dances, clubs, or sports. But as their clubs, sports, and fraternities arise they also show conflicts over gender performances as well.

“A Drinking Problem to Remember:” Clubs, Social Life, & a Secret Fraternity

Popular clubs at UVA that presented students opportunities to engage in acceptable white masculine activities included, the Y.M.C.A. (Young Men Christian Association), the Official Fencing Club (OFC), and the secret fraternity, the Hot Feet Society (HFS). These three organizations would also advocate on the issues of alcohol usage through a series of postings in the *Corks and Curls* yearbooks.⁴⁷ These unique opinions shared by these three groups displayed a debate whether or not an appropriate man was pro- or anti-alcohol. This also reveals multiple forms of masculinity. The OFC and HFC were revealing countercultural forms of masculinity by criticizing the Christian morals against drinking, while the YMCA upheld the Christian moral standard.

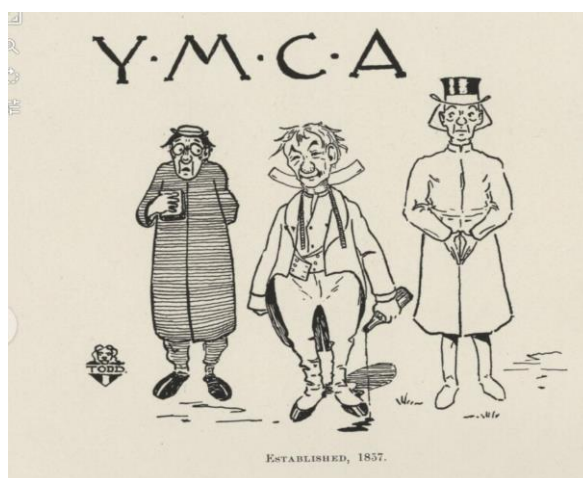


Figure 4 *Corks and Curls*, 1900 yearbook club entry.

⁴⁷ *Corks and Curls* 1905, 153; *Corks and Curls* 1906, 12, 171; *Corks and Curls* 1907, 16, 193; *Corks and Curls* 1908, 186; *Corks and Curls* 1909, 206; *Corks and Curls* 1912, 24.

One striking visual example from UVA is in figure four from 1900. Reinhold Rogers, then president of the Y.M.C.A. club, was one of the anti-booze advocates in this yearbook.⁴⁸ His illustration of concern with alcoholism among adult men became his main message for male students to see how humiliating intoxication is to Christian ministers living in the Progressive era.⁴⁹ The ministers scared looks reveal that this is not how men should represent himself, for, if he does, he will be an embarrassment to the public sphere. Timothy Williams, in *Intellectual Manhood*, notes that drinking was a common activity at the University of North Carolina, and these activities were seen as men struggling transitioning from boyhood to manhood.⁵⁰ And just as he states not all the UVA students agree and continue to condone in alcoholic activities. This illustration depicts how men who identify with the Christian moral majority of the time would appeal to this classical masculinity by displaying drinkers as slobs.

⁴⁸ *Corks and Curls 1900*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia 1900), 160.

⁴⁹ *Corks and Curls 1913*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia 1913), 87.

⁵⁰ Timothy, J. Williams, *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self, and Society in the Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 33. See also, John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 123.

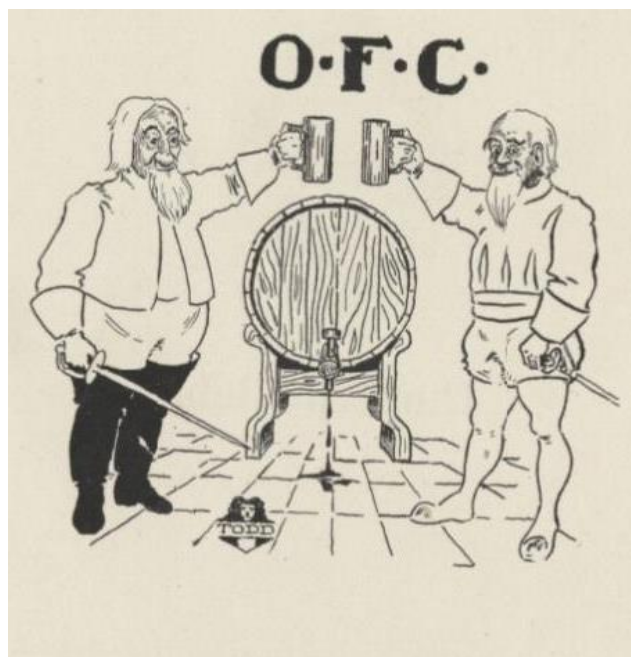


Figure 5 *Corks and Curls* cartoon depicting members of the Official Fencing Club sharing a drink.

On the other hand, some UVA clubs such as the OFC. presented a countercultural masculinity that embraced drinking. This club offered men not only to compete with one another in fencing but also was widely known enough to embrace drinking that the image above was drawn for the 1900 yearbook.⁵¹ From examining these two examples, UVA students appear to share different opinions on the use of alcohol. In addition, the young men even shared jokes in their yearbooks alluding to drinking outside of their academic life. This is seen when the men describe having to use the horizontal bar in their acrobatics class. stating that many men had fallen off the horizontal bar but not from “whiskey, gin, or beer.”⁵² These cartoons depict the competing positive or negative depictions of drinking culture and its place within Southern masculinity. However, one secret fraternity escalated the problem with drinking at UVA. The Hot

⁵¹ *Corks and Curls* 1900, 154.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 193.

Feet Society is another club that also participates in recreational drinking.⁵³ They even wrote in a petition for UVA President Alderman's inauguration, that they want UVA to be a place for their fraternity "to make their life all smiles and laughter" and to give them "lots of booze at night, with no effect the morning after."⁵⁴ However, the Y.M.C.A. also wrote a petition to Alderman disagreeing with the opinions of the Hot Feet Society. They even stated in their petition that they are "against these men" and suggest that the members should be expelled.⁵⁵ This debate reveals the conflict of two masculinities that defined the Southern man. Both groups disagreed with one another and showed resistance to or conforming to what the ideal male student was in this time on the issue of temperance.

The notorious Hot Feet Society continued to grow in popularity. They will be remembered in a college history book for participating in a prank and drinking problem that UVA will not forget. The club members conducted a series of pranks such as, ripping the heads off of taxidermic animals and snakes in Cabell Hall, and putting them behind a professor's desk. Or, on Easter, displaying tall stuffed animals on the lawn. One night, four unnamed members barged their way into a student's room, beat him up and fled the room with his beer stein.⁵⁶ The result of these actions while drinking led to a suspension of the club by President Alderman.

Shortly after, Alderman announced to the students that the Hot Feet Society and any other clubs that promote "disorder in the University, shall be forbidden."⁵⁷ The behavior of club

⁵³ See more examples in, *Corks and Curls 1905*, 153, *Corks and Curls 1906*, 171, *Corks and Curls 1907*, 150, and *Corks and Curls 1908*, 101.

⁵⁴ *Corks and Curls 1905*, 200.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁵⁶ Dabney, *Mr. Jefferson's University*, 45.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

members depict not only the disagreements on drinking, but the consequences they faced when accepting to drink or not. Alderman's decision reveals that the university leaders also struggled to create their ideal male students who could control themselves as proper Southern adult men should. UVA sources show conflicts over masculinity during the progressive era within higher education.

At VMI, clubs for men to join consisted of the Dramatic Club, which allowed men to be in plays often featuring white supremacist displays such as black face,⁵⁸ the Mandolin Club, which offered music performances, and the Press Club, which featured men writing daily newspapers for cadets to read.⁵⁹ However, just as UVA, VMI had the YMCA. Yearbook illustrations from *The Bomb* show a gendered struggle with drinking.



Figure 6 Y.M.C.A. illustration in *The Bomb*, 1913

Just like UVA, the VMI branch of the Y.M.C.A. continued to spread its message of anti-drinking activities in cartoons. As seen in 1913 illustration, the devils are standing next to what appear to be jugs of alcohol.⁶⁰ Interestingly, despite the VMI code of conduct, which states in Article IX that alcohol usage or intoxication will lead cadets in this era to be, “dismissed, or otherwise severely punished,”⁶¹ cadets still conducted alcoholic activities within their social

⁵⁸ *The Bomb* 1909, 178.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 179, 182, and 184.

⁶⁰ *The Bomb* 1913, 182.

⁶¹ *Regulations of the Virginia Military Institute, 1905*, (Lexington VA: Virginia Military Institute 1905), 17.

lives. The Y.M.C.A. cartoon also suggests the contentious drinking discourse was also present on VMI's campus in the early twentieth century. This group however perpetuated the need for young white military men to reject drinking culture as immoral.

In other entries from *The Bomb*, one can discover the men hint at still drinking and feature illustrations of alcohol. One that appears in 1908 shows an illustration of how much cadets enjoyed drinking.

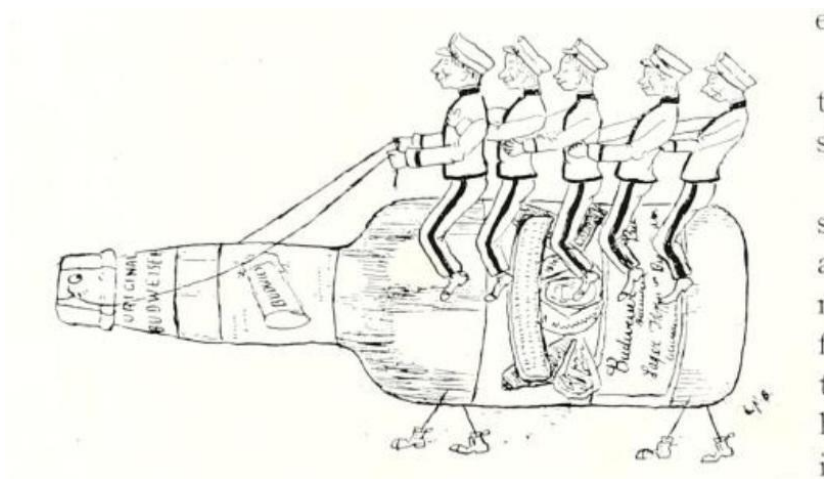


Figure 7 Cadets riding a Budweiser bottle. From *The Bomb*, 1908.

As seen in figure seven, drinking was again a white male cultural choice. Cadets could choose to engage with group drinking in opposition to the norms and standards of their institutions.⁶²

⁶² *The Bomb* 1908, 62.



Figure 8 Cartoon Cadets insulting the Y.M.C.A. as they drink. From *The Bomb*, 1908.

Once again, the Y.M.C.A, who also disagreed with drinking on this campus, makes an appearance in an entry in the yearbook. In the image above, readers can note that two cadets are drinking beer from steins as they encourage a Y.M.C.A. member to drink “typhoid water.” Publishing this image in the yearbook shows that cadets were not afraid to go to great distances to insult those who disagreed with their drinking life.⁶³ Just like at UVA, drinking is depicted at VMI as a shared gendered activity for Southern men. At both schools the young men find a way to drink and make it well known that they engage in these activities and even deride those who disagree.

“Pick On Someone Your Own Size!:)” Body Idolizing in Sports & Body Shaming in Social Life

Transitioning to sports, UVA and VMI shared many incredible athletic games for many generations. In the early 20th century, UVA remembers this era as the age of sports due to Dr. William Lambeth, remembered as the “father of athletics”⁶⁴ because of his desire to enhance

⁶³ *The Bomb* 1908, 65.

⁶⁴ Dabney, *Mr. Jefferson's University*, 42.

UVA's football, baseball, and track and field programs in 1901. However, in 1905-1906 the university was lacking in good academic performance during this time. This was discovered by Philip Bruce, who also reflects in a statement about poor academic performances from sports stating, "The mental achievements of a great university do not depend on athletics, and the quality of the degrees is not judged by football victories."⁶⁵ Bruce continues that the university urges their college white men to, "spare a little time from the present pursuit of athletics and social glory for the cultivation of higher ideals."⁶⁶ However, sports revealed, just like with drinking, how young men's own appeals to masculinity put them in opposition to what their institutions wanted. In this case, men reveal another countercultural masculinity of wanting to appear physically strong and excel at sports, even if their institutions decried it to focus on "higher ideals." Rather than examining sports for what they did for men, I seek to examine them from the students' own perspectives related to the male physique as it pertains to sports and their social lives. I suggest that they had other motivating factors to not only focus on their sports but compete with other white male students in meeting body ideals of being deemed fit or strong.

Men at UVA and VMI expressed ideas of masculine bodies in creative ways and similarly to what Michael Kimmel discusses on how at the turn of the twentieth century masculine physique symbolized success. This is because the Southern men believed physical strength reflected a strong male character. Moreover, "arms could make the man- or at any rate biceps triceps" could as well⁶⁷ in the early twentieth century. My examination of yearbooks from these two schools' found examples of acceptable bodies were commonly praised and featured but ones

⁶⁵ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, 232.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁶⁷ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 139. See additional examples from, Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits*, 312-314.

that did not meet the ideal male physique were heavily discouraged by their peers. It also builds off of Harrison Pope's idea use of the term "body dysmorphia" which is commonly implanted in young men's lives.⁶⁸ This term is crucial in men believing that they are not muscular enough and they adopt a new form of masculinity as defined in Pettegrew's *Brutes in Suits* called "threatened masculinity."⁶⁹ In this section, I seek to show how men at these schools were not only obsessed with sports, but instead they were obsessed with the male physiques that it produces. In their social lives these students were not always meeting the male physique ideal and they often shamed others that did not meet the male body of big biceps, triceps, and pecs. Thus, I show how men not only did not meet the muscular physique but, they often were bullied or seen as a threat to masculinity in the early twentieth century because of their appearance.



Figure 9 Picture of Football player Hobson. From *Corks and Curls*, 1900.

For example, a series of the *Corks and Curls* yearbook hyperbolizes the ideal male body that Kimmel and past scholars have discussed about males' obsessions with strong bodies. One

⁶⁸ Harrison Pope, Katharine A. Phillips, and Roberto Olivardia, *The Adonis Complex: The Secret Crisis of Male Body Obsession* (New York: Free Press, 2000), 430-444.

⁶⁹ Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits*, 316.

interesting example is Hobson who was a football player and is drawn in an exaggerated masculine way.⁷⁰ He is depicted by the artists having big pectoral muscles, biceps, shoulders, and glute muscles. Moreover, the image shows him as a great football player who also attracted many girls based on his physique.⁷¹ In the entry, comments are made about his chin and smile.⁷² What Hobson reveals is the desired male body type produced from athletics and how a college male should look.



Figure 10 Boykin from *Corks and Curls*, 1900.

Other men, however, were criticized for their bodies not meeting the standards. In this illustration of Boykin, who is described as “fat,” the students create an image in the minds of men of what an unacceptable body is to them.⁷³ Moreover, the students recall a moment when Boykin fell on the floor, and students danced around him and said, “do you want to be used for a

⁷⁰ *Corks and Curls* 1900, 109; See similar examples from *Corks and Curls* 1903, 155; *Corks and Curls* 1904, 23; *Corks and Curls* 1905, 228; *Corks and Curls* 1906, 200, 204; *Corks and Curls* 1909, 262.

⁷¹ *Corks and Curls* 1900, 109.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 109.

⁷³ *Corks and Curls* 1900, 110.

mat?”⁷⁴ These sorts of actions depict the struggle for male students to look and feel like ideal muscular men but are bombarded by opinions of how a man should be athletic, strong, and not overweight. It also reveals two forms of masculinity interacting. As previously stated, it reveals “threatened masculinity” where interacting with someone who is overweight was seen as a threat to manhood. These two contrasting images of Hobson and Boykin present exaggerated views on what young adolescent men should and should not be from the cultural values of the time.

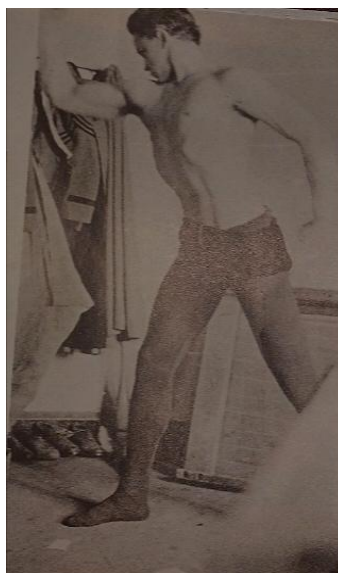


Figure 11 A cadet flexing in a photo 1907.

Transitioning to VMI, this school embraced students being involved in sports as well. As described by other students in their series of yearbooks, sports at VMI were an “important factor in collegiate instructions.”⁷⁵ And the institute itself was an “admirable system of physical culture.”⁷⁶ In terms of ideal bodies, men at VMI were described based on their academic proficiency more than their physical capability, unlike what was found at UVA. As seen in the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 110.

⁷⁵ *The Bomb 1900*, 93.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 93.

image above a cadet is flexing his bicep in 1907.⁷⁷ It shows that flexing in the mirror was an activity conducted by cadets in the early twentieth century and echoes what scholars like Kimmel have stated about obsessing over their bodies.⁷⁸ However, the men at this school were geared towards becoming muscular to fit in with the military soldier physique: big biceps, broad shoulders, and a lean body.

Similar to the treatment of UVA's Boykin, VMI cadets used the yearbooks to bully other men and regulate "threatened masculinity" to those who do not have their physique image. For example, Cadet R. B. Dunbar was bullied for his size and nicknamed "Fats" and "Balloon."⁷⁹ In addition, his weight was mocked by other cadets who said, "He has been unable to find scales that give his correct weight."⁸⁰ Lastly, they also mocked him during a cadet parade, where he is mentioned as falling. Students said he was unable to get up and that they were going to march around him referring to him as an "unsurmountable obstacle."⁸¹ Dunbar's example reveals similar rejecting of unfit, unhealthy male bodies and embracing of bullying behaviors as was seen as was seen at UVA, in particular when it comes to being overweight.

Another interesting example of physical-appearance-based discourse at VMI was the case of Joseph Dalton, who was also body-shamed but found a way to deal with his weight.⁸²

⁷⁷ Diane B. Jacob and Judith Moreland Arnold, *A Virginia Military Institute Album, 1839-1910: Aa Collection of Photographs and Manuscripts from the VMI Archives*, (Charlottesville VA: the University Press of Virginia, 1982), 89.

⁷⁸ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 86, 139.

⁷⁹ *The Bomb 1908*, 33.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸¹ *The Bomb 1908*, 23.

⁸² *The Bomb 1912*, , 28.

Although overweight he was deemed acceptable due to his ability to attract women by singing very well, and having an appetite “in proportion to his waist-line.”⁸³ This extraordinary example reveals that if a cadet were over the designated weight he may still be bullied for his weight but there is a slight chance they can find some acceptance as an eligible cadet if they can attract women, have unique hobbies, and/or eat appropriate meals. Dalton’s experience suggests evidence that male students may not be able to adapt to the male physique but depending on their selective talents they can possibly find some acceptance amongst other young men. Overall, Dalton is able to employ a form of compensatory masculinity allowing him to slightly receive his male peers’ respect despite not fitting ideal body standards.⁸⁴

Overall, the men at UVA and VMI showed no hesitation in idolizing strong men produced from their sports. If a student were overweight, he was certainly rejected as a student and shamed for how he appeared physically. However, at VMI if one student was overweight, he at least had the chance of redeeming himself by meeting the cadets male ideal identity if he was still attractive to girls, talented, and/or ate proportionate meals. Nonetheless, sports were more than just an atmosphere for students to face each other. It was their chance to model other men's bodies and challenge the male physique and define what is acceptable in a male student physically and what was not.

Conclusion

The outstanding history of the students from 1900-1915 shows the ideals of the time for white masculinity as it was institutionally upheld, but also practiced in rebellious ways by the

⁸³ Ibid., 28.

⁸⁴ James D. Babl, "Compensatory Masculine Rresponding as a Function of Sex Role," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 47, no. 2 (1979), 252.

students. From various sources we saw students expressing how they felt about their academics, faculty expectations, and fraternities' bad academic performances. Clubs revealed chances for men to compete against one another in deeply conflicted matters on their behaviors on pro- or anti-drinking from the YMCA and OFC advertisements, and pranks by the Hot Feet Society club at UVA. As for VMI, they too were conflicted with the drinking matters, and both embraced and discouraged drinking activities just as UVA did. As seen in yearbook entries mocking the YMCA, which revealed two opposing opinions on campus drinking. Transitioning to their sports cultures, students at both institutions demonstrated male physique idolization, in which they compared and shamed bodies for their physiques.

Chapter 2: The Rise of Southern Womanhood and Education in the Early Twentieth Century

During the 19th and into the 20th century, Southern policy makers believed that women were not intelligent enough to learn alongside men, but they did believe that they should have their own source of education. This view resulted in the creation of Normal and Industrial Schools that were designed to train white women to be future teachers and contribute to solving the South's economic labor problems. In Virginia, such schools grew after the state's constitution of 1869,⁸⁵ which required public education for women as well as men.

Southern Femininity

Before the creation of Normal and Industrial Schools, the ideals of Southern womanhood had gone through many reinterpretations. The 19th-century antebellum lady was defined by her caretaking roles, such as cooking, cleaning, or taking care of children. They were also societally expected to be submissive to men and not allowed to even speak out against them. At the turn of the 20th century Southern women also adopted the ideal of the Gibson girl, which allowed them to step out of the antebellum or pedestal lady, and do more activities outside of their gender roles such as, working for wage or, competing in sports. Wearing a swan bill corset, keeping hair pinned high, and wearing waterfall-shaped curls, the Gibson girl also redefined feminine beauty

⁸⁵ David Gold and Catherine I. Hobbs, *Educating the New Southern Woman* (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press 2014), 6; Lynn D. Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Culture and Women's Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," *American Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1987), 211-30.

standards for the time.⁸⁶ The Gibson girl also promoted independence and the ideal mating partner for men and often advocated that women could enter into workplaces.⁸⁷

Previous scholarship however has defined similarities and changes in the construction of Southern womanhood from the 19th-century antebellum lady to the 20th-century new woman. Amy Thompson McCandless's *The Past in the Present* defines Southern women in terms of "twoness," which meant that Southern women were "simultaneously American and Southern, Southern and female." Southern women, as her title indicates, were constantly living in the past and present at the same time.⁸⁸ Being Southern women in this era required them to embrace Southern Lost Cause narratives, be submissive to men and view them as their leaders and accept that they are viewed as weak and fragile and need a man's assistance. Rebecca Montgomery's *Celeste Parrish and Educational Reform in the Progressive Era South* illustrates Southern womanhood changing between the Civil War and World War I. Montgomery, like McCandless, argues that the effects of Reconstruction forced white women to take on professional roles as educators. Montgomery uses Celeste Parish, the daughter of a plantation owner who became a teacher at a women's college, as her main focus. Parish is revealed to be a participant in Southern racism and gender discrimination. However, in the later chapters, Montgomery shows how Parish began to challenge her male colleague's authority since she was an educated white woman. Despite her own expertise, white men still viewed her as inferior to them. In other

⁸⁶ Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes to College," 211-30.

⁸⁷ Allan Mazur, "U.S. trends in feminine beauty and over-adaptation," (*Journal of Sex Research* 1986), 287-288.

⁸⁸ Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth-Century American South*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 17.

words, this text reveals the social hierarchy of Southern women who were educated, but still seen as inferior and faced gender discrimination.⁸⁹

Christine Ardalan and Marjorie J. Spruill's chapter "Florida State Health Nurses" in Giselle Robert's and Melissa Walker's *Southern Women in the Progressive Era* contributes discoveries of race and gender contrast by Southern women as well. By analyzing diaries and letters written during the Progressive era, they reveal that nursing students adopted emerging scientific ideas of Southern ideals of progressivism, which led to an increase in white women idealizing racist Lost Cause narratives and applying them in their daily college life. The authors believe these opportunities to develop these pseudo scientific racist ideas were caused within their clubs and education. For example, Ardalan and Spruill discovered a Florida nurse who used racist scientific methods to explain to white rural communities in the South that they were suffering from diseases and poverty because of African Americans.⁹⁰ This book argues that white women adopted these racial Lost Cause narratives but some nurses also "sought to redefine their role as workers and citizens of the American South."⁹¹

David Gold's and Catherine Hobbs *Educating the New Southern Woman* examines archival material from eight universities that were once women's schools. The authors show how Northern white women compared to Southern white women academically, by course requirement differences; economically, by examining jobs after college; and civically, by charting

⁸⁹ Rebecca S. Montgomery, *Celeste Parrish and Educational Reform in the Progressive-Era South*, (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2021), 16.

⁹⁰ Christine Ardalan and Marjorie J. Spruill, "Florida's First State Health Nurses (1914–1916): Reporting on a Service for Health." In *Southern Women in the Progressive Era: A Reader*, edited by Giselle Roberts and Melissa Walker (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019), 180–208.

⁹¹ Giselle Roberts, and Melissa Walker, "Introduction," *Southern Women in the Progressive Era: A Reader* (University of South Carolina Press, 2019.), 6.

engagement in social politics, all of which the text describes as women becoming “emancipated women” by practicing “non-dependence.”⁹² College experiences among other Southern adolescent women caused a shift in Southern womanhood to challenge past Southern ideals of being submissive to white men and empowered many female students to use their education as a way to change their lives.

Normal and Industrial Schools

Normal Schools, on the inside, served as more than just schools for future professional workers in the 20th century because, hidden within these institutions, white women were controlled by men with strict boundaries tied to Christian ideologies, racism towards African Americans, and sexist beliefs that they were less strong and intelligent than men. These protocols stemmed from the “preoccupation with antebellum conceptions of gender, race, and class,”⁹³ which led to young women being taught how to be successful housekeepers and homemakers. As well as teachers and dieticians.⁹⁴ In other words, they were to eventually become the ideal housewives for the Southern man. In addition, as Amy McCandless states, Southern women are viewed as the “lady on the pedestal” meaning even college educated white Southern women still had to be dependent on men.⁹⁵ Another factor was that parents in the 20th century had shared the same views on seeing women’s schools as a safe place to keep daughters from the “corruption of

⁹² Gold and Hobbes, *Educating the New Southern Woman*, 17.

⁹³ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 13.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

the outside world and where they could acquire the grace of being a ‘lady.’⁹⁶ Therefore, these schools ultimate goal was to reinforce the social hierarchy.⁹⁷

The State Normal and Industrial schools in Virginia opened their doors to women in 1884 with Farmville State Normal and Industrial School, followed by Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial School (HSNIS) in 1909, Radford State Normal and Industrial School in 1910, and Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School (FSNIS) in 1911, which suffered a delayed opening.⁹⁸ Harrisonburg, upon its opening in September 1909, featured 150 enrolled students while Fredericksburg featured 110 enrolled students.⁹⁹ The numbers grew steadily because many young women wanted the opportunities these schools provided.

Admission and Curriculum at the Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial Schools

The admission requirements at HSNIS required students to be at least 15 years of age and have completed seventh grade upon applying. Upon entry to these Normal Schools, students had to attend four years of high school academics and complete two years of post-high school work, which consisted of seven studies to choose from: Regular Normal studies that prepared students to teach in Virginia public schools, lasting from three to six years; Training Class Certificate Courses, which educated students on teaching in rural schools for one year followed by gaining

⁹⁶ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 12.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁹⁸ The school was delayed because of the decision on where to begin construction for the campus. Read more in this article: “Edward H. Russell (1908 -1919).” Available at <https://www.umw.edu/about/our-history/past-presidents/edward-h-russell/>; and *Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School Bulletin 1911*, (Fredericksburg Virginia), 9.

⁹⁹ Sean Crowley, “James Madison University, 1908–1959: An Annotated Historical Timeline” (2006), Special Collections, James Madison University, 22; Edward Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College; 1908-1972* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1974), 38.

their teaching licenses; Professional Courses, which were designed for students to take two years and gain a four-year diploma sooner; Household Art Courses, which consisted of education in teaching; Domestic Sciences, which instructed women on cooking, sewing, and homemaking; Manual Art Courses, which were designed to educate women in drawing and manual training in two years; Rural Arts Courses, which featured courses in agriculture, gardening, and nature studies for two years; and lastly a Kindergarten Course, which prepared students to teach Kindergarten students. All these courses were composed of twelve departments in: Education, English and Literature, Foreign Languages, Geography, Natural Science, Physical Education, and Rural Art, with a total of 111 distinct classes offered.¹⁰⁰

FSNIS Curriculum required applicants to also be 15 years of age or older and to have completed seventh grade.¹⁰¹ They also offered the Regular Courses, which was a four-year program that consisted of “Arithmetic, Geography, English, Grammar, United States History, Virginia History, Physiology, and Hygiene.”¹⁰² The next course offered was the Professional Course, which was a two-year program consisting “largely of methodology”¹⁰³ in arithmetic, reading, geography, drawing, child psychology, physical education, and nature studies.¹⁰⁴ The

¹⁰⁰ *The Normal Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (Harrisonburg, VA: Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial School for Women, 1909), 14, 42-49, 59-92; *Board of Trustees Minutes 1908-1914*, 22; “Course of Study Adopted by Board,” *Harrisonburg Daily News*, 1908, 9; *Raymond C. Dingleline, Jr. Papers, 1950-1983*, 1950, 24-28, 51.

¹⁰¹ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 41; *Bulletin of the State Normal School Fredericksburg Virginia, 1911-1912*, (Fredericksburg, VA: Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School for Women), 21.

¹⁰² Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 42; *Bulletin of the State Normal School Fredericksburg Virginia, 1911-1912*, 19.

¹⁰³ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 43.

¹⁰⁴ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 41. & *Bulletin of the State Normal School Fredericksburg Virginia, 1911-1912*, 43.

last course offered was the Rural Arts course, which was not featured until the 1915-1916 school session and featured classes in nature studies, elementary agriculture, and school gardening.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, Fredericksburg Normal School President Edward H. Russell defines how a woman at this school should be by stating not only that they should be superb and intelligent and “leaders of thought in communities in which they make their home.”¹⁰⁶ Though this may sound promising of women becoming leaders, they were still under the control of men and had to stay obedient and dependent on them. In addition, Russell also stated students must provide their own selfcare upon their own “initiative, and are expected to think and act for themselves, and they are allowed as much liberty of life in the school as is consistent with their work and the inherent idea of higher living.”¹⁰⁷ To the extent of what Russell states, women were given freedoms with social activities and designated times that they were responsible to follow. Thus, they still are following the obedient portion of Southern womanhood. Students were also expected to be self disciplined and were encouraged to “practice the virtue of self-control,”¹⁰⁸ which is specifically referencing that no system of “petty espionage is exercised over the student body.”¹⁰⁹

Throughout this second chapter, I will demonstrate how young white women learned and performed Southern womanhood--both in its hegemonic ideal of subservience and being “lady-like” to become ideal housewives or teachers, and also the rare moments where Southern women

¹⁰⁵ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 43.

¹⁰⁶ *Bulletin of the State Normal School Fredericksburg Virginia, June 1911* (Fredericksburg, VA: Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School for Women, 1911),11.

¹⁰⁷ *First Annual Catalogue of the State Normal and Industrial School for Women, 1912* (Fredericksburg, VA: Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School for Women, 1912), 24.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*,24.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

slowly began challenging their sociocultural gender roles that Southern men controlled. Specifically, I will examine student-written primary sources from HSNIS and FSNIS. In this chapter, I present student comments about their educational experience in academics both related to pressure to adhere to “lady-like” Southern Womanhood but also groundbreaking activities in their time. One of these activities was hiking clubs where women could leave the campus and escape into nature. The second groundbreaking activity was the Rifle Club at FSNIS where women argued with men about being proud to shoot guns and encouraged other women to join. This club would participated in sports competition, challenging notions of physical inferiority or aversion to competition.

Overall, this chapter presents analysis on the identities of these female students from traditional perspectives, activities that were considered normal or ideal for white women of the time, to extraordinary stepped outside the school's control and sociocultural gender obligations.

“Scribble, Scribble, Little Pen:” The Student Academic Experience at Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg State Normal Schools

Scribble, Scribble, little pen; Take down notes from eight till ten. Arnold, Earhart, Thorndike, - three -, Dozens more before we're free. If our notes be incomplete, Threatening faces we shall meet; So we'll stay within our den, - Scribble, scribble, little pen¹¹⁰

These were the words of an anonymous student capturing her rigorous academic experience at FSNIS.¹¹¹ Students arriving at both HSNIS and FSNIS in 1911-1916 had many goals and ambitions to achieve within their brick walls. Some students thought settling down with a man was the goal, such as Alice Chilton, a student at FSNIS from Lancaster, Virginia.

¹¹⁰ *The Battlefield* 1914, 122.

¹¹¹ *The Battlefield* 1914, 122; Inga H. Gudmundsson. “Bringing the Norm to the ‘Burgs: Gender and Design at Two Virginia Normal Schools 1908-1928,” (Honor’s thesis, James Madison University, 2010), 41.

Chilton enrolled in 1911 with a vision that she would only teach until she was older and “some knight will come urging his claim.”¹¹² This was also the case for 1911 student, Maude Wescott, at HSNIS, who stated “I wouldn’t be a teacher, I’m going to have a preacher who’ll care for me always.”¹¹³ Or, reflecting on their academic journey, such as the class of 1914 Fredericksburg students remark on their pain of studies as their “life histories, written in tears.”¹¹⁴ Or HSNIS 1914 students reflecting upon realistic grades stating, “How proud were we to get a B or C on Practice Teaching for few and far between were those who won A.”¹¹⁵ The students at both schools took their academic studies seriously and some students expressed frustration with faculty expectations. They also expressed a desire to be saved from their studying and to work and settle down and be married, reflecting how many still held the expectation of finding a husband and being a dependent woman that aligns with the “pedestal lady” antebellum norms.

Mr. Russell is a great man; Mr. Russell is a pearl; Mr. Russell rules our school, And is loved by every girl! We go to Mr. Russell When home we want to go; He tells us all to hustle; And you bet that we’re not slow. We even ask Mr. Russell If we may have a beau, For everything is alright If Mr. Russell says so.¹¹⁶

As reflected in this poem, students at this school accepted men’s authority over their lives.

However, despite the previous “scribble, scribble” poem suggesting that they rejected the “grind” at school, women at this school still show appreciation towards their president.

Mr. Chandler, who teaches the subject, “our schools,” Uses no lesson plans nor definite rules. Then why should, in “Primary Methods,” Miss Strong Make “Lesson Plans, Lesson plans” her

¹¹² *The Battlefield*, 1914, 20.

¹¹³ *The Schoolma’am* (Harrisonburg VA: Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial School for Women, 1911.), 38.

¹¹⁴ *The Battlefield*, 1914, 32.

¹¹⁵ *The Schoolma’am*, 1914, , 81.

¹¹⁶ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 65; *The Battlefield 1914*, 124.

great other song?... Now students tell me truly each one of you, In just such mix what are we to do?¹¹⁷

However, not all of the students reflected a positive outlook on their teachers, some shared confusion as the anonymous entry in the *Battlefield* yearbook in 1914 reveals.¹¹⁸ Just like the men, some women succeeded in achieving good academic performances while others did not, and some did not agree with the teaching methods. The female students let these attitudes be known in their public communication with faculty or administration of their schools.

As for HSNIS students, they shared positive remarks of their president in a similar manner to the students of Fredericksburg. One example is from an anonymous entry in the *Schoolma'am* yearbook of 1913 that described encounters President Burruss. It stated:

This has been a dark and rainy day, but we have been far from gloomy. In chapel this morning, Mr. Burruss invited us to go to see the Cambridge Players tonight as his guests, the wherewithal to come from a mysterious little box in a dark corner of the safe. We went and thoroughly enjoyed it, even the walk in the rain.¹¹⁹

Even when a student had acted out of student conduct, Burruss and the faculty were forgiving. During the first session, a student was caught stealing money from a roommate. Burruss and the faculty could have easily expelled the student. Instead, they “decided to keep her in school and, with the ‘cooperation of the whole school family,’ help her overcome her weakness.”¹²⁰ Overall, students at both schools had positive experiences and second chances with their faculty. Students appear to have a mixed view of positive and negative outlook on their academics, faculty, and presidents.

¹¹⁷ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 65; *The Battlefield 1914*, 124.

¹¹⁸ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 65; *The Battlefield 1914*, 124.

¹¹⁹ *The Schoolma'am 1913*, 122.

¹²⁰ Dingleline, *Madison College* 43.

“We Make No Apology for the Existence of our Club:” Clubs at Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial Schools

Both schools provided extracurricular activities such as clubs and sports. The ways women in these schools attached or detached themselves from Southern womanhood is often revealed from their engagement with extracurriculars. Clubs revealed that young adolescent women could gather, dress, and socialize in certain ways while maintaining both Southern Womanhood and also expressing womanhood that is outside of the traditional “pedestal lady” that McCandless discusses.

An example of a traditional Southern womanhood that obeyed these gendered rules is Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg’s chapters of the Young Women Christian Association. (Y.W.C.A.) This was the most active club and certainly had the greatest influence on each campus.¹²¹ The Y.W.C.A. offered many events deemed to fit young women's interests. As expressed in the *Battlefield* yearbook entry of 1915, “the Y. W. C. A. members enjoyed delightful parties, well planned by the Social Committee.”¹²² Some of these events included a bazaar for students, movies, parties and social events.¹²³

Many Y.W.C.A. events also involved cultural performances. The Fredericksburg Y.W.C.A. hosted a party in 1913 that mentions women in this club advertising for readers to come to see a beautiful white woman dressed in Japanese fashion.¹²⁴ Young white women

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹²² *The Battlefield 1915*, 52.

¹²³ The Bazaar example is located in the *Schoolma'am 1911*, 16; see also, *Schoolma'am*, 1913, 24. The movie example is in the *Sschoolma'am*, 1912, 21.

¹²⁴ *The Battlefield, 1913*, 108.

commonly dressed in costumes from different cultures during this time.¹²⁵ This behavior echoes Roberts and Walker's point that white women clubs adopted different gender ideals from other cultures while maintaining their "planter heritage."¹²⁶ They suggest that women were engaging in these activities but still wearing outfits that were long dresses that were not above their knees and covered their legs. Similarly, David C. Oh argues that whites in the twentieth century used Japanese femininity to "solidify their identities."¹²⁷ However, it also suggests evidence of white women perhaps stepping outside of their rigid Progressive era dress codes and sharing their freedom of doing so within the solitary of this club performance. In the same party example, the Y.W.C.A. tells a story of converting a Japanese and Indian woman to Christianity, which might suggest that this performance is still displaying Southern white womanhood by appropriating elements of Asian dress while still enforcing a white Christian normativity.¹²⁸ This suggests that a Christian element had to be present in the club's planned activities, even those involving other cultures. These appropriative costumes reflect McCandless' concept of "twoness" in that the women are being both conventionally Southern and engaging in something unconventional for white women. Importantly, the exoticization and objectification of these costumes is tied to the white supremacy of the time, which makes it deemed as appropriate to perform by their faculty.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Giselle and Walker, *Southern Women in the Progressive Era*, 211; Stephen C. Poulson, *Racism on Campus: A Visual History of Prominent Virginia Colleges and Howard University* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2022), 5.

¹²⁶ Giselle and Walker, *Southern Women in the Progressive Era*, 5.

¹²⁷ David C. Oh. "Turning Japanese: Deconstructive Criticism of White Women, the Western Imagination, and Popular Music," *Communication, Culture & Critique* 10, no. 2 (2017), 365–81.

¹²⁸ *The Battlefield, 1914*, 126.

¹²⁹ McCandless, *The Past and Present*, 17.

A similar use of white women's appropriation of different cultures is seen in the use of Native Americans in Campfire Clubs. These clubs were designed for women to do outdoor activities, go on hikes or build fires, and camp away from their institutions. Camping in nature encouraged Progressive Era ideas about health, and physical fitness and strength for women and regulate the Gibson girl physical ideal. The Fredericksburg campus consisted of four campfire groups: The Battleground, the Shawondasee, the Wilderness, the Mudjekewis, and the Ishkoodah.¹³⁰ Besides these native tribes the women in these clubs tried to perform tasks that earned them native-inspired honor beads, which symbolized the ideals that they have been taught. The clubs had the stated goal of "forming habits making for health and vigor, and... giving the girls the opportunity for co-operation, comradeship, and self-government."¹³¹ In order to gain these beads, women had to achieve "accomplishments in health craft, home craft, nature lore, camp craft, hand craft, business and patriotism."¹³² The club also, promoted yet another opportunity to dress outside of the norms by women being able to wear Native American clothing. However, these examples are similar to what Stephen Poulson argues about white men and women who misused Native American cultures at other Virginia colleges.¹³³ The ability however, to also add a Christian element inside of their clubs such as, prayers might suggest that this is what made it acceptable to faculty since they were still following Southern womanhood ideals of being Christian ideals, and still gaining skills appropriate for homemaking and within a rigid rules system. In contrast to the antebellum lady, this club provided women the chance to

¹³⁰ *The Bulletin of the State Normal School, 1915, 58.*

¹³¹ *The Battlefield, 1914, 54.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Poulson, *Racism on Campus, 5.*

leave campus and go on hikes and have more freedom. In addition hiking is representing a new emphasis for woman in this era of being physically strong and not weak.

This club also captures students concerns about their futures as seen in FSNIS yearbook from 1916, Janie Wright, a campfire member and student, reflected on an interesting experience at her last campfire session stating:

In One night as I sat by [the] fire, some of their faces were happy, thinking of days that were past, Others looked troubled and sad — My thoughts went back to the Normal For as to the future they knew not and the girls as I saw them last. Whether 'twould be good or bad.¹³⁴

This entry revealed that some women students were showing a sense of worry after finishing their semester and wondering what the future held for them.

Harrisonburg also had two campfire clubs called the Massanutten Campfire Club¹³⁵ (founded in 1913.) and the Shenandoah Campfire Club¹³⁶ (founded in 1915.) Both clubs adopted Native American clothing and both were indigenous place names in their titles. Shenandoah is a North American word and a place.¹³⁷ The HSNIS group did not leave any stories such as Janie Wright's, but her stories can help us understand that, inside and outside of these clubs, some members may have been afraid of what the future holds and navigating their places and identities within Southern hierarchies.

Lastly, the rifle club at FSNIS also illustrated white southern women's changing identity construction. This club made its appearance in 1913 as a club for women who desired to learn how to shoot firearms. The rifle club was unique as it was not seen anywhere else in other

¹³⁴ *The Battlefield 1916*, 38

¹³⁵ *The Schoolma'am, 1913*, 88-89.

¹³⁶ *The Schoolma'am, 1915*, , 108.

¹³⁷ *The Schoolma'am, 1913*, 88.

normal schools including Harrisonburg. The club received criticism from both other women and men who were concerned about women asserting their right to the Second Amendment by training with firearms. The club acknowledged their negative feedback and instead chose to challenge and bravely call out those who criticized their club. Stating, “Some ignorant girls and more ignorant boys may taunt us for handling firearms. They are just jealous because they are too timid or too unsteady to shoot.”¹³⁸ The women in this club were proud about what they learned about guns and how it gave them protection that will prove handy “someday!”¹³⁹ They also mention that their “art is as womanly as it is manly.”¹⁴⁰ This was also reflected as one of the most “active organizations on the campus.”¹⁴¹ Eric Mogren’s “Miss Billie’s Deer” argued that handling a rifle was deemed an activity controlled and only for men.¹⁴² Rifles were associated with hunting and warfare, two masculine prerogatives. The rifle club revealed the changing gender norms underway at this school. By holding themselves stronger by showing no fear to express their skills with rifles to male critics, club members expressed their new identities.

“Root Little Pig, or Die:” Sports and the “Unladylike”

Sports also showed advancement in white women’s gender cultural identity. Just as the Progressive era suggested its society to exercise, women students were seen adjusting to this well. For example, in a bulletin post in 1915 at Fredericksburg stating, “Walking and other forms of outdoor exercise are also popular with many students. Strong efforts are made to interest every

¹³⁸ *The Battlefield, 1913*, 91.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

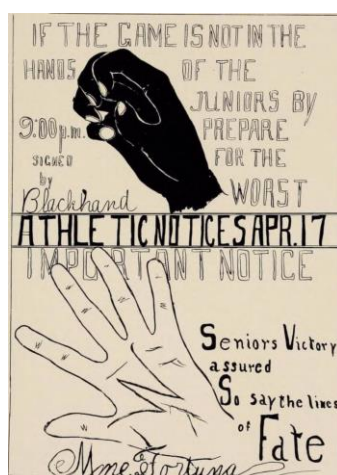
¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 63.

¹⁴² Eric Mogren, “Miss Billie’s Deer: Women in Bow Hunting Journals, 1920-1960,” *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 2 (2013), 231.

student in some form of out-of-door exercise, and every incentive is provided to insure systematic and sufficient exercise on the part of every student.”¹⁴³ Though this may seem controlling in itself, the women at both schools were able to interact with their classmates and create their own environment. Besides escaping their “present academic coursework”,¹⁴⁴ sports showed men in this era women were capable of strenuous physical activities.

The antebellum lady had been seen as incapable of competitive, aggressive behavior, as McCandless mentions.¹⁴⁵ By 1910, sports presented a platform to do reform roles outside of the gendered barriers for women. On campus, women were doing things that were considered masculine. This can be seen in the violent tone of language and depictions in visual sports representations or mottos. For example, the Harrisonburg Tennis Club in 1913 featured a motto that says, “root little pig, or die,”¹⁴⁶ which suggests that women were unafraid to use violent terminology to clarify their motto.



¹⁴³ *The Bulletin of the State Normal School, 1915, 28.*

¹⁴⁴ Gudmundsson, 47.

¹⁴⁵ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 146-147.

¹⁴⁶ *The Schoolma'am, 1913, , 109.*

Figure 12 Senior and Junior basketball game advertisement 1915.

Another way women were showing unfeminine attitudes was the serious competitiveness between juniors and seniors as seen in the advertisement above. The competitiveness in HSNIS was specifically strong and the women were not afraid to express themselves in an unladylike manner. The juniors, who were depicted as the Black Hand, can be seen in the image threatening the senior opponents saying that the seniors shall “prepare for the worst.”¹⁴⁷ As for the other hand, it is surrounded by text stating that the seniors will be victorious. Thanks to “fortuna“, the Roman goddess. It is important to note in a student example like these that most academic officials could have seen this as unladylike and may have frowned upon it from the perspective of conducting a well behaved game. However, the students depicted a different side that they want to show competitiveness even if it is seen by Progressive era standards as unladylike. However, faculty appeared to have supported this behavior even remarking physical activities as, “not the most prominent feature of a normal school” but they “have not forgotten that joyous exercise for the body is a necessary accompaniment to the most successful education of the mind.” In addition, the Harrisonburg faculty even provided incredible support to women doing physical activities so much that they even engaged with students in some of the activities such as basketball, allowing them to be competitive at this school and even compete against male faculty.¹⁴⁸

As for Fredericksburg's depiction of competitive behavior, sources do not reveal as much engagement as Harrisonburg does.

¹⁴⁷ *The Schoolma'am, 1915*, 139.

¹⁴⁸ *The Schoolma'am, 1911.*, 95.



Figure 13 Sports illustration in *the Battlefield*, 1921.

However, one cartoon, shown in figure thirteen, can be referenced in the future context of 1920, it being the only Fredericksburg depiction of competition and aggression. It shows FSNS teams standing victoriously over their exhausted opponents.¹⁴⁹ It describe the Fredericksburg team as the “one of the best girls’ basketball teams in the state.”¹⁵⁰

Sports served in another way for a new feminine identity, which is how it impacted the way society viewed the female body. For example, in the early twentieth century, Physical Education served as a way for girls to engage in safe physical activities, and by the mid twentieth century, professional physicians expressed women’s emotions of weariness of physical activities, posing a threat to the physical and mental breakdown of femininity.¹⁵¹ Thus, feelings of disapproval of women competing in sports persisted. However, it is expressed in the secondary literature that some women's colleges still encouraged sports with point systems for physical activities. For example, Spelman College provided black women students with a varsity letter as

¹⁴⁹ *The Battlefield*, 1914, 106.

¹⁵⁰ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 548.

¹⁵¹ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 146-147; Linda Gage Roth, “Are Sports Harmful to women?” *Forum* 81 (May 1929), 315.

an award on a 500-point system: “500 points won a letter; 250 points a numeral. Hikers were awarded 50 points; basketball and soccer players, 5 points; archery, baseball, and tennis participants, 3 points and volleyball, officiating, 2 points.”¹⁵² Points, needless to say promoted competition for women.

Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg Normal and Industrial Schools also used a point system. For FNIS, an example can be seen in the *Battlefield* yearbook from 1914 in the athletic association section.¹⁵³ In this section, students featured a field day competing for a trophy cup in many athletic activities such as basketball, tennis, swimming, and target shooting.¹⁵⁴ In addition, another event, called the athletic badge event, provided a chance for adolescent women to meet professional connections such as Mr. T.S. Settle, who was a State Supervisor of Rural Schools. Mr. Settle visited this school, “in behalf of the Athletic Badge Contest for Virginia school girls. This visit resulted in many of the students participating in this contest, under the training of Miss Graves.”¹⁵⁵ This visit indicated competition was encouraged at FSNIS and provided women not only a chance to compete amongst themselves but also additional details of meeting professionals in their desired fields they want to work in.

As for Harrisonburg women, they also competed for trophies in tennis tournaments, marathons, jumping events, and hockey.¹⁵⁶ Although HSNIS did not have as many sporting event options as FSNIS, both schools show examples of these award systems being implemented. This

¹⁵² McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 147-148.

¹⁵³ *The Battlefield, 1914*, 54-55.

¹⁵⁴ Read more on additional sports activities listed in *The Battlefield, 1914*, 55.

¹⁵⁵ *The Battlefield, 1914*, 56.

¹⁵⁶ *The Schoolma'am*, 1911, 95; see also, *The Schoolma'am*, 1912, 96., *The Schoolma'am*, 1913 117., *The Schoolma'am*, 1914, 139., and *The Schoolma'am*, 1916, 140.

is because Normal Schools were also making sports a part of the college women's identity. Therefore, secondary literature should mention these two schools as examples of Southern schools embracing competition despite the criticism of professional physicians who suggested women should not exercise at all due to it being unfeminine. These institutions supported women's sports as a component of a well-rounded southern education, which also allowed students to break free slightly of gendered expectations.

Body Image

As attitudes toward exercising in the progressive era changed, so did the female students own opinions on women's bodies. Many examples of these new ideas can be found in both schools. From HSNIS School Milledge Moffett, a student from the class of 1911, made a yearbook statement saying that she was, “resolved to grow fat and look young till forty.”¹⁵⁷ This statement seems to imply that gaining weight is fine. Her view undermines the male-patriarchal vision of women needing to maintain a fit female body.¹⁵⁸ Women tended to associate the progressive era's positive body imagery by often complimenting the slim and tall students at each school. A couple of examples of this can be seen from Fannie Scates, a student also from 1911, and others labeled in HSNIS yearbooks as “Tall and slim.”¹⁵⁹ Lucile Rawlings from FSNIS, was also praised for being, “A daughter of the gods; Divinely tall, and most divinely fair.”¹⁶⁰ In this century, women were expected to be athletic and slender like The Gibson girl in order to be seen as beautiful for a man, and many had internalized those beauty standards in their

¹⁵⁷ *The Schoolma'am, 1911*, 33.

¹⁵⁸ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 146-147; Roth, 315.

¹⁵⁹ *The Schoolma'am, 1911*, 36.

¹⁶⁰ *The Battlefield 1915*, 23.

own communication. These examples provide readers with a unique understanding of how women identify physically within this era.

Conclusion

The State Normal Schools of Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg overall gave early twentieth-century women an opportunity to explore new identities through mostly traditional yet some radical ways. Through the usage of interacting with their campus through clubs and sports, provided endless examples of exploration into different cultures' clothing such as white women wearing Japanese and Native Clothing in the Y.W.C.A. and Campfire Clubs, the Rifle Club advocating their second amendment rights despite being criticized by men mocking them. Or sports where women did use violent language and did things that can be considered unladylike and engaging with body types and beauty standards in their communication.

These women as a whole challenged the traditional white Southern female identity. They certainly made “no apology for the existence”¹⁶¹ of their clubs, sports, or social behaviors. It appears that the student life at HSNIS and FSNIS was not as normal as it may seem. Despite the president’s and faculty’s rules to enforce rules of being a woman and academics on campus, students made their own ideas and interests through their clubs to promote themselves in ways inside or outside of Southern womanhood. Showing then that sociocultural and institutional guidelines of how a woman should act were not always followed by all women. Although these students were still upper middle-class women who adhered to many racialized and societal expectations of the time, these examples show some ways they explored their identities while taking on the available educational opportunity of the time.

¹⁶¹ *The Battlefield, 1913, 93.*

Chapter 3: The Rise of Wartime Nationalism in Four Virginia Institutions in 1917-1918

From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to Military Establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army... We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms.¹⁶²

Young people in the early 1900s faced a complex culture with the onset of World War I. Woodrow Wilson's address to Congress in 1914 had caused many spurts of past concerns in Progressive Era citizens. During this era, the Woodrow Wilson administration once swore to never get the US involved in the Great War. However, the administration was faced with challenges that diminished the support of isolationist policies. The sinking of the Lusitania both sparked an uproar in US citizens wanting to avenge their 128 fallen Americans and raised higher concerns about future German attacks. The final event that led to US intervention in the war was the Zimmerman Telegram, making it clear the US had to abandon their ideas of staying neutral and fight against the Triple Alliance by siding with the Allied Forces.

One particularly strong influence on the minds of Americans at this time was propagandist George Edward Creel, head of the Committee on Public Information (CPI) also known as the Creel Committee. The Creel Committee used propaganda to change the minds of isolationist Americans to support the war efforts. As a result, the war changed what it meant to be a "true American." Men and women faced societal pressure to contribute to the war effort by taking on jobs or donating money, and men were challenged to enlist to defend their home and eliminate US enemies abroad.

¹⁶² Woodrow Wilson, "State of the Union Address, 1914, s *American History from Revolution to Reconstruction and Beyond*, University of Groningen, Last modified August 12, 2012, <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/woodrow-wilson/state-of-the-union-1914.php> [Accessed May 13, 2023.]

Previous scholarship on World War I has featured plentiful discussions on burgeoning US nationalism. Christopher Capozzola's *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* provides an excellent political history on strategies used by the government to create citizen support toward the war efforts that gave the federal government more power in the early twentieth century. He argues that voluntary associations such as churches, school clubs, and unions "sometimes acted as the state." These volunteer associations run their local state as federal institutions during World War I. These voluntary associations grew so popular that drafting soldiers, controlling women's labor, and protecting the U.S. home front were all administered by local communities.¹⁶³

Celia Kingsbury's *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front* focuses on the home front contributions from both women and children through their creations of propagandic advertisements and music.¹⁶⁴ Jennifer Wingate's *Sculpting Doughboys: Memory, Gender, and Taste in America's World War I Memorials* examines the memorialization of U.S. soldiers in World War I. The author argues that these monuments of soldiers were meant to be recognized by the American public and were popular at the time but have become forgotten.¹⁶⁵ Wingate reveals the popular desire of creating these statues was due to men wanting to acknowledge what they went through and even share war stories.¹⁶⁶ These examples illustrate the

¹⁶³ Christopher Capozzola and Joseph Nicodemus, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7.

¹⁶⁴ Celia Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 26.

¹⁶⁵ Jennifer Wingate, *Sculpting Doughboys: Memory, Gender, and Taste in America's World War I Memorials*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 5.

¹⁶⁶ Wingate, *Sculpting Doughboys*, 142.

ways that nationalism began to become an intrinsic part of American life and identity in this time period.

Students in colleges and normal schools also had to face identity construction and their uncertain futures in relation to this patriotic home front culture and their own ability to contribute to the war efforts. Upon the onset of the First World War, the four schools central to this research, the University of Virginia (UVA), Virginia Military Institute (VMI), Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial School (HSNIS), and Fredericksburg State Normal and Industrial School (FSNIS), had at first taken precautionary measures in preparation for armed conflict for US citizens, causing a shift in their ideas of what it meant to be a student. The institutions' goals moved from creating well-behaved Southern gentlemen and ladies to creating more nationalistic, patriotic citizens as student life and attention shifted to the war.

This chapter explores how students at these four Virginia schools participated in the war effort and experienced a change in identity during the US entering World War I as reflected in their club activities, responsibilities in and out of the classroom, changed curriculum, and sports. This chapter explores how the students in the 1917-1918 academic session had to change their previous gendered roles in order to adapt to adult societal concepts of nationalism. This new male and female student identity was formed at first by their faculty's change in academics that contributed towards war efforts. They newly desired a specific man that was more nationalistic and physically strong, but smart as well, which resulted in a series of dropouts for men who could not meet the school's desire of a more focused man. As for white women, the "pedestal lady" ideal was further challenged. Encourage to adopt a feminine kind of nationalism, women desired to become capable of doing more technologically advanced tasks. In one pivotal example, a women's club even questioned why they were not in the war fighting. Their schools

overall desired a woman who promoted herself by utilizing gendered, feminine skills such as sewing, cooking, or even participating in pageants to support the war efforts, yet some women pushed to occupy traditionally masculine jobs and even expressed the desire to enlist.

Thus, this final chapter aims to show how gender roles changed for young Americans using primary sources from UVA, VMI, HNSIS, and FSNIS. By understanding these students' stories, historians can grasp an understanding of this generation of students who took their adult responsibilities and performed them perhaps differently than the early twentieth century envisioned. Illuminating these wartime histories from Virginia schools of the era shows both the necessity of not ignoring student life in historiography and the way these long-standing institutions have helped form Virginian society even to this day, as many are still educated in these same schools.

Wartime Change at the University of Virginia & Virginia Military Institute

The administration at UVA began their pre-war preparations by arming the campus with medical equipment and by being one of the first in Virginia to purchase and equip a field ambulance from the Red Cross organization.¹⁶⁷ In October 1916, a faculty meeting occurred to discuss if the university should “introduce a system of military instruction and training among students,”¹⁶⁸ which led to the creation of the Reserved Officers Training Corps (ROTC). Though UVA wanted to establish this military extension to the students, it would not be approved until March 15, 1917. In addition, the Student Army Training Corp (SATC) was also created at this time, but this program did not have the same impact on students as ROTC would go on to have

¹⁶⁷ Philip A. Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919: The Lengthened Shadow of One Man*, (New York: The Macmillan Company 1922), 360.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, .361.

due to inadequate funding and supplies.¹⁶⁹ Thus, on March 27, 1917, the general faculty gathered once again, and the president of UVA stated, “if war is declared, there will be great need of men with academic training to serve as officers. This institution should take a leading place among other institutions of a similar grade in this country towards the formation of units for a Reserves Officers Corps.”¹⁷⁰ This meeting led to change what UVA desired in their white male students: fitness for military reserve duty. By April 19th, the war had been declared, and the ROTC program already had 800 students enrolled.¹⁷¹

With this notion of UVA creating the educated reserve officer, the school’s curriculum changed for men attending during the 1917-18 session. The new military department featured courses in meteorology, oceanography, electrical engineering, telephony, telegraphy and signal navigation, field astronomy, automobiles, practical Spanish, political geography, photography, international law and diplomacy, engineering, geology, plane surveying, topographical drawing, and military service and tactics. All of these courses were taught by professors Colonel Cole, Hancock, Rodman, Mitchell, and Newcomb.¹⁷²

While these courses were established, the university Council on National Service provided a guideline, suggesting a change in the lives of white male students at this campus. It stated that, as long as the war was being fought, institutions must use:

(1) All the resources, in the way of men and equipment, which it possessed, should be put at the disposal of the National Government; (2) its regular functions and activities should not be interrupted; (3) the students under twenty one years of age, - who were not eligible

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 370-371.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 362. For more information on the ROTC see also Virginius Dabney, *Mr. Jefferson’s University: A History*, (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 57-58.

¹⁷¹ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, 363.

¹⁷² Ibid., 364.

to commissions in the Federal Military and Naval Forces, should continue in their classes at the University of Virginia, and if physically fit, prepare themselves for the front by acquiring the military training offered on the campus; (4) the departments of engineering and medicine, and the hospital also, should be used for the national benefit; (5) all college athletics should be suspended; and (6) leave of absence should be granted to all members of the Faculty and officers of administration whose offer of their services should be accepted by the government at Washington.¹⁷³

From observing these points made, men at this institution faced newer challenges within their lives of maintaining a student life and a soldier life just as students at the previously mentioned school VMI. The changes in this time period also presented numerous gender struggles for the men at this school. One major event was the 1918 influenza pandemic. The University Hospital held two hundred hospital beds and the students “made a major difference in the community’s ability to handle the epidemic.”¹⁷⁴

The absence rate among UVA students during the war time period in January 1918 was significantly low. President Alderman of UVA identified an estimated total of 371 dropouts, which represented 35% of students leaving the institution. The enrollment shrank from 1,064 to 700 students for that year.¹⁷⁵ The dropouts, I suggest, may be explained by the change in the design of the new male student, the man geared towards militaristic efforts who was academically committed, not distracted by sports or social drinking, and prepared to embrace military enlistment. This change may have blindsided many students who were previously used to engaging in unacademic behavior. UVA changed the students’ academic experience from a

¹⁷³ Ibid., 363-364.

¹⁷⁴ Addeane Calleigh, “The Influenza Pandemic of 1918–1919 in Albemarle County and Charlottesville,” *Magazine of Albemarle County History* (July 2017), 31–87.

¹⁷⁵ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, 367; Dabney, *Mr. Jefferson’s University*, 57; for the review of the R.O.T.C. training see *Corks and Curles 1918*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1918), 179.

home of “learning and idealism and leisure,”¹⁷⁶ to a place where students were urged to apply and were described as being filled with “the fires of patriotism” and were compelled to fight for democracy and their country.¹⁷⁷

At VMI on the other hand, the transition to wartime curriculum appeared relatively average. As past scholars have reflected, the 1913 VMI session was seen as the last normal semester before the war.¹⁷⁸ As the war unfolded, the students were already being trained to defend if an attack should arise. From this institution, the classes of 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1917 directly produced U.S. soldiers for the war effort.¹⁷⁹ During 1914, VMI’s *The Cadet* newspaper reflected on the war by mentioning that the morale of VMI students was low. As the conflict began in Europe *The Cadet* stated in 1914 that VMI cadets may be serving patrol by the Mexican border.¹⁸⁰ These newspapers suggested the cadets were unsure about what was going to happen, but were being prepared for deployment if something should arise. VMI alumni enlisted initially with the Canadian Expeditionary Force, in April 6, 1917.¹⁸¹ ROTC and SATC programs were created and expanded. As these other universities and colleges were adapting or offering military courses that were already offered at military institutes, VMI students were described as feeling a

¹⁷⁶ *Corks and Curls 1918*, 7.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁷⁸ William Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.*, (Richmond, VA: Garrett and Massie, 1939), 217.

¹⁷⁹ Henry A. Wise, *Drawing Out the Man: the VMI Story*, (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1978), 218.

¹⁸⁰ *The VMI Cadet May 4, 1914*, (Lexington, VA: Virginia Military Institute 1939), 219; Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.*, 219.

¹⁸¹ Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.*, 220.

“fervid wave of patriotism.” The admissions rates at VMI rose from between 380 before the war, to a final 673 cadets in the 1917-1918 academic year.¹⁸²

War-Time Clubs and Sports at the University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute in 1917-1918

As the school session got underway in the fall of 1917, students at UVA adopted some of the nationalism and patriotism of the time in the way they portrayed themselves within their clubs. Illustrations found in the 1918 *Corks and Curls* yearbook suggested a shift from previous focus on drinking and athletic, to war stories, war illustrations, and pro-war activities. Interestingly, not many clubs would participate in patriotic themes in 1917-1918,¹⁸³ though this does not speak for the yearbook entries and sports section entirely.



Figure 14 “To make the world safe for democracy.” *Corks and Curls*, 1918.

¹⁸² Wise, *Drawing Out the Man* 104. See also, Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.*, 222.

¹⁸³ Additional examples can be found in *Corks and Curls*, 1918, 309-310.

For example, their political illustrations often fell under efforts of supporting democracy as seen in the image from the *Corks and Curls* yearbook.¹⁸⁴ Here, readers can see the patriotic detail of the American flag and the depiction of the male soldier rushing towards battle. These depictions speak loudly on the idea of the new man supporting warfare. In addition, the political illustrations persuasively show how the patriotic duty of serving would defend UVA. as seen behind the soldiers in this image, the rotunda is being protected by the soldiers' weapons and the state of Virginia flag shield.

UVA also canceled their sports season in 1917. According to their yearbook entry, this occurred in order for the university to adapt to the “stern necessities of a people at war.”¹⁸⁵ They also stated that, as the war conditions continued, students began to gradually adjust to the new lifestyle and agreed that it was “wise to continue intercollegiate athletics.”¹⁸⁶ They also acknowledged the struggle of the previously mentioned decreased attendance had “lessened the size of the Varsity squads, but the First-Year teams have all been picked from a wealth of material.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ *Corks and Curls*, 1918, 215.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 279.

¹⁸⁶ *Corks and Curls*, 1918, 279.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 279.



Figure 15 Track and field illustration from *Corks and Curls*, 1918.

The sports-related imagery in *Corks and Curls* also took on a more political tone this year. For example, this illustration about UVA's track and field team demonstrated the male student's violent sense of humor as they illustrate a German soldier being shot at. The students, whether they were to be soldiers or not, made no hesitation to mock their enemy and create patriotic imagery reminiscent of the propaganda of the time.¹⁸⁸ It is important to note that the men before the war illustrated their interests in athletic bodies; during the war, their sense of patriotism encouraged UVA students to be able to create their own form of masculine identity around becoming military men. In other words, war was unavoidable in their daily lives, and sports became an integral part of their self-image.

¹⁸⁸ *Corks and Curls*, 1918, 269.



Figure 16 Basketball illustration *Corks and Curls*, 1918.

The basketball team also demonstrated the ubiquity of war imagery in students' daily lives in the illustration above of a soldier loading a torpedo missile in the style of a basketball player taking a shot.¹⁸⁹ Interestingly, these illustrations draw a parallel to sports proficiencies and the real-world war effort, while also showing young adults' perceptions of the time's emerging military technology. These yearbook cartoons showed that the white men in this era expressed and displayed their patriotic duty to serve and protect their schools.

UVA's 1917 and 1918 yearbooks also featured war stories that showed the effectiveness of male peer friendships.¹⁹⁰ This changed men's perspective on discussing other matters in war relations, which created a private space for men to express themselves, and also helped establish

¹⁸⁹ *Corks and Curls*, 1918, 273.

¹⁹⁰ See additional 1917 examples in *Corks and Curls*, 1917, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1917), 296. Also see additional examples from 1918 in *Corks and Curls*, 1918, 216, 317-320, 335-338.

fraternal orders to discuss matters of war-related trauma. Jennifer Wingate argues that the main function of fraternal orders was to “provide male friendship, and in doing so, they created an environment ‘where men could express ‘feminine’ emotions like compassion, nurturance, and charity.”¹⁹¹ From examining these pieces of primary sources, young men were not only adapting to their new curriculum, clubs, and sports, but striving to meet the societal expectation of being this new version of a white male student of participating in war efforts or preparing to enlist. As for VMI, surprisingly their 1917-1918 yearbook featured no war illustrations like UVA’s. They instead featured contributions of war-supportive donations to the ROTC program.¹⁹² Little conversation is present about war except in two sports sections where, just like UVA, they too acknowledged losing many athletes because of the Great War.¹⁹³ It appears their yearbooks were less interested in displaying war cartoons or other creative methods that the men at UVA had previously used, perhaps because wartime considerations had been a part of VMI culture since its inception and, for this conflict, since 1914. The VMI yearbook was instead similar to previous editions focused on studies, extracurriculars, and military training but they featured less discussions about alcohol consumption.

It is often reflected that a war brings society together. In the years of 1900-1917, men at UVA and VMI fought against the hegemonic idea to assert their own gendered interests. That can be seen in past portrayals of drinking, or pursuing involvement in their clubs and sports over academics, over masculine body image. The war years needed strong adult men to fight for their

¹⁹¹ Wingate, *Sculpting Doughboys*, 142; Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, (New York: Free Press, 1996), 173.

¹⁹² *The VMI ROTC Cavalry unit fundraising Spring 1917*, (Virginia Military Institute 1917), 1.

¹⁹³ *The Bomb, 1918*, (Lexington VA: Virginia Military Institute 1918), 176,194.

country. As the faculty at these two schools designate their own military departments and curriculum, most young men surrendered and adopted to the new ideal of nationalistic manhood.

New Curriculum in “No Man’s Land:” Pandemic and War-Time Changes at Harrisonburg & Fredericksburg State Normal Schools in 1917-1918

But every woman and child in this country must not only do something, but everything she can; all must stand behind the Government and push; they must take an active part in this fight; they must feel an individual responsibility; they must make sacrifices, and they must have the courage to do without those things they do not need no matter how much they may admire them. The field is so big, the duties so numerous that everyone can get in and find something which she can do. That has been the feeling in the school this year, where the students have accepted and met difficulties cheerfully, as they arose; and in every department, from the Kindergarten in the Training School to the Seniors in the High School department, in the normal the students and faculty are giving their time and energy so that the nation may be strengthened and democracy for which the men in the trenches are giving their lives may be possible.¹⁹⁴

These were the words posted in the *Harrisonburg Normal Bulletin*, expressively capturing the transition that women would undergo while attending the 1917-1918 school session. Students at both HSNIS and FSNIS had their student experience also shift towards more patriotism and nationalism within their academic lives. These two normal schools would begin the semester with a new curriculum and new responsibilities to assist with the 1918 influenza pandemic and the war effort.

The pandemic of 1918 decreased enrollment at HSNIS from 288 to 125 in the 1918 semester.¹⁹⁵ Despite the adversity, the school reported no deaths from the influenza of 1918. Yet, this was contradicted in the *School Ma'am* of 1919 that featured a mourning section for Marie

¹⁹⁴ *Normal Bulletin, April 1918*, (Harrisonburg VA: Harrisonburg State Normal and Industrial School for Women, 1918), 173.

¹⁹⁵ Julian A. Burruss, “Statement,” 4 November 1918, *Faculty Minutes, 1915-1921*, (Harrisonburg VA: State Normal and Industrial School for Women 1918), 254--274.

Brown, a member of the senior class who passed away in her home. Also, in the “Necrology” section, additional students who passed away were also mentioned.¹⁹⁶

As for FSNIS, the influenza reports also listed no student casualties according to FSNIS President Russell and the *Daily Star Newspaper*. In spite of these reports, Virginia Goolrick, the head of the history department at FSNIS, was the only noted death on October 2, 1918 from influenza and pneumonia. FSNIS shut down for eight days in September and October due to the flu of 1918.¹⁹⁷ Dr. Dejarnette was the primary caretaker during this pandemic at the school. He was remembered in official school histories as hardworking because he was able to recover from the flu himself and refused extra payment for taking care of the faculty and students.¹⁹⁸ In addition, the nursing corps was also on campus caring for the students and even turned Willard Hall into a nursing building to aid the sick students and faculty. Overall, the students at both of these schools were affected by the pandemic of 1918, but perhaps kept strong by their patriotic identity that they too adopted in light of the war effort.

Like UVA and VMI, both Normal and Industrial Schools’ curriculums changed during the war. However, HSNIS received agricultural and home economic courses due to Congress passing the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917. This act was intended to promote vocational education in home economics and agriculture trades and provide federal funds.¹⁹⁹ HSNIS had now become a

¹⁹⁶ Marie Brown can be located in *The Schoolma'am 1919*, , 101, 222. See also, Margaret M, Mulrooney, “Pandemic at the Normal, 1918,” (April 12, 2020) mmulrooney.net.

¹⁹⁷ Report by President Edward Russell, November 30, 1918, Edward H. Russell Records, 1909–1919, Folder 15,; Edward Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College: 1908-1972* (Charlottesville VA: University Press of Virginia, 1974), 89; *Daily Star*, Sept. 27, 1918.

¹⁹⁸ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 90; President Edward Russell’s report May 9, 1919, 119.

¹⁹⁹ Pearl Moody, “Smith-Hughes Teacher Training in Home Economics at Harrisonburg ,” *The Virginia Teacher* (1931), 117; McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 27.

dominant normal school on studies in agriculture, stated by faculty as being one of the first “colleges in the country to recognize the value of the practice house as a means of giving home economics students the experience of supervised home-making, which is essential for successful teaching in this field.”²⁰⁰ This resulted in HSNIS beginning its first practice house in January 1918.²⁰¹ The Smith-Hughes Act would ultimately present a new opportunity for women to embrace their skills and show men that they could handle more agricultural and trade skilled jobs. This was considered a prestigious program. The only other school that received this fund in Virginia William and Mary. This program was considered by HSNIS President Burruss as the most outstanding program in the south.²⁰² HSNIS, lastly, would also see a new curriculum due to an authorized bachelor's degree program in Science in Education in 1917.²⁰³

Previously established courses were often altered to feature more discussions on educating women about the ongoing war and how they could contribute. For example, the Industrial Arts students created hundreds of trench candles,²⁰⁴ cooking classes provided war recipes for the students to make, and the sewing classes changed from students making garments for themselves to now making one hundred men’s pajama suits, 110 bandages for nurses, and sixty-eight bandages for the war.²⁰⁵ Their curriculum changed from educating white women to

²⁰⁰ Moody, 118.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁰² Julian A. Burruss, Letter to the Virginia Normal School Board, 20 October 1917; and Report to the Virginia Normal School Board, 1 July 1918, in President’s Reports to Board of Trustees and Virginia Normal School Board, 1909-1926, Board of Visitors Collection, PR 99-1122, Box 4, Binder 1909-1926, Special Collections, Carrier Library, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA.

²⁰³ The school originally had requested it for the spring semester of 1916 but was not authorized until April 1917. *Normal Bulletin*, May 1917, 40.

²⁰⁴ *The Normal Bulletin*, 1918, 174.

²⁰⁵ *The Normal Bulletin*, 1918, 174.

support men by preparing themselves for the household, to, instead, contributing to men fighting in the war. These class contributions also suggest that young white women did not stand idle while the war waged on. They instead successfully transitioned into becoming women who were also capable of contributing towards the war in the progressive era, exemplifying what is found in the progressive era literature on fighting on the home front.²⁰⁶

These students' stories extend discussions such as Maurine Weiner Greenwald's *Women, War and Work*, which describes adult women's contributions to the first world war. Women in Greenwald's study contributed through discussions of womanhood and patriotism that took place in the workplace and factories. And, she revealed how the war reinforced the separation of men and women and drove some men and women into "direct competition and conflict for the first time."²⁰⁷ Overall, these student examples extend our understanding of adolescent women who contributed towards the war.

FSNIS also saw a change in curriculum in 1917. They added four new courses in Geography and Geography Methods specifically for Juniors²⁰⁸ and five more courses indicated in Alvey's *History of Mary Washington*:

- I. Preparation for teaching the primary grades.
- II. Preparations for teaching the intermediate and grammar grades.
- III. Preparation for teaching the first- and second-year- year high school grades.
- IV. A course in household arts.

²⁰⁶ Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Wwork: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 36-37; YWCA discussions can also be seen in Lettie Gavin, *American women in World War I: They also served*, (CO: University Press of Colorado 2020), ix.

²⁰⁷ Weiner, xxiv.

²⁰⁸ *Bulletin of the State Normal School, October 1917, 22.*

V. A course in industrial arts.²⁰⁹

If a student in this school session was able to complete any of the five courses, they would be granted a “full diploma and the state normal school certificate,” that lasted up to ten years before a renewal was required.²¹⁰ During the 1917-1918 session, Methodology remained in the student’s top interests for programs. Regular courses such as cooking and table service, dressmaking, and home management were featured in the household arts curriculum. And, lastly, the Industrial Arts course had drawing, handwork, agriculture, gardening, and Industrial Arts.²¹¹ As for attendance, the enrollment in 1917-18 featured 280 students registered.²¹² As these topics of supporting the country in the war effort were applied to their gendered lives, they began to change their ways of living in order to serve as white women who were newly educated on the war's culture, and consumed by a sense of patriotism, and who could demonstrate their patriotism by attending these classes and contributing towards the war efforts.

“Our Brethren are Already in the Field! Why Do We Stand Here Idle?” Student Mobilization at Harrisonburg & Fredericksburg State Normal School Clubs (1917-1918)

The 1918 HSNIS Bulletin reflected on the war years as “not the time for finery when so many people on the other side are suffering for the bare necessities of life.”²¹³ Interestingly, female students and faculty they were heavily involved in many ways to support the war effort. One opportunity in particular arose when the students created a Red Cross Association and

²⁰⁹ Alvey, *History of Mary Washington College*, 85.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid., 87..

²¹³ *The Normal Bulletin*, 1918, 174.

named Miss Elizabeth Harris as the chairman.²¹⁴ This group was referenced as giving the women at this school the best opportunity for work.²¹⁵ On May 20, 1918, the Red Cross hosted a parade that students also participated in. Over 10,000 people attended this event and 200 women were from the normal school. The girls would take on their new patriotic identity by wearing red and white headdresses and walking in formation next to a moving red cross. This parade was a massive success to the progressive era public of the city of Harrisonburg, later reflected on as the “biggest parade ever seen in the city of Harrisonburg,” and remembered as, “quite a sensation.”²¹⁶ From these examples, we can see the Red Cross provided women with a chance to present themselves as patriots and contribute towards the war efforts with their patriotic activities and parades. The women in this school contributed by adopting a new sense of patriotism in their daily lives with the creation and their contributions of this group.

Additionally, Liberty loans were created were created by the school as a way for students to contribute to the war. These loans were considered massively successful; as HSNIS mentioned in their 1918 bulletin: “In money we have actually loaned our Allies over five billion and a half dollars for their military and economic needs. And we have promised much more. These loans include loans to Great Britain, France, Italy, and even to Russia. We have truly become the banker for the Allied nations.”²¹⁷ These loans were not only a great success, but they also showed how even young adults could raise money and donate to the war effort. They were similar to the

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ “Splendid Red Cross Display,” Daily News Record, 11 May 1918; “Greatest Parade in History Credited to the Red Cross,” Daily News Record; 21 May 1918 clippings file, Raymond C. Dingleline, Jr. Papers, 1950-1983, 1950, 94.

²¹⁷ *The Normal Bulletin*, 1918, 174.

Red Cross in changing the way the women at this school viewed spending their lives as students. These examples from both the Liberty loans and American Red Cross echo Julia Irwin's argument in *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening*, in how the American Red Cross embraced its image as a global help to Europe. It also parallels with Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, that the Red Cross Association was providing a global assistance that embraced the ideas of a nation for only whites.

Outside of their social lives and contributions, clubs also changed their focus of activities to pro-war efforts. For example, the Y.W.C.A. club used its Friendship Fund to alter its activities and contribute to war efforts by making 120 Christmas lunch boxes for active soldiers. The students would even pay to make thirty-five more lunch boxes for soldiers at the front.²¹⁸ And, the Glee club also contributed by creating events to donate ten dollars per attendee to Camp Lee on easter.²¹⁹ Interestingly, for sports the yearbooks have the opposite of what UVA featured, with no patriotic themed entry. Based on their yearbooks from 1917-18, the students seem to have shown no evidence or suggestion of war imagery being represented in HSNIS sports. However, the students still found ways to participate in these war activities and financially support the efforts as most progressive-era adults did.

As for FSNIS, the students would also change their perception and role in society by adopting war-time nationalism. While the war created a patriotic effort to support the war

²¹⁸ *The Normal Bulletin*, 1918, 174.

²¹⁹ *The Normal Bulletin*, 1918, 174; for more information on Camp Lee see, Calleigh, "Influenza Pandemic in Virginia, the 1918–1919," *Encyclopedia of Virginia* <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/influenza-pandemic-in-virginia-the-1918-1919/> [Accessed January 24, 2022.].

between the college faculty and its students, the students themselves commenced and contributed in significant ways in the 1917-1918 semester. As the session was under way, FSNIS President Russell along with the Normal School faculty designed a War Relief Campaign in order to give students the ability to contribute to the war efforts.²²⁰ Just like HSNIS, clubs were heavily responsible for these efforts. FSNIS, in this case, featured the returning Y.W.C.A club which provided women with opportunities to create donation activities that contributed towards the war effort. This was started by the Field Secretary of the club Miss Margaret Flenniken through the use of their Student's Friendship Fund as well. The club was successful in organizing their events to raise \$1,000,000. Once the donations were gathered, the student club's plan was to donate, \$500,000 to the enhancements of prison camps in Europe; \$200,000 for the Y.W.C.A. to, "work in the cantonments in this country and in France; \$200,000 for the establishment of Y.W.C.A. hostess house in cantonments; \$100,000 for keeping alive the world student movement."²²¹

The FSNIS Y.W.C.A. also sought to send their services globally, looking to not only the U.S., but France as well. In addition, they uniquely donated towards prison camps, rather than other efforts as HSNIS did. In addition, FSNIS President Russell suggests that students were doing their part as well, and seeing the change of this patriotic service in their social lives. He noted in a report that the students were working during the semester, calling the students "wage earners"²²², meaning they were working during the war. Therefore, the president was seeing that American identity shifted to perceive that women should be working in this era in order to show

²²⁰ *Bulletin of the State Normal School, Fredericksburg Virginia, October 1917, 3.*

²²¹ *Bulletin of the State Normal School, Fredericksburg Virginia, October 1917, 3.*

²²² *Russell school board documents 1911-1919.*

patriotism towards the Great War. It was no longer the time of peace, women at this school were proving effective and unique in their efforts towards the war within their curriculum.

Nonetheless, FSNIS Rifle club featured a new desire for women, that was actually preparing themselves to fight. Their yearbook entry in 1917 stated:

Who can say but in a few weeks there may go forth the cry, 'Our brethren are already in the field! Why do we stand here idle?' We are going to be ready, so that our idle days may be few. Considering all this, one would expect our club to be very large, but, since quality counts more than quantity, we are satisfied. The quality of our club is marvelous. Several of our members should have 'expert marksman' medals, while all deserve to be called 'sharpshooters.'²²³

The rifle club suggested that women should be out in the war fighting, too, and that they have trained efficient shooters that deserve the military ranking as a sharpshooter, since the military would not allow infantry women. Interestingly enough this still is the only rifle club seen in Virginia in 1917-18, making it an extraordinary example that women shared opinions of fighting in combat during this era.

Conclusion

In conclusion, young white men and women at these four institutions performed changing gendered identity through their academic culture, clubs, sports, and social life. The men at UVA and VMI, in the turn of the 20th century were not what faculty or society wanted adult men to be. Despite their strict protocols, men in the years 1900-1916 were interested in dating women and sports more than their academics. They also caused the destruction of property under the influence of alcohol through their clubs, and shared advertisements in the progressive era on topics such as the social activity of drinking.²²⁴ They even featured heavy counter cultures such

²²³ *The Battlefield, 1917*, 66.

²²⁴ The Library of Congress offers additional primary sources on the strong opposition of protesting drinking even with a temperance song. See more in Kieffer, J. M. *The Temperance Army. Brainard's Sons, S.*,

as the disagreements on drinking expressed from the YMCA that expressed more Southern gentleman qualities of being proper and not inappropriate by drinking. In addition, they began to obsess over their peers' bodies, and shame others that did not meet the institutional criteria of being properly fit and in shape. Yet, as the 1917-18 semester started, a huge dropout rate occurred at UVA, as a new curriculum challenged men to adapt to their academics and cut down on their previous party like habits. The new military department and courses also will establish themselves and the military man will be the new ideal of manhood. In the yearbooks, the themes changed from drinking and destruction to a more patriotic or nationalistic grounded identity. The young men, enrolled in 1917-1918 were still unpredictable not only to their faculty but their peers as well. They attended these schools trying to discover who they were, and what they had to face as adults. However, the war forced their generation to grow up quickly and conform to social expectations.

As for women at HSNIS and FSNIS, from observing their academia in 1900-1916, they were forced to obtain an education designed for a life that would ultimately be controlled by men and to learn skills and services to serve them. Despite the women at these schools being controlled by men, adolescent women were able to step outside of these gendered boundaries, whether it was through the Y.W.C.A., campfire, rifle clubs, or their sports. The women in this era were able to successfully show that they were not just 'normal' women that followed traditional roles and or activities. They instead found a safe space to step outside of what they could and could not do through club activities like the Y.W.C.A. and campfire clubs, or participate in masculine activities such as the rifle club. Even as the time progressed to the 1917-1918

Cleveland, monographic, 1874. Notated Music, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sm1874.06215/>; See also, Sarah W. Tracy. *Alcoholism in America: From Reconstruction to Prohibition*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 7, 26,35.

semester, their academics changed to include more pro-war courses that suggested a change in what a white woman should learn in that time. These opportunities allowed them to then take the powers into their own hands and contribute to the war efforts through their social activities and clubs.

These contributions represent these women's stories and deserve recognition inside of progressive era historiography. The general public appears to not know that these popular schools today share such a rich history. Even within their own time in 1919, no one seemed to acknowledge the significant changes these two schools experienced and how those changes contributed to our country's history. As reflected in FSNIS 1919 yearbook, "A Marine walked up to a certain young lady on the campus and asked, 'What do you call this place anyhow?' Reply — No Man's Land." Though society does not show much recognition, my goal in this research is to bring to light how young women changed gendered identities during the progressive era, all within "no man's land."

These four schools transformed young Southern personalities into patriots and contributed toward the war era, whether it was helping to create the male soldier or the female supporter. These are their stories, and they should be discussed and acknowledged to the wider audiences at these four institutions. Perhaps these stories will inspire historians or scholars to look at other time periods and find similar or different shifts in student behavior. Since these are mostly the students that would witness the second World War in years to come, they perhaps shaped and influenced the children at the colleges during that time frame as well, even the upcoming cold warriors too. Regardless, the stories must live on and be shared. Student stories speak volumes to historians.

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