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'A Sane Sense of Loyalty to Nation in Peace and War,' Military Education and Patriotism at Wofford College, 1917-45

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"A Sane Sense of Loyalty to Nation in Peace and War,"
Military Education and Patriotism at Wofford College, 1917-1945

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
History

by
Andrew Harrison Baker
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Accepted by:
Dr. Rod Andrew Jr., Committee Chair
Dr. C. Alan Grubb
Dr. Michael Meng

ABSTRACT

The Upper Piedmont of South Carolina is home to a disproportionate number of Army ROTC units and citations for heroism in battle. Within the region, the story of Spartanburg, South Carolina's Wofford College provides a unique perspective on the idea of a southern military tradition. In 1917, Wofford's president Henry Nelson Snyder proved an avid supporter of the American war effort. His support culminated in the formation of an ROTC detachment on Wofford's campus in 1919. After several tenuous early years, Wofford College's voluntary detachment's ranks were filled by the majority of the all-male student body. In competition, the detachment outperformed much larger institutions with a strictly military orientation.

Its success culminated in the disproportionate number of officers that Wofford College supplied for the U.S. Army during the Second World War. ROTC not only produced an exceptional number of officers, but its ROTC unit brought the institution into closer contact with the federal government and shaped perceptions on national security issues. Several other Upper Piedmont colleges are used to draw a contrast with Wofford. The training camp experience is also explored to demonstrate social and political mores of the Upper Piedmont, particularly Spartanburg residents.

Ultimately, the study attempts to prove that ROTC flourished at Wofford College and the Upper Piedmont because of cultural acceptance of military training, financial necessity, a desire to demonstrate loyalty to the nation, and the remnants of the Lost Cause.

DEDICATION

I am eternally grateful to my parents, John and Debra Baker, for their moral and financial support. Their encouragement of reading and learning helped pave the way for my study of history. It is to them I dedicate this work.

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The process of writing this thesis and my historical education were aided by a number of people. At Clemson University, Rod Andrew Jr. provided enthusiastic guidance on a subject near to his heart. I appreciated his willingness to read chapter drafts quickly and provide very useful criticism. Alan Grubb served on my thesis committee and his course on the First World War helped me understand a very important event in my thesis. Michael Meng graciously agreed to serve on my thesis committee despite training as a historian of Modern Germany. Bruce Taylor and the staff at the Strom Thurmond Institute were of great help. I would also like to thank Furman University Special Collections. Most of all, however, Phillip Stone of Wofford College provided an indispensable source of material through Wofford's well kept archives. I would also like to thank my fellow graduate students for their encouragement and guidance. In particular, Parissa DJangi and Matt Hintz, provided much encouragement and useful advice. Other unnamed individuals have helped me navigate the world of South Carolina history and provided moral support. Lastly, my parents have encouraged my educational pursuits and helped foster my love of reading and learning.

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PREFACE

Studies of the idea of a “southern military tradition” typically rest upon 19th century perceptions of southerners’ fighting prowess, glorification of military virtue and training, and a predilection for violence as a means to maintain order. Few studies explore the idea of a southern military tradition existing in the 20th century. The scholarship that does support the idea, examines it only indirectly through analysis of southern politicians’ bellicosity in foreign policy, the success of southern congressional delegations in landing federal defense dollars, and the relative paucity of pacifist sentiment among southerners. My thesis directly examines the idea of a southern military tradition persisting into the 20th century primarily through an examination of military education and conceptions of patriotism through the Army’s Reserve Officer Training Corps from the First World War to the end of the Second World War at Spartanburg, South Carolina’s Wofford College. The experience of military training camps in Greenville and Spartanburg is also briefly touched on, but the primary focus is on Wofford College.

Wofford College was chosen as the primary focus because of its unusual relationship to previous conceptions of a southern military tradition. It is neither a land grant institution, nor covered within the 1862 Morrill Act, which required military training at land grant universities. Wofford was an all-male Methodist college located in the heart of South Carolina’s Upper Piedmont, a region known for its religious devotion. In the period after the Second World War, the region and the wider South were known for supporting an aggressive foreign policy and conservative beliefs on social issues.

For much of the period I study, however, Wofford College and the other Upper Piedmont colleges with programs of military training did not express a strong fervor for war. Instead, military training through ROTC was utilized to develop traits associated with responsible

citizenship for white males, including discipline. The ROTC program also brought federal money to campus, although long-term career considerations should not be considered a major factor. Few regular army commissions were available to ROTC graduates prior to the advent of the Cold War. In the years following my study, ROTC would prove to be the primary source of commissions for the U.S. Army and southerners became strong supporters of American Cold War policies. During this period, a number of southern institutions of higher education required compulsory ROTC into the Vietnam era, as other sections distanced themselves from the program.¹

Given these considerations, a precise definition of the idea of a southern military tradition is difficult to provide. An examination of the historiography of the tradition is necessary. One problem with the southern military tradition is the idea is not universally agreed upon. Michael C.C. Adams, Marcus Cunliffe, and R. Don Higginbotham number among the critics of the idea of a southern military tradition.

Adams attributed the Union Army's difficulty defeating the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to northeastern perceptions of southerners as superior fighters rather than southerners' actual skill in combat. A perception, Adams believed, was manifested through the South's rural orientation, slave society, and a system of personal honor that emphasized violence as a means to settle disputes, but he believed these factors' correlation to fighting ability were more perception than reality.²

In *Soldiers and Civilians*, Cunliffe argued against the idea of a southern military tradition, but conceded that the South was distinguished through its lack of a sizable "Quaker"

¹ See Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

² Michael C.C. Adams, *Our Master's the Rebels* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 28-29.

viewpoint.³ Cunliffe's vision of the "Quaker" was a man for whom "parades, weapons, display, hierarchies of rank, collective anger," were "alien."⁴ All of these traits have been associated with the antebellum South. I contend a lack of pacifist sentiment is not the primary tenet of the southern military tradition, but that it can be used to argue for the existence of a southern military tradition.

Higginbotham advanced a theory that New Englanders may have as much claim to a distinctive military tradition as southerners. His argument for a New England tradition is based on the Colonial era, the Revolutionary War, and the Civil War era. Higginbotham argues that In the Colonial era, New Englanders fought bloody Indian wars, held "heated militia elections," and used military titles frequently in everyday life, generally considered a unique feature of the antebellum South.⁵ In the Revolutionary War, New England Generals were the leaders behind the Continental Army's greatest victories in the southern states.⁶ During the Civil War era, the strength and quality of New England militia companies equaled, if not excelled southern standards. New England also possessed a high percentage of regular army officers and an enthusiasm for war with the South over slavery that may have exceeded southern firebrands.⁷ If a southern military tradition existed, Higginbotham concedes, the tradition did not develop until at least 1830, and as a result of southern sectionalism linked to slavery.⁸ Several proponents of the southern military tradition used the argument of the slave society, and the individuality it bred among white men, as evidence of a southern military tradition rooted in individualism and violence.

³ Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America 1775-1865* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), 422-423.

⁴ Ibid, 414.

⁵ Don Higginbotham, "The Martial Spirit in the American South: Some Further Speculations in a National Context," *The Journal of Southern History* 58, No. 1 (1992): 7.

⁶ Ibid, 12.

⁷ Ibid, 24.

⁸ Ibid, 14-15.

John Hope Franklin argued the southern military tradition was a manifestation of white southerners' desire to protect the institution of slavery. Franklin argues in his 1956 study of militarism in the American South that "slavery strengthened the military tradition in the South because owners found it desirable to build up a fighting force to keep the slaves under control."⁹ W.J. Cash, a former Wofford College student, provided a corollary to Franklin's argument in his 1941 book *The Mind of the South*. Cash attributed the fighting prowess of the southern soldier to a penchant for unchecked individualism and violence as a means of settling disputes, which Cash believes reached "the ultimate incarnation in the Confederate soldier."¹⁰ Cash argued the Confederate soldier was driven by the "belief that nothing living could cross him and get away with it."¹¹ Other proponents, however, argue the southern military tradition is neither undemocratic nor driven by the existence of a slave society and personal violence as a means of settling disputes.

Rod Andrew Jr. demonstrated in *Long Gray Lines*, his study of southern military schools from the antebellum period to the early 20th century, that white southerners were initially more concerned with using military education to mold a rebellious boy into a civic-minded man.¹² Outward appeals to state legislatures arguing for an institution's suitability for defending its state and region grew as tensions between North and South increased and represented a tool used by administrators as a means to secure increased funding.¹³

With the abolition of slavery following the Civil War, southerners, both white and black, continued to possess enthusiasm for military education. Andrew argues the Morrill Act of 1862, which stipulated land grant universities must provide some form of military training for their

⁹ John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South* (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 2002), 81.

¹⁰ W.J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 43.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 44.

¹² Rod Andrew Jr. *Long Gray Lines: The Southern Military School Tradition, 1839-1915* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 3.

¹³ *Ibid*, 5.

students, was used by southerners to organize their newly formed land grant institutions on a military basis. In the Upper Piedmont, Clemson Agricultural College, formed in 1889, was organized as a military college, with a corps of cadets. The military requirement lasted until 1955 and continued through ROTC programs into the 1960s. Unlike Clemson and other southern institutions, northeastern and mid-western counterparts did not place the training at the center of collegiate life. Many northeastern and mid-western colleges and universities offered the minimum amount of military training required to meet their obligations under the Morrill Act.¹⁴

Part of the difference in attitudes towards military education may be accounted for through the emergence of the Lost Cause. Andrew argued the Lost Cause was central to the success of southern colleges and universities organized along military lines in the late 19th century. He contends white southerners were able to “equate military service and martial valor with broader cultural notions of honor, patriotism, civic duty, and virtue.”¹⁵ In particular, the idea of virtue, or as Andrew describes it “the fusion of Christian and soldierly values,” is important to explaining why a denominational, liberal arts college found a program of military training conducive.

In *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, Gaines Foster noted that private schools frequently “incorporated elements of the Confederate past into their programs” and military academies adopted gray uniforms and other references to the Confederacy.¹⁶ As the Lost Cause became more defined, southern military schools participated in Confederate Memorial Day celebrations and other Confederate rituals, a practice that continued into the early 20th century.¹⁷ Foster argues

¹⁴ Ibid, 5-6.

¹⁵ Rod Andrew Jr., *Long Gray Lines*, 42.

¹⁶ Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 47-48.

¹⁷ Rod Andrew Jr., *Long Gray Lines*, 58-59.

that during the 1920s and 1930s the Civil War remained within the collective memory of southerners, particularly intellectuals and artists, but became increasingly diffused.¹⁸

Given an understanding of both the critics and proponents of the idea of a southern military tradition, we can now properly address the problems tackled within this study. The first is defining a southern military tradition. There is no single definition. I contend that the southern military tradition can best be defined as enthusiasm for military education and service.. This does not mean that southerner possessed a monopoly on these traits. I do argue, however, that southerners were more likely to possess these qualities.

Another problem is the relationship of a denominational, liberal arts college to the idea of a southern military tradition. Andrew examined land grant colleges that were bound to provide some form of military training. I chose to focus almost solely on a denominational college that was not required to provide any form of military education and did not offer military education until after the Lost Cause faded in intensity. Appeals to the virtuousness of the Confederate soldier did not compel Wofford to commence a program of military education, but made military education compatible within a denominational, liberal arts college. Wofford is also distinguished by the purely voluntary nature of its ROTC unit. It was the only solely voluntary unit within the Upper Piedmont. This demonstrates students also valued military education.

The larger problem inherent in Wofford's situation, however, is that the college only established organized military education through the federal government. Southern military colleges often utilized Civil War veterans as military instructors. They were not, however, currently serving as officers in the U.S. Army, with the exception of the commandant of the Corps of Cadets. The advent of Student Army Training Corps (SATC) during the 1918 school year and the 1916-1917 founding of the ROTC changed this dynamic.

¹⁸ Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 196-97.

I argue that forming an ROTC detachment on Wofford's campus had several purposes. One feature of the Lost Cause and southern culture in the late 19th and early 20th century was reconciliation between the South and nation. Southerners were not among the foremost agitators for war, but were eager to show their loyalty to the United States once the war came. In the War of 1898, the United Confederate Veterans endorsed the war effort, believing southern support for the war would "free themselves of northern suspicions of their loyalty," and establish "southern honor."¹⁹ Southern military schools also supported the war effort. Citadel cadets attempted to enlist as a body. Other military colleges made similar displays.²⁰

Southerners also proved their loyalty, or as I used in the subtitle, patriotism, through non-military means. The display of the American flag and the playing of national music became symbols of southern patriotism. Charleston's 1877 Gala Week was intended to demonstrate loyalty to the nation, express appreciation for northern contributions to earthquake relief, and attract northern business.²¹ The week included the playing of "Yankee Doodle," and the "The Star Spangled Banner" on the bells of St. Michael's Church, as well as the sale and display of 50,000 American flags.²² Although patriotic displays and southern enthusiasm for the War of 1898 did much to demonstrate southern loyalty to the nation, the issue persisted into the First World War, and I argue served as a means to display loyalty to the nation.

Along with proving their patriotism, Wofford's Henry Nelson Snyder, and other college administrators used ROTC programs to bring federal money to campus. With Wofford's low tuition, the ROTC advanced course stipend could provide what amounted to a full scholarship, a critical consideration given the South's poor economic condition. Another purpose of maintaining

¹⁹ Ibid, 147-48.

²⁰ Rod Andrew Jr., 107.

²¹ Susan Millar Williams and Stephen G. Hoffius, *Upheaval in Charleston: Earthquake and Murder on the Eve of Jim Crow* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 186.

²² Ibid, 185-86.

an ROTC detachment was the character developing qualities that administrators associated with the program. In a letter after the First World War, Snyder said he believed ROTC had “physical, academic, moral, and military values that warrant us in wanting it continued.”²³ Snyder’s words fit within the mold of the Lost Cause emphasis on the southern soldier as an exemplar of Christian virtue, but demonstrating the Lost Cause played a role in the formation of an ROTC detachment at Wofford is difficult to prove. I argue the Lost Cause did, but the scattered nature of commemorations and references make my contention difficult to prove. I do suggest, however, that ROTC thrived in the Upper Piedmont because of broad cultural acceptance of the program’s mission and values.

Ultimately, I seek to demonstrate the popularity of ROTC and southern conceptions of patriotism in the 20th century help prove the existence of a southern military tradition. My methodology leans heavily on primary sources, as few secondary works document the ROTC experience and conceptions of patriotism at southern denominational, liberal arts colleges. I believe this study constitutes new ground. To my knowledge, the southern military tradition has never been examined in this way. I hope this work helps advance knowledge of the southern military tradition, and also, Wofford College’s military heritage. This work is both a history of the southern military tradition and an institution’s relationship with the military in war and peace.

²³ Henry Nelson Snyder to Commanding General, Southeastern Division, Undated letter, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder, Archives, Sandor Tetzler Library, Wofford College (hereafter cited as Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder).

CHAPTER ONE

“A PATRIOT AND GOD-FEARING GENTLEMAN”

The fall of 1917 was a prosperous time for the farms and textile mills of the Upper Piedmont of South Carolina and was expected to yield the same kind of impressive results for a small Methodist College in Spartanburg, South Carolina. The Secretary to Wofford College's Henry Nelson Snyder, now comfortably in his fifteenth year as President, wrote to a student weighing his opinion on returning to the institution: “prices of Cotton and Tobacco are so unusually high this year, that it will mean much for this section, and incidentally more boys going to college.”²⁴ Only a few years earlier, a cotton embargo on exports to Germany and Austria-Hungary by the British Royal Navy threatened the agriculture-dependent economy of the South. Now, wartime demand for cotton brought new prosperity, and new opportunities to southern cities. The newest crop of boys to matriculate at Wofford that autumn reaped the benefits of high demand, but entered into an entirely unusual situation. They would be organized into companies, drill under the supervision of Army officers, and wear uniforms.

On the opposite side of Spartanburg at Camp Wadsworth, elements of the American Expeditionary Force in-the-making prepared to fight in France. National guardsmen from New York, perhaps the grandsons of occupation troops during Reconstruction, overran an enthusiastic Spartanburg. The city's business elite and the newly elected Congressman Sam Nicholls worked assiduously to make sure Spartanburg received one of the sixteen training camps, a feat that prompted an area man to declare Nicholls' seat safe for life.²⁵ Nicholls's feat, however, was not unique among southern Congressmen. President Wilson rewarded the South for its

²⁴ DLB letter to J.P. Horton, August 7, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder, Archives, Sandor Teszler Library, Wofford College (hereafter cited as Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder).

²⁵ Lee Kennett, “The Camp Wadsworth Affair,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 74, No. 2 (1975): 199.

representatives' shift towards interventionism with thirteen of the sixteen National Guard training camps, as well as six of the fifteen regular Army camps.²⁶ In a similar process of recruitment, Spartanburg's rival city Greenville received a National Guard training camp named Camp Sevier, in honor of southern Revolutionary War leader John Sevier.²⁷ The city of Spartanburg and the State of South Carolina would profit from their loyalty, but could also not escape the past as race relations created ugly, if ultimately minor, incidents.

The manner in which Wofford College and Spartanburg mobilized for war demonstrates that a "southern military tradition" persisted not only into the 20th Century, but evolved. Prior to the First World War, no military training program existed at Wofford College, and Spartanburg had never been home to an Army training camp, or troops that they wanted stationed in the city. Patriotism, the Lost Cause, and economic concerns fused to create an atmosphere conducive to the war effort, provided the troops were white.

The evolving tradition cast southerners as a group of people who proved their patriotism by their nearly universal support for the war effort. Few pockets of pacifism survived in the South after the American declaration of war in April 1917. Southern cities, institutions of higher education, churches, and politicians threw their support to the war effort and castigated those who did not. As Anthony Gaughan argues, southerners were gratified to be able to claim "they were more patriotic than the rest of the country," due to their outsized support for the war effort. A particular target of southern scorn was Wisconsin, with its large population of German-Americans and strong pacifist sentiment.²⁸

²⁶ Anthony Gaughan, "Woodrow Wilson and The Rise of Militant Interventionism," *The Journal of Southern History* 65, No. 4 (1999): 804.

²⁷ Archie Vernon Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 284.

²⁸ Anthony Gaughan, "Woodrow Wilson and The Rise of Militant Interventionism," 793.

The patriotism evinced by southerners was part of a growing identification with nation, rather than region. Regional identification, however, remained important during the period of the First World War. The two conflicting forces resulted in white southerners professing their loyalty to the nation, but needing reassurance that the war would not upset race relations in the South. Black southerners fought for increased rights, as white southerners fought to maintain the status quo. Never far from white southerners' minds was the continuing presence of the Lost Cause.

Charles Reagan Wilson argues that in the 1890s the meaning of the Lost Cause among clergymen shifted to a "crusade for liberty, as well as for morality and religion," a move that enabled the linkage of "the Lost Cause with the American cause in World War I."²⁹ Henry Nelson Snyder and Wofford's students understood the war in these terms, as is evident from their public pronouncements on the war. The students also found confidence that they were up to the task of waging war through their southern heritage as fighters. The evolution of the "southern military tradition" also sought to gain economic benefits from the South's loyalty in the form of training camps, and hopefully, permanent bases.

Regional variations within the South did exist, however, and a particular locality or educational institution's relationship to the war effort depended on the values of community and institutional leaders. South Carolina proved particularly welcoming of federal money through training camps. South Carolina colleges and universities did their part by instituting military training during the war, but not all institutions continued military training after the war.

Educational institutions in the Upper Piedmont were more likely to express enthusiasm for military training in the postwar period. The story of Wofford College, an institution that continued military training, and the city of Spartanburg, illustrates the intersection of permanence

²⁹ Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 174.

and change on the “southern military tradition,” brought about by the onset of American intervention in the First World War.

Henry Nelson Snyder is a good example of the relationship between permanence and change in the southern military tradition. Born in 1865 as the son of a Middle Tennessee Confederate veteran, Snyder grew up in the wake of the devastation of the Civil War. Although Snyder never served in the military himself, the southern relationship with war remained in his consciousness. The opening scene in Snyder’s 1947 autobiography, *An Educational Odyssey*, recalls his pride as a “little Confederate” wearing an outfit made from his father’s Confederate uniform and the pained expressions his pride generated for his mother and father.³⁰ At the age of 82, he utilized most of the same words in 1946 in the opening to his memorial speech for Wofford’s war dead from the Second World War. Even in old age, Snyder continued to associate the pain and suffering caused by war with the Civil War, and apparently thought it remained relevant for a southern audience in 1946.

During the same lifetime, however, Snyder was the driving force in bringing a federal program, The Reserve Officer Training Corps, to Wofford’s campus. His words during the First World War dwelt not on living up to the legacy of Confederate veterans, but rather on fighting for democracy. Most of his students would not fight immediately. Rather, the majority of them heeded the War Department’s call to continue their collegiate studies. The students would be prepared, however, in the event they were called. Snyder introduced mandatory military training to Wofford’s campus in the autumn of 1917.

On the opposite side of Spartanburg, military training was beginning for men immediately destined to fight in Europe. The city itself, however, retained seemingly anachronistic characteristics amid its role as a center of training for modern war. Older racial and

³⁰ Henry Nelson Snyder, *An Educational Odyssey: Adventures of a president of a small denominational college* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947), 14-15.

social mores still held true in 1917 as Spartanburg maintained Jim Crow laws, outlawed the purchase of alcohol, and, according to one survey, earned the second most bible study certificates in the country that year. Along with showings of *Birth of a Nation* and the recent erection of a Confederate monument, white northern troops arrived to begin training in Spartanburg.³¹

Initially, the city hoped the camp would accommodate national guardsmen from Virginia and Tennessee, or perhaps even “The Richmond Light Infantry Blues.” The hope was quickly dashed when the troops destined for Spartanburg were found to be white national guardsmen from New York. Greenville’s Camp Sevier received some of the National Guard units from the Carolinas and Tennessee that Spartanburg hoped would be placed at Wadsworth. Denoting their southern identity, the Thirtieth Division consisting of men trained in Greenville was known as “Old Hickory,” in honor of Andrew Jackson.³² In the face of her apparent misfortune, Spartanburg seamlessly adapted, highlighting her patriotism and reaping the profits.³³ For the men of the New York National Guard units, the city’s economic interest trumped any past sectional bitterness. The name of the camp itself, Wadsworth, was in honor of a Union General famous for his actions at Gettysburg.³⁴

A letter from an acquaintance in Washington D.C. to Henry Nelson Snyder illustrates the reaction of Spartanburg’s leading men to the white northern troops. On October 21st, Snyder received a letter of introduction for Captain Clarence True, an officer of the 71st New York newly arrived at Camp Wadsworth. The letter writer, J.C. Hemphill, apparently told the Captain that South Carolina was “the foremost state of the Union” and wanted Spartanburg to make a favorable impression. Key to this positive impression was True meeting a “man representing the

³¹ Ibid, 198.

³² Archie Vernon Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont*, 284.

³³ Ibid, 199-200.

³⁴ Lee Kennett, “The Camp Wadsworth Affair,” 200.

best educational thought and purpose of the state,” Snyder. Hemphill hoped Snyder would be able to “present him to some of the worthy men of Spartanburg.” As the son of an Episcopal priest, with a background in architecture, and prior service on the Mexican border, Captain True was apparently a man fit to roam among the educated and well connected men of Spartanburg.³⁵

Perhaps the most instructive element of the letter is the playful admonishment in the postscript. Mr. Hemphill warned Snyder “not to let him see any of the Blease crowd for goodness sakes.” Hemphill was referring to the former governor of South Carolina and now senatorial candidate, populist Cole Blease, one of the few anti-war politicians in the state. Blease and his supporters were not considered among the ranks of gentlemen by Henry Nelson Snyder or J.C. Hemphill. In August, on the fringes of the Upper Piedmont in York County, Blease told a crowd “the President and every Congressman who voted for the war would be removed if he were able.”³⁶ Captain Clarence True was not to see this side of South Carolina.

Spartanburg and South Carolina leaders, however, felt little need to conceal their views on race relations. If Spartanburg could accommodate white “Yankees” without great consternation, the prospect of African American soldiers training in the proximity of the city met resistance among the white citizenry, a not uncommon occurrence in South Carolina. One historian of the African American experience in the First World War called South Carolina “the state most strongly opposed to mixed training facilities.” Governor Richard L. Manning took a special lobbying trip to Washington to argue against camps that prepared men of both races for war. Manning was joined in opposition by the South Carolina Congressional Delegation, which opposed mixed training facilities.³⁷ Ultimately, the War Department ignored the concerns of South Carolina politicians. The 15th New York, later known as the “Harlem Hellfighters,” arrived

³⁵ J.C. Hemphill to Henry Nelson Snyder, October 21, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

³⁶ David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 669.

³⁷ Lee Kennett, “The Camp Wadsworth Affair,” 201.

in Spartanburg in early October as the summer heat began to cool. The public rhetoric of Spartanburg political and business leaders, however, threatened to overheat the situation.

There were two dimensions to Spartanburg's reaction to northern blacks training at Camp Wadsworth. Publicly, politicians and business leaders angrily denounced the War Department's decision, pointing out that the 15th New York should expect no special treatment. Spartanburg's mayor, J.F. Floyd claimed bringing the unit to Spartanburg was akin to "waving a red flag in the face of a bull."³⁸ The most antagonizing aspect of the decision appears to have been the unit's origin in New York. Mayor Floyd suggested as non-southern blacks, the New York men would want to "be treated like white men," which the mayor quickly denied would happen. Though Floyd was not a pacifist leader, some southern pacifist leaders used similar logic as a justification for non-intervention. Mississippi Senator James K. Vardaman claimed the war would give "black soldiers the idea that they deserved equality with whites."³⁹ An unfortunate incident in August involving black troops violently reacting to discrimination in Houston exacerbated the fears of white southerners.⁴⁰

The Chamber of Commerce joined the mayor in criticizing the decision, telling a *New York Times* reporter that: "it is a great mistake to send Northern negroes down here for they do not understand our attitude." According to the Chamber, a black unit composed of southerners would be acceptable, because "we understand them and they understand us, but with those Northern fellows it's different." According to the Chamber's representative, challenges to Jim Crow would be met with violence: "if any of those colored soldiers go in any of our soda stores

³⁸ "Fear Negro Troops in Spartanburg," *New York Times* (1857-1922), Aug 31, 1917. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/99892634?accountid=6167>.

³⁹ Anthony Gaughan, "Woodrow Wilson and The Rise of Militant Interventionism," 801.

⁴⁰ Lee Kennett, "The Camp Wadsworth Affair," 202.

and the like and ask to be served they'll be knocked down." In contrast, the same article notes white troops of the 27th New York were to be welcomed at the train station.⁴¹

Privately, the mayor and Chamber of Commerce proved more conciliatory. It was necessary for them to provide racial rhetoric appropriate for their constituents' consumption. On another level, they understood cooperation with the War Department would help determine the long-term status of Camp Wadsworth. A white officer with the 15th New York recalled that in the early days of the unit's brief stay in Spartanburg, a group of businessmen met with the unit's commanding officer. The businessmen remained critical of the 15th New York's posting to Camp Wadsworth, but suggested earlier public remarks "did not represent the true spirit of the conservative or responsible citizenship of Spartanburg." Efforts would be made to "prevent the delicate situation from becoming an indelicate one."⁴² Social considerations such as an offer of honorary membership at the Country Club for officers were put forth.⁴³

Trouble soon arrived, however, for the men of the 15th New York. The white merchants of the city often refused service to the black soldiers, both in the stores near the camp and in town. In doing so, however, their business suffered from the indignant refusal of many white soldiers of the 27th New York from Wadsworth to do business with discriminatory merchants.⁴⁴ Incidents of unprovoked violence occurred as well. When a black soldier found his way into a gutter courtesy of several local whites, white soldiers launched themselves at his attackers.⁴⁵ The black soldiers were tested and refused to be goaded into violence, but tests to their resolve only grew in intensity.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Arthur W. Little, *From Harlem to the Rhine* (New York: Covici Friedi Publishers, 1936), 56.

⁴³ Ibid, 57.

⁴⁴ Lee Kennett, "The Camp Wadsworth Affair," 206.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

On the opposite side of Spartanburg, Wofford College faced its own obstacles to military training. Wofford's administration fought mightily to overcome these obstacles, but the matter was largely out of their control. The impediments to Wofford's progress arose not from questions about its white students' right to train with arms, but from a dearth of resources. Entering the fall semester, Wofford lacked military officers to train the students, as well as uniforms and rifles for the students' use in drill. The financially strapped college appears to have remedied the problem of acquiring uniforms by purchasing them with its own funds, but sought rifles through the War Department and State of South Carolina. Even if Wofford possessed the means to purchase rifles, wartime shortages may have rendered them unavailable.

The small college succeeded in finding personnel to train the students in military drill and uniforms by November, but was unable to procure rifles for training. As the impetus for military training, Henry Nelson Snyder was the driving force behind this success. His dogged determination to rapidly begin military training demonstrates the evolving southern military tradition's dependence upon the values of southern leaders and institutions, as well as the federal government's growing role in raising and training an American Army.

Entering the 1917 fall semester, Snyder's most immediate task was finding qualified officers to train his students in military matters. His attempts appear to predate the late summer period of 1917, but the first written evidence of an attempt to secure an officer appears on August 8, 1917. Writing to an acquaintance now serving in the Army camp at Chattanooga, Snyder noted "it seems now to be impossible to get a regular Army officer to take charge of our affairs next year." At the same time, however, he held out hope that a qualified man "from one of the training camps," who was physically disqualified for combat service might find a suitable home at Wofford.⁴⁶ On August 14, Henry Nelson Snyder queried a Canadian officer about obtaining as an

⁴⁶ Henry Nelson Snyder to A.W. Horton, August 8, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

instructor a man “returned” from the front, but no longer suitable for combat service.⁴⁷ Such a man was unavailable. By September, however, Snyder received assistance from three suitable officers assigned to Camp Wadsworth.⁴⁸ One of them, Lieutenant Weems, was detailed to remain at the head of military instruction on the campus⁴⁹

Attempts to find uniforms for the students overlapped with efforts to secure an instructor, as well as the search for rifles. The effort to find uniforms involved Camp Wadsworth and an out-of-state uniform company. By September 21, Henry Nelson Snyder wrote Major Kincaide, a Judge Advocate Corps officer based at Camp Wadsworth to seek a ruling on placing the Wofford student body in “some modification of the Army uniform.”⁵⁰ Kincaide’s response authorized Snyder to place his student body in “kahki uniform, if it is fitted out with bright shiny or nickel buttons,” and recommended the students wear something other than the “campaign hat.”⁵¹ Records do not show when Wofford students were outfitted with uniforms, but Snyder received a tardy response from a uniform manufacturer, DeMoulin Bros. & Co. in early November to his request for “samples and prices” from “some time ago.”⁵² His more prompt response explained that Wofford’s uniform needs were already met for the current school year.⁵³

Henry Nelson Snyder’s attempts to secure rifles for training purposes proved more difficult. In early September, Snyder began what was to be a month-long correspondence with Congressman Sam J. Nicholls in hopes of obtaining 300 rifles from the federal government. The number is significant because it would mean arms were provided for every member of Wofford’s

⁴⁷ Major G.H. Needler to Henry Nelson Snyder, date unknown, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁴⁸ Henry Nelson Snyder to Congressman Sam J. Nicholls, September 22, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁴⁹ Henry Nelson Snyder to Captain C.L. Waterbury, October 16, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵⁰ Henry Nelson Snyder to Major Kincaide, September 21, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵¹ Major Kincaide to Henry Nelson Snyder, September 24, 1917. Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵² DeMoulin Bros. & Co. Uniform Company to Henry Nelson Snyder, Nov. 1. 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵³ Henry Nelson Snyder to DeMoulin Bros. & Co. Uniform Company, Nov. 5, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

student body. In Snyder's efforts, he spared no praise for the Congressman, and received much in the way of ego stroking in return as both men tried to demonstrate their loyalty to the cause.

On September 6, Snyder told Nicholls "I find it right hard to give up the possibility of getting guns from the government," suggested the Congressman pay a personal visit to the relevant officials, and thanked him for helping to "solidify sentiment along the right lines" in his upcountry district.⁵⁴ Nicholls's return letter is a master work of conciliation. In no uncertain terms, the Congressman offered his willingness to "go down in person to the War Department and see if I can't secure the rifles for you." At the same time, he explained other requests "have been persistently refused under similar conditions."⁵⁵

Perhaps to flatter Snyder's ego, Congressman Nicholls suggested Snyder send him a recent speech that "made me feel ashamed," presumably of some supposed lack of eloquence in his own ability to speak on the war effort. Overstatement aside, Snyder was known for his rhetorical gifts. The speech in question was likely delivered as part of a speaking tour put on by the County Council of Defense, spearheaded by a local attorney, Ben Hill Brown. In early August, Brown asked Henry Nelson Snyder to "make the speech of occasion" on the tour.⁵⁶

In September, the State Council of Defense asked Snyder, as someone whose name "will carry weight in South Carolina," to serve as one of the contributors of "short, pithy statements," from leading men to their handbook on the war.⁵⁷ The handbook was apparently an important enough matter to prompt the Executive Secretary of the council to remind Snyder to send a written contribution just two days after the original letter.⁵⁸ Alongside the words of the Governor,

⁵⁴ Henry Nelson Snyder to Congressman Sam J. Nicholls, September 6, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵⁵ Congressman Sam J. Nicholls to Henry Nelson Snyder, September 7, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵⁶ Ben Hill Brown to Henry Nelson Snyder, Undated letter, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵⁷ Executive Secretary, South Carolina State Council of Defense to Henry Nelson Snyder, September 13, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

former Governor, and both Senators, Snyder's piece encouraged South Carolinians to understand the conflict was one of "irreconcilable ideals of life and government," that took place in the United States, as well as Europe.⁵⁹ South Carolinians were "soldiers all wherever we are—in the home, in shop, and store, and office, and on the farm, consecrating our labors."⁶⁰ Congressman Nicholls may have heard some variation on this speech and desired a version so that he could see the speech entered into the Congressional record and franked out to Congressional districts by members of Congress friendly to the war effort.⁶¹ Both men knew how to speak the language of patriotism and the other correspondence between them is further evidence of this shared trait.

In Snyder's response to the Congressman's request, he offered that his speech was not in written form and he was "quite too busy to attempt the task of doing so."⁶² As to the matter of the rifles, Snyder only said "I trust that you are pushing the matter of getting guns for us" and Wofford was "starting our military training in earnest."⁶³ Still unable to obtain rifles for Wofford, the Congressman wrote back in another display of flattery and patriotism. In his undated reply to Snyder, Nicholls expressed his regret at not being able to obtain a copy of the speech as its publication "would do an immense lot of good in South Carolina." He also praised the value of military training for Wofford's student body. In the former national guardsman's opinion, "I believe before we get through with this war, it will be of great value to them, as well as the country."⁶⁴ The correspondence related to rifles appears to have ended with Snyder's return letter to Nicholls which emphasized the student body's interest in military training and his approval of continued effort in the battle to obtain rifles.

⁵⁹ South Carolina State Council of Defense, *The South Carolina Handbook Of The War* (Columbia: The State Co. Printers, 1917), 75.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Henry Nelson Snyder to Congressman Sam J. Nicholls, September 7, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁶² Henry Nelson Snyder to Congressman Sam J. Nicholls, September 22, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Congressman Sam J. Nicholls to Henry Nelson Snyder, Undated letter, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

By October 4, Henry Nelson Snyder decided to approach an alternate source of rifles, the state of South Carolina. Snyder wrote Governor Richard L. Manning to inform him “we are having military training in earnest,” and to inquire whether “there might be rifles of an older type in the State Arsenal.”⁶⁵ It is unclear whether Snyder ever received any rifles from the state, but it is clear the federal government never furnished them to Wofford during the war.⁶⁶

Thanks to Snyder’s persistence, however, Wofford received instructors from Camp Wadsworth to assist with drill and uniforms for his students to drill in. All “physically fit” students were required to participate in “military instruction and drill” alongside the college’s standard liberal arts curriculum. The institution had taken on the cast of a military school to the degree that Snyder wrote the Secretary of War on November 20th to request “the steps we shall take to be accepted as an approved Government Military Institution.”⁶⁷ By this, Snyder meant an ROTC institution. In all likelihood, Wofford’s resources were being strained by bearing the cost of purchasing some of the requisites of military training—uniforms—and perhaps compensating the instructors from Camp Wadsworth. Wofford’s acceptance as an ROTC institution would enable Snyder to husband some of Wofford’s precious financial resources.

The response temporarily denied Wofford’s request. It was deemed “impractical at the present time” for colleges that did not already have officers and arms as there were “no officers for detail and no arms to issue.”⁶⁸ In a sense, Wofford already had trained officers, although they may not have been the regular Army officers that fit the War Department’s definition for

⁶⁵ Henry Nelson Snyder to Governor Richard L. Manning, October 4, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁶⁶ Henry Nelson Snyder to Major R.M. Broadwell, March 15, 1919, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder; After the conclusion of hostilities, the War Department wrote Snyder seeking to recover rifles that were actually never sent to Wofford. In his reply, Henry Nelson Snyder makes clear that Wofford desired rifles from the War Department, but never received them.

⁶⁷ Henry Nelson Snyder to Hon. Newton D. Baker, November 20, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁶⁸ Adjutant General John N. Gregory Jr. to Henry Nelson Snyder, November 23, 1917, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

acceptance as an ROTC institution. The pesky question of obtaining rifles remained. The other elements appear to have been in place.

One crucial element that Snyder already possessed was the support of Wofford students. In the fall of 1917, military training was a new element of life on the Wofford campus, and perhaps possessed a measure of novelty to the boys. The October issue of the *Wofford College Journal* described the students as possessing enthusiasm for “this new phase of the college routine, and particularly so over the fact that they are to wear uniforms.”⁶⁹ The students were taking pride in wearing a uniform and sensing they were contributing to the war effort, but also sought to explain the nature of the war and justify their role. Their institution now resembled a military school, but at some level the students understood they were not soldiers.

In the October *Journal* issue, the lead editorial dealt with Camp Wadsworth and the changes it brought to Spartanburg. The writer encouraged students to treat the out-of-state men training at Wadsworth “as their guests.” In light of the Camp Wadsworth incident, the next charge is curious. The Wofford man was to walk the line between adapting “oneself to this new atmosphere” and “at the same time retain his self-control.”⁷⁰ The article never mentions the very brief presence of the 15th New York. Thus, student attitudes towards African American troops training in Spartanburg cannot be discerned from the *Journal*. The editorial’s pronouncement may simply refer to avoiding dust ups with white soldiers, or treating the soldiers courteously. What is more certain is that a month later, the *Journal* printed a more emphatic plea.

Apparently, in the time between the October and November issues, Wofford students relationship with the men from Camp Wadsworth continued to be an issue. The editorial board decided to emphasize the notion of southern hospitality and the students’ role as guardians of this hospitality. There was also a class distinction involved. The writers called the boys,

⁶⁹Unknown author, “Military training,” *Wofford College Journal* 28, No. 1 (1917): 27.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

“representatives from some of the best homes in the South,” and as “such it was their duty” to demonstrate southern hospitality. As for the New York soldiers, they were “college men and just like us” and generally “conduct themselves as gentlemen and true American soldiers.”⁷¹ By this time, the African American soldiers had departed Spartanburg, but there was clearly tension between Wofford students and the New York soldiers.

The tension could have resulted because the soldiers were from New York and seemed alien to these southern boys. On a deeper level, however, the Wofford boys probably felt a sense of jealousy and perhaps inferiority in the face of the soldiers. The Wofford students wore uniforms and were led in drill by Army officers, but they were not soldiers. A group of real soldiers who were men with strange accents and uniforms monopolized the attention of Spartanburg that autumn. The boys now vied for attention with men in actual uniforms, an uncomfortable part of the war effort for them.

Wofford students were also confronting their changing role within the larger nation. Of the surviving documents, *The Wofford College Journal* demonstrates much about the students’ perception of the war effort. In the first issues of the 1917-18 school year, the writers of the journal went to great pains to demonstrate the war was a clash of ideals. During the cotton crisis of 1914, sentiment turned against the British among many southerners fearful of economic disruption.⁷² By 1917, however, students felt the need to justify the new warmth of feelings towards the British. In an article entitled “Pan-Germanism Versus Pan-Anglicanism,” a Wofford sophomore sought to reassure his fellow students of the trustworthiness of their British allies. He explained to his readers that the England of today “is not the England of 1776.” Students should

⁷¹ Unknown author, “Speak to the Soldiers,” *Wofford College Journal* 28, No.2 (1917): 34.

⁷² Anthony Gaughan, “Woodrow Wilson and The Rise of Militant Interventionism,” 775.

have “no opposition from personal feelings or past grievances.”⁷³ In contrast, Pan-Germanism was a force for the “suppression of democracy, liberty, and freedom,” values antithetical to everything the two Anglo nations stood for.⁷⁴

To reinforce the theme, the next article entitled “This War a Conflict Between Two Ideals,” argued the war was a “mighty conflict between two ideals, freedom and enslavement.” The Anglo nations stood for the former, the Germans the latter.⁷⁵ Another article, “Education and the War,” sought to explain why the War Department encouraged students to stay in school instead of entering the armed forces. According to the writer, “the simple untrained mind cannot grasp the full significance of such terms as liberty, justice, and democracy,” which educated soldiers were able to accomplish.⁷⁶ In affirming the wisdom of the government, the writer may have been addressing student guilt over not enlisting or reassuring them that there would still be time to enlist.

Other articles dealt with the American military tradition, while downplaying the past animosity between the North and South. One article, “The United States and Her Glorious Works of the Past and Present,” provided an overview of American military history and reasons for American exceptionalism. Of particular interest is the manner in which the writer describes the Civil War. His version of the meaning emphasizes reconciliation between both sections through recognition of shared sacrifice; a concept popularized in the historiography of the Civil War through David Blight’s *Race and Reunion*. The writer praised the result of the war as “the liberation of slaves” and “triumph for democracy against autocracy and aristocracy.”⁷⁷

⁷³ Unknown author, “Pan-Germanism Versus Pan-Anglicanism,” *Wofford College Journal* 28, No.2 (1917): 10.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁵ L.D.H., “This War a Conflict Between Two Ideals,” *Wofford College Journal* 28, No.2 (1917): 11.

⁷⁶ Unknown author, “Education and the War,” *Wofford College Journal* 28, No.2 (1917): 19.

⁷⁷ C.K.A., “The United States and Her Glorious Works of the Past and Present,” *Wofford College Journal* 28, No. 2 (1917): 31.

At the close of the school year, as a draft loomed, *The Wofford College Journal* reassured students that the War Department was competently handling the war effort, despite reverses resulting from the German spring offensive, and that the new draft system was fair. Sophomore W.R. John's "A Reply to the Critics of Secretary Baker," counseled patience, suggesting that a nation whose "entire training has been opposed to military pursuits" would need time to adapt to the demands of war.⁷⁸ Writing on the draft, W.R. Johns cautioned students not to "delude ourselves with the idea our superior resources and our practically untouched wealth will overcome all obstacles."⁷⁹ A draft was not only necessary, but needed to "strike a heavy and decisive blow" to the German war machine.⁸⁰

The article also spoke to the reality of future service in the American Expeditionary Force in France. When the boys started to see induction into the Army as a real possibility, they harkened back to their region's military tradition. Alongside the article on the draft were pieces on "Southern War Songs of the Sixties," and "Stonewall Jackson: The Soldier and the Man." It likely provided a comforting presence that reminded them of their elders' prowess as fighters and strength of character. If their grandparents could pass the test of combat, perhaps they could as well.

The writer of "Stonewall Jackson: The Soldier and the Man," senior A.J. Jones, argued that Jackson was both "a born fighter" and a man who "consistently lived the life of the Christian soldier." This notion is in line with the Lost Cause tendency to praise the piety of the Confederate soldier, particularly the piety of Jackson and Lee. Stonewall also embodied aggressive tendencies.

⁷⁸ W.R. Johns "A Reply to the Critics of Secretary Baker" *The Wofford College Journal* 28, No. 5 (1918): 6.

⁷⁹ W.R. Johns, "The Draft," *The Wofford College Journal* "The Wofford College Journal 28, No. 5 (1918): 17.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 22.

He was “content with nothing less than the complete annihilation of the enemy.”⁸¹ These qualities, however, made Jackson a figure that southerners and northerners could admire. According to Jones, Jackson would always have “the love and admiration of the world, both as a patriot and a God-fearing Christian gentleman.”⁸² By reflecting on the prowess of southern men from another generation, the young men of Wofford attempted to steel themselves to fight as Americans.

Soon afterwards, the school year ended, and student uncertainty about their draft status was resolved. Based on age, students would return to school in the fall to receive a certain amount of additional education before fully entering service. They would do so as members of the Student Army Training Corps, an Army run organization that took over most tasks of campus management at American institutions of higher education in the fall of 1918. All male students would now be privates in the Army, subject to military discipline, and to a curriculum prescribed by the Army.⁸³ The SATC proved markedly less popular among Wofford administrators and students than the college’s own military instruction.

Reminiscing on that time in his 1947 autobiography, *An Educational Odyssey*, Henry Nelson Snyder would have somewhat negative feelings toward the SATC experience. Though incorrect in the year—he recalled it being the fall of 1917—Snyder accurately described the nature of SATC. In Snyder’s words, the organization “took over” his campus. Much of the leadership was supplied by an Army officer and his subordinates, their orders coming not from the president’s office, but from the War Department.⁸⁴ The loss of administrative control was one negative effect of the SATC on the Wofford campus. Perhaps equally upsetting to Snyder was

⁸¹ A.J. Jones, “Stonewall Jackson: The Soldier and the Man,” *The Wofford College Journal* 28, No. 5 (1918): 41.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 44-45.

⁸³ Unknown author, “Furman University and Army Training,” *Furman Bulletin* 1, No. 1 (1918): 1.

⁸⁴ Henry Nelson Snyder, *An Educational Odyssey*, 264.

the SATC curriculum which damaged the quality of instruction. As he described it, education was “reduced to its lowest terms—English, mathematics, physics, and history.”⁸⁵

On a more positive note, the military discipline helped Snyder keep the students on their best behavior even though the school had already been organized to some degree as a military institution for the past twelve months. According to Snyder, the Army captain running the campus managed to “get the swearing stopped on the drill ground in the presence of visiting mothers” and “gave Wofford the best chapel attendance it had ever had.” Along with these accomplishments, Snyder retained control of admissions and did not have to yield to the War Department dictate of “no distinctions made in race, color, or creed.”⁸⁶

The tension from the SATC experience comes through in Snyder’s correspondence with former students and in student literature. In November 1918, Snyder wrote to a former student serving with the Marines in France, “you would hardly know Wofford now, the campus has been transformed into a military post.”⁸⁷ Nearby Greenville’s Baptist Furman University experienced a similar conversion with the advent of SATC. Shortly after the war, *The Furman Bulletin* said of SATC: “The weak point in the system as applied, however, was the dual control, military and academic. In the last analysis, the real control was military.”⁸⁸

Wofford students were blunter in their assessment of SATC. A student writer noted that “without any doubt, every man on the campus was glad to see the Student Army Training Corps of Wofford College disbanded.” For the Wofford students, “the signing of the armistice took all of the pep out of things, and the duties that had been cheerfully performed became rather irksome.” In closing, the writer noted that college men fully supported the war effort, but should unanimously oppose any attempt to make a militaristic nation out of America, should such a thing

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Henry Nelson Snyder to Frank L. Fitzsimmons, November 9, 1918, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

⁸⁸ S.E. Bradshaw, “Military feature suggested,” *The Furman Bulletin* 1, No. 2 (1919): 4.

be conceivable.”⁸⁹ Military discipline, it seemed, was tolerated when danger compelled students to conform to a military system, but was not for peacetime Wofford.

Appearing in the same issue as criticism of the S.A.T.C regime was an article, “Lee And His Army,” which notes among Lee’s other qualities, his ability to shape a volunteer Army without engendering resentment through harsh discipline. Lee, the author claimed, “has sometimes been accused of being too mild with his soldiers, but we find that he did not overlook the need for severity in dealing with refractory soldiers.”⁹⁰ Lee understood the resentment that volunteers soldiers felt against the disciplined routine of the regular Army. Perhaps after chafing under a system of military discipline, the boys felt their officers would have been better served by following Lee’s example.

The students could remember Robert E. Lee, but probably never knew of the near crisis in Spartanburg in autumn 1917. Neither Henry Nelson Snyder nor any of his students mentioned the “Camp Wadsworth Affair” in their correspondence or campus publications. Chances are they possessed no knowledge during the war as the newspapermen were “begged” not to speak of any tensions between the troops, both black and white, and the city.⁹¹ If the confrontations had blossomed into the full scale melees they nearly became then the result might have become national news.⁹²

The primary version of the Camp Wadsworth Affair describes two incidents that nearly exploded into major violence. In both incidents, black troops were provoked by the action of local whites. The first incident involved a white truck driver passing by the camp telling black soldiers that two of their men were lynched the night before at the police headquarters. Due to an unfortunate set of circumstances, two soldiers from the unit happened to be AWOL. Some of the

⁸⁹ Unknown author, “The End of SATC,” *Wofford College Journal* 29, No. 1 (1919): 26.

⁹⁰ Unknown author, “Lee And His Army,” *Wofford College Journal* 29, No.1 (1919): 19.

⁹¹ Arthur W. Little, *From Harlem to the Rhine*, 69.

⁹² Lee Kennett, “The Camp Wadsworth Affair,” 209.

men from the 15th New York incorrectly assumed these men had been lynched and sought answers.⁹³ Without informing their commanding officer, Colonel Hayward, a body of 40-odd men armed themselves and marched into the city.⁹⁴

The official story recounted by Colonel Hayward, who was the only officer to respond to the action, has the men standing in a non-threatening manner while two of the men sought answers at the police station. The Colonel experienced no difficulty in commanding the men's obedience.⁹⁵ His trip to the police station revealed that the rumored lynching did not occur. With townspeople watching, Colonel Hayward ordered a march back to the camp, which his recounting suggests was taken as merely a well-executed training exercise that the townspeople applauded. The AWOL men returned to camp later that day.⁹⁶

The second incident occurred after it was decided that the 15th New York should leave Spartanburg for Europe to avoid risking a major outbreak of violence developing.⁹⁷ A black noncommissioned officer was attacked by a hotel proprietor after he purchased a newspaper from the hotel lobby for his lieutenant. White New York soldiers in the lobby witnessed the incident and threatened the proprietor before a black officer took control of the situation, but not before being verbally assaulted by the hotel owner. A movement among the regimental officers to press for criminal charges was headed off by their superiors.⁹⁸

The 15th New York left the city on October 24th, just thirteen days after its arrival in Spartanburg.⁹⁹ In Europe, the men acquitted themselves well in combat, despite experiencing a shortened form of training and drawing difficult combat assignments.¹⁰⁰ Spartanburg upheld her

⁹³ Arthur W. Little, *From Harlem to the Rhine*, 59.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 60.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 61.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 62.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 65-66.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 68-69.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 71.

¹⁰⁰ Lee Kennett, "The Camp Wadsworth Affair," 209.

racial status quo, but the cost may have been a permanent base. After the war, racial considerations continued to be a concern, not just for South Carolinians, but for a broader array of white southern leaders.

In March 1919, Henry Nelson Snyder received an invitation to discuss the adjustment of returning soldiers and postwar society with a small group of southern academics and civic leaders at an Atlanta hotel. John J. Eagan, the issuer of the invitation, quickly told Snyder the real purpose behind the meeting was to “discuss the difficulties that will arise from return of the Negro soldiers to the South.” Eagan believed white leaders’ actions or inactions over the “next nine months” would “determine for good or for ill what the race relationships are to be for some decades to come.”¹⁰¹ Snyder, a racial moderate, professed interest in the meeting, but declined the scheduled date citing a previous engagement.¹⁰² Whether Eagan rescheduled, or if Snyder was able to attend the rescheduled meeting is unknown. The calling of such a meeting, however, was emblematic of white leaders’ concerns about the postwar South.

Just as Spartanburg leaders had feared black troops from the North spreading alien ideas among black South Carolinians, they feared black South Carolina troops returning from Europe would demand greater rights and disrupt the status quo. Some racial disruptions did occur in the immediate postwar period. White fears, however, exceeded action by black South Carolinians. One particularly virulent rumor of an uprising by Columbia blacks “led hundreds of men to arm and plan for assembling women and children in designated places.”¹⁰³ Nothing came of the threat.

On Wofford’s campus, life was returning to usual. The end of SATC, a relief for many students, meant military discipline and training had ceased. For the administration and faculty,

¹⁰¹ John J. Eagan to Henry Nelson Snyder, March 19, 1919, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁰² Henry Nelson Snyder to John J. Eagan, March 20, 1919, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁰³ David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 675.

control of the curriculum and instruction was once again in their hands. Some of them, however, envisioned the resumption of mandatory military training for students.

In a February 1919 letter, Henry Nelson Snyder explained to a War Department official that the faculty “was now seriously considering...compulsory military training under the ROTC provisions including all students for two years.”¹⁰⁴ Ultimately, Wofford would not force students to participate in military training, but did form an ROTC detachment. The unit would eventually flourish. Before it could, however, the College had to undertake a healing process which culminated with a memorial service in June 1919 led by Henry Nelson Snyder.

Dr. Snyder’s moving address illustrates the institutional and community values of the men and women assembled to mourn and celebrate the lives of their fallen. As a devout Christian and head of a Methodist institution of higher education, Snyder identified the struggle with Christian principles and took special care to note the faith of his former students and fallen soldiers, offering an optimistic, faith driven assessment of the war and its consequences. He believed that “no army ever left a homeland knowing so clearly and so definitely that the spiritual gains of the centuries were imperiled.” He said that Americans, “heard the long-pent, passionate cries, of a torn, distracted, bleeding world calling for a new order of things based upon open and fair dealings, upon even the very spirit of the New Testament of peace and goodwill.”¹⁰⁵ In his reflections on individual soldiers, Snyder continued his emphasis on piety.

First Lieutenant Thomas Carlisle Herbert, a Laurens County, South Carolina soldier and aspiring attorney, was described as “a clean, upright, Christian gentleman who did his duty as a man and as a soldier.”¹⁰⁶ Private Melvin Claude Rogers was identified as a “refined Christian

¹⁰⁴ Henry Nelson Snyder to Major B.A. Tolbert, February 9, 1919.

¹⁰⁵ Henry Nelson Snyder, “Memorial Address,” *Wofford College Bulletin* 4, No. 3 (1919): 22

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

gentleman, a clean, manly man.”¹⁰⁷ Yeoman Second Class John Theodore Monroe was lauded as a “high minded, Christian gentleman.”¹⁰⁸ In a letter to First Lieutenant D. Lake’s church, Snyder said of Lake, “all felt he was a man that you could trust, a high-minded Christian gentleman, who really was a leader in the best things of college life.”¹⁰⁹ The values Snyder recognized in these men were the same values he articulated military education should inculcate. When asked in a 1923 survey what aspects of citizenship ROTC should emphasize Snyder responded “clear emphasis should always be laid upon order, neatness, promptness, accuracy, obedience” and “a sense of personal honor.”¹¹⁰

Snyder also recognized willingness to serve. These individuals received the first mention in his memorial address. The first mentioned by Snyder was Lieutenant William Augustus Hudgens of Honea Path, South Carolina. Older than the “boys” from Wofford who went over there, Hudgens was born in 1878 and grew up during the halcyon days of the Lost Cause. After his 1897 graduation from Wofford, he served as elected Captain of the First South Carolina regiment’s Company H. Like most units, it never experienced combat, but this apparently did not diminish his ardor for service. In 1916, he served with the First South Carolina regiment, policing the border. Volunteering once again for service, he died in combat in France on October 8, 1918.¹¹¹

Snyder also noted the service of William Montague Nicholls, a former Wofford student who sought military training at The Citadel and Annapolis. He finished neither. He did, however, join the British Army in 1915, serving as an artillery officer. He was killed at the Battle of Loos

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 21.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 15.

¹⁰⁹ Henry Nelson Snyder to W.L. Gray, November 14, 1918, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹¹⁰ 1923 ROTC Survey, 1, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 14.

on September 26, 1915.¹¹² Yeoman Second Class Monroe's early inclusion into the speech may have been primarily because of his persistence in the face of his apparent physical defects in finding a way to serve. Monroe was rejected by several branches before the Navy accepted him.¹¹³ The other fallen men also received personal tributes from Dr. Snyder, but the themes of faith, virtue, discipline, and a desire to serve were prevalent throughout Snyder's remarks.

In closing, Snyder offered it was "their spirit of service, glorified by the gift of life itself" that inspired the living to "re-shape the world's life to nobler and finer ends."¹¹⁴ His idealism for a long-term peace was shared by many other college presidents and academics, but his enthusiasm for continuing a program of military education was not. In the aftermath of the war, an anti-military backlash went through society, but he pursued the formation of an ROTC detachment along with Clemson Agricultural College and Presbyterian College. What made these institutions different and specifically Wofford?

I argue that Snyder and the other Upper Piedmont ROTC institutions presidents pursued ROTC for a mixture of idealistic and practical reasons. One reason closely associated with the Lost Cause was the belief that military training and Christian values were compatible. During the First World War era, Clemson Agriculture College, a military college and public institution, took roll at the services of the town's four protestant churches that claimed 87 percent of the cadets as worshippers. The few non practicing students were counted later in the day.¹¹⁵ Wofford and Presbyterian were church supported institutions. All three institutions were among the early adopters of ROTC.

¹¹² Ibid, 15.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 22

¹¹⁵ Jerome V. Reel, *The High Seminary: A History of Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina 1889-1964* (Clemson: Clemson University Digital Press, 2011), 176.

In Wofford's case, ROTC provided a means to inculcate the virtuous qualities of a soldier in a student, demonstrate patriotism, and bring federal money to campus. Without the First World War and the formation of ROTC, however, Wofford likely would never have commenced a program of military education. For campus and community, cultural predispositions, a desire to demonstrate patriotism, and economic concerns spurred Wofford and Spartanburg's recruitment efforts. Their actions were part of the evolving southern military tradition, but in Spartanburg's case, hostility towards African American military service remained. The First World War moved Wofford and Spartanburg closer to the nation, but each still retained distinct ideas of military service.

CHAPTER TWO

“IN OUR SOUTHERN YOUTH THERE STILL RUNS WITH EXCEPTIONAL STRENGTH THAT PREFERENCE FOR AND ADAPTABILITY TO MILITARY LEADERSHIP...”

In late January 1919, Henry Nelson Snyder received a letter from J.D. Hutchison of Ninety Six, South Carolina about Hutchison's son Cauthen, a Wofford student. Mr. Hutchinson was apparently under the impression that Cauthen would receive military training at Wofford, as he would have the previous fall under the SATC curriculum. For Mr. Hutchinson, military training was “one of the main reasons for sending Cauthen back to Wofford.” In its absence, Hutchinson informed Snyder that “as we want him to have the military training we decided to send him to Clemson on February 1st,” and inquired about a refund for the tuition that he already paid Wofford.¹¹⁶ Mr. Hutchinson did not realize, however, that Snyder was already in the process of forming an ROTC detachment at Wofford, a matter he pursued with great ardor.

If Cauthen had been allowed to stay at Wofford, he could have joined Wofford's first ROTC detachment which was formally instituted on December 29, 1919.¹¹⁷ Apart from the system of military discipline that all Clemson cadets were required to adhere to, Cauthen's military training at Wofford would have been similar, if not exactly the same as that which Clemson cadets received. In the period before the First World War and the advent of ROTC, control of military training was largely left to college and state

¹¹⁶ J.D. Hutchinson to Henry Nelson Snyder, January 27, 1919, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder, Archives, Sandor Teszler Library, Wofford College (hereafter cited as Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder).

¹¹⁷ Historical Record of the Infantry ROTC Unit, Wofford College, Spartanburg, S.C, Wofford College Military Files, Sandor Teszler Library, Wofford College (hereafter cited as Wofford College Military Files).

authorities. A military school like Clemson Agricultural College was only provided with a commandant by the Army to oversee its corps of cadets. ROTC brought a greater military presence and federal control in the form of more uniformed officers on campus, federal money for advanced course students, and a standardized curriculum. The increased federal involvement through ROTC marked an important change for land grant schools organized along military lines, as well as newcomers to organized military training like Wofford.

In Wofford's case, military education through ROTC provided a means to serve the nation and bring federal money to campus. Despite war weariness among students, a nationwide problem, the administration believed the program would succeed without forcing students to join. The Wofford ROTC detachment's rapid rise to become an important part of campus and community life demonstrates the southern military tradition continued to meld southern and American values in service of the nation. The program's initial effect was to bring the federal government into a closer relationship with the campus.

For a small denominational institution, involvement with the federal government was typically quite limited. ROTC brought federal money and a small amount of federal oversight to campus life. Although institutions like Wofford College never reached the level of dependence on federal government spending as land grant institutions, especially those of a technical bent like Clemson, Wofford found that federal ROTC money served as a means to keep cash strapped students in school. Economic motivations aside, Wofford's story also illustrates that Henry Nelson Snyder found ROTC training to be

within his school's educational objectives. Initially, however, his students' enthusiasm did not match that of parents like J.D. Hutchinson. The key to the surmounting this challenge was Snyder's leadership.

Snyder's ardor for ROTC arose from a combination of pragmatism and idealism. Pragmatically, Snyder understood that an ROTC unit would bring federal money to campus in the form of stipends for advanced course students. In 1920-21, the stipend paid advanced course students 140 dollars per annum.¹¹⁸ This payment covered much of the cost of attendance at Wofford and provided a uniform. In the early 1920s, tuition itself was only \$60 a year. Combined with fees and room and board, the total cost of attending Wofford was \$261.00.¹¹⁹ The stipend was equal to slightly over half the cost of attendance. Given the prolonged depression that began in the American South following the First World War, the advanced course stipend was essential in permitting students to complete their education.

Idealistically, Snyder shared with his fellow ROTC institution heads a hope that the program would teach their callow boys discipline and an appreciation of their role as citizens. Snyder summed up the prevailing sentiments of ROTC heads on the program's usefulness when he said it should provide "preparation for civil service in peace as well as in war."¹²⁰ Regional variations occurred, but an interest in inculcating discipline and teaching principles of citizenship were national concerns.

¹¹⁸ Unknown author, "Catalogue 1920-21," *Wofford College Catalogue, 1920-1930*, 32.

¹¹⁹ David Duncan Wallace, *History of Wofford College: 1854-1948* (Spartanburg: The Reprint Company Publishers, 2003), 216.

¹²⁰ 1923 ROTC Survey, 1, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

Within the realm of ROTC institutions during the interwar years, Wofford's experience has been highlighted because it provides a unique story that demonstrates the complexity inherent in the idea of a southern military tradition. Under the Morrill Act of 1862, land grant universities were required to provide military training to their students.¹²¹ The later National Defense Act of 1916 made two years of compulsory ROTC training for physically able male students at land grant universities the primary means to fulfill their obligations under the Morrill Act to provide military training.¹²²

A private institution like Wofford was not bound to provide military training under the provisions of either act. Wofford's ROTC detachment operated on an entirely voluntary basis from its inception, a distinction that made it unique within its region. Despite an initial lack of student enthusiasm, neither Wofford students nor their parents displayed opposition to the program. Within the Upper Piedmont, participation in ROTC for college males was the norm, not the exception.

Outside of Wofford, South Carolina's other institutions mandated participation. Wofford succeeded without compelling its students to join the detachment. Although this did not mean the student held an aggressive militarism, Wofford students showed great enthusiasm for ROTC. There are no discernible signs that the program was ever seriously challenged by students or members of the community. Not surprisingly, the southern

¹²¹ Rod Andrew Jr. *Long Gray Lines: The Southern Military School Tradition, 1839-1915* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 41.

¹²² Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 29.

public maintained greater support for American intervention into the European war in 1941 than any other section.¹²³

Wofford's story and the experience of southern ROTC institutions demonstrate the idea that a southern military tradition persisted through the interwar years. The tradition can be seen through a lack of resistance to ROTC, the strong performance of ROTC cadets, lingering perceptions of southerners as better "fighting stock," and greater interventionist sentiment. The tradition was particularly potent in the Upper Piedmont. An examination of the state of military education in South Carolina in the early 1920s demonstrates the evolution of the southern military tradition to accommodate the federal government's increased responsibility for military education in colleges and universities.

Clemson Agricultural College and The Citadel's active participation in ROTC were assured. Clemson was organized as a military college and required through the Morrill Act to offer some form of military training. Ever since its founding, Clemson had exceeded this requirement by functioning as a military school. The Citadel, also organized as a military college, was not bound by the Morrill Act, but participation was expected. At both these institutions, students understood they would be under a system of military discipline and receive instruction in drill and tactics. Prior to the First World War, students at the state's denominational liberal arts colleges harbored no such expectations about their educational experience.

Laurens County's Presbyterian College was the first of South Carolina denominational institutions to form a detachment. Its unit commenced operations in

¹²³ Anthony Gaughan, "Woodrow Wilson and the Rise of Militant Interventionism," *The Journal of Southern History* 65:4 (1999), 772.

January 1919, requiring compulsory participation for freshmen and sophomores.¹²⁴ This allowed the college to streamline operations by using ROTC to fulfill the physical education requirement of the curriculum.¹²⁵ The routine of military drill following breakfast five days per week became a part of every male Presbyterian College student's experience and, as one observer said, "sent each day off to a zestful start—especially on cold winter mornings."¹²⁶

Greenville's Furman University opted not to form a detachment, although S.E. Bradshaw, Furman's acting president during the First World War, was receptive to the idea. In his opinion, military training was an activity that "benefits every student who is physically able to take it." He believed military training could be a force "to solve many problems of discipline."¹²⁷ Bradshaw's presidency, however, was short lived. His successor, W.J. McGlothlin, appears not to have pursued continued military training at Furman. As Wofford demonstrates, the leadership of a college's president was a major determinant in an institution's ability to form an ROTC detachment and in that detachment's success. Without the support of the college's president during the interwar years, Furman did not become an Army ROTC institution until 1950, although it required two years of enrollment in the program for physically fit freshmen and sophomores until 1965.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Ben Hay Hammet, *The Spirit of PC: A Centennial History of Presbyterian College* (Clinton, S.C.: Jacobs Press, 1982), 37-38.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹²⁷ S.E. Bradshaw, "Military Feature Suggested," *Furman University Bulletin*, 1, No.2 (1919): 4.

¹²⁸ "About the Battalion," Army ROTC Furman University, <http://www.armyrotc.com/edu/furman/about.htm>. Accessed December 8, 2011.

Greater anti-military sentiment on college campuses was present outside the confines of the Upper Piedmont at the University of South Carolina. In 1921, the ROTC unit on The University of South Carolina campus was discontinued by the Board of Trustees. The board deemed ROTC “inconsistent with the tradition of the University.”¹²⁹ Until Navy ROTC was added in 1940, no organized military training was present on the University of South Carolina’s campus. An Air Force ROTC detachment formed in 1949, but the Army ROTC unit was only reestablished in 1980.¹³⁰ Although Wofford’s students initially showed a lack of enthusiasm for military training, the administration supported ROTC. Their support may have been the crucial difference between Wofford and the University of South Carolina’s attitude towards military training. Early struggles, however, abounded at Wofford.

On February 6, 1919, Henry Nelson Snyder wrote in a letter to Major B.A. Tolbert, a War Department officer with responsibilities for education and special training, that the Wofford faculty “was now seriously considering recommending compulsory military training under the ROTC provisions.” This was in spite of only 59 of 225 students expressing interest in joining an ROTC unit. There was, Snyder admitted, “a psychology hostile to military training,” at present. To assuage Major Tolbert’s concerns, Snyder largely attributed the attitude to the cessation of hostilities and the poorly

¹²⁹ West, Elizabeth C., “The University of South Carolina in the Great War: Confronting Problems While Contributing to the War Effort” in *Forward Together: South Carolinians in the Great War* ed., Fritz P. Hamer, (Charleston: The History Press, 2007): 85.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 90-91.

organized and executed end of the SATC¹³¹ Ultimately this judgment would be vindicated, but desirable results were not immediately forthcoming.

In an undated letter from the early years of Wofford's ROTC unit, Henry Nelson Snyder wrote to the Commanding General of the Southeastern Division, urging the General to permit Wofford College to continue as an ROTC institution. Snyder wrote that ROTC "seems to us to have physical, moral, academic, and military values that warrant us in wanting it continued." His concern was apparently driven by low student interest in ROTC. In his estimation, ROTC "continued to be a bit strange to us" and students who served in the war persisted in "something of an anti-military sentiment." Snyder noted that his own situation was unusual in that Wofford was a liberal arts college and in that situation ROTC "must be something of an experiment for several years (or) until both the authorities of the both the College and student body become used to it as an essential feature of college life."¹³²

By the 1925-26 school year, the experiment had clearly evolved into an accepted feature of campus life. Neither Snyder nor the students mention what accounted for the change in letters or publications. What is clear is that Snyder's post 1925 struggles stemmed from lack of federal support, not student interest. In the early years of Wofford's detachment even securing an officer proved problematic, but the phenomenal growth in numbers and the accolades bestowed on the unit testifies Wofford found success quickly.

¹³¹ Henry Nelson Snyder to Major B.A. Tolbert, February 6th, 1919, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹³² Henry Nelson Snyder to Commanding General, Southeastern Division, Undated letter, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

The Professor of Military Science and Tactics at Wofford, Captain J.R. Boatwright, wrote a colleague at Rutgers University, explaining that more students wanted to join Wofford's unit than he could handle. During the 1925-26 school year, 70 percent of the student body enrolled in the unit. Captain Boatwright estimated that if demand could be satisfied, enrollment would represent 80 percent of Wofford students. Most tellingly, he offered that the unit had grown 300 percent since 1920 on "a strictly voluntary basis."¹³³

The phenomenal growth made Wofford's detachment competitive with larger Southeastern institutions, some of which were organized under a military system. In the 1926 Fourth Corps Area Intercollegiate Gallery Match, Wofford's first team finished in sixth place with a score of 7249 out of a possible 8000 points despite competing against much larger institutions. A fourth place finish would have secured Wofford a slot in the National Intercollegiate Match. Wofford's score placed it one place ahead of Clemson Agricultural College and four places ahead of The Citadel, which finished next to last. Wofford was also the only college in the competition to furnish a second team, although their results were considerably less impressive. The second team finished last.¹³⁴ The results, however, indicated Wofford's ROTC unit was on solid footing. Wofford's performance did not escape the notice of the War Department.

On March 18, 1926, Henry Nelson Snyder received a letter from the War Department that said Wofford had been "recommended for inspection for the purpose of determining whether it should be designated in War Department orders and publications

¹³³ Captain J.R. Boatwright to Colonel S.E. Smiley, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹³⁴ Corps Area Intercollegiate Gallery Match, March 15, 1926, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

as one of the distinguished colleges.”¹³⁵ Receiving the designation would place Wofford among the top ROTC programs in the nation. Only thirty-three ROTC programs were accorded the honor in 1926. These schools were almost exclusively land grant institutions.¹³⁶ Of the distinguished military colleges, only Davidson College, a North Carolina Presbyterian college, was comparable to Wofford in size and mission.

The honor, however, was not accorded to Wofford. Snyder diplomatically told the War Department that his unit’s failure showed “the defects in their training offered” and presented “certain definite lines for improvement.”¹³⁷ Captain Boatwright’s assessment of the War Department’s system of assigning the distinguished military college honor was blunter.

In a letter to a colleague, Boatwright forcefully maintained that “it is a matter of official record that the records of students from this college at summer ROTC camps have eclipsed those made by students attending from the so-called ‘distinguished colleges.’ On a regular basis, Wofford students outperformed their peers at distinguished colleges by “one to, and in some cases, four or five places.” In the rating system, however, “no cognizance was taken of camp work” despite Boatwright’s belief that camp work was a better assessment of a student’s suitability to serve as an officer.¹³⁸ The matter of camp work’s inclusion was largely out of Boatwright’s control, as were the quality of Wofford’s facilities.

¹³⁵ Robert C. Davis to Henry Nelson Snyder, March 18, 1926, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹³⁶ Distinguished Military Colleges, 1926, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹³⁷ Henry Nelson Snyder to Robert C. Davis, June 21, 1926, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹³⁸ Captain J.R. Boatwright to Colonel S.E. Smiley, December 8, 1925, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

The rating sheet for the 1926 Distinguished Military College inspection shows that Wofford lost points for its facilities for “practical instruction” and “care of arms,” a difficult matter to correct.¹³⁹ The institution had little money to spare on improved facilities, a defect that would continue to present a problem in the 1930s. The 1938 inspection revealed precautions against loss, damage, or destruction of government property were “satisfactory, but barely so, as regards fire and theft.”¹⁴⁰ In 1939, the inspecting officer Major James E. Matthews noted “better facilities are needed for the protection of government property,” but acknowledged Wofford was “confronted with unusual financial problems.” Major Matthews concluded “under the circumstances, in my opinion, the institution is doing the best it can.”¹⁴¹

Given the obstacles faced by Wofford’s financial situation and small size, however, ROTC was a conspicuous success by the 1925-26 school year. Had Wofford had joined the ranks of Distinguished Military Colleges, it would have been among a number of other southern institutions. In 1926, nine of the thirty three distinguished military colleges were located within the borders of the old Confederacy, representing over a quarter of the total.¹⁴² Each of the nine southern distinguished military colleges’ ROTC detachments enjoyed the support of administrators and crucially, their students bought into the system as well. The attention given to ROTC by Wofford’s student newspaper, *The Old Gold and Black*, testifies to the pride taken by the student body in the detachment.

¹³⁹ 1926 Wofford College Rating Sheet for Senior Division Units of Combat Branches, Reserve Officers’ Training Corps, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁴⁰ 1938 Wofford College ROTC Inspection Report, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁴¹ 1939 Wofford College ROTC Inspection Report, *Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder*.

¹⁴² Distinguished Military Colleges, 1926, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

In the first issue of the 1925-26 school year, the ROTC unit was noted as having “grown steadily each year in membership and advantages.” The growth was sufficient to secure the advantage of serving in a newly formed machine gun company for seniors without responsibilities as officers for the other companies. The newspaper also lauded the unit’s strong performance at the summer camp held in Anniston, Alabama. At camp, Wofford students “were rated ahead of Clemson and The Citadel” by their army instructors. The strong performance was attributed to the strength of character of Wofford boys, “who do their best everywhere, whether in the classroom or on the drill field.”¹⁴³

Indeed, much of the student writing on the battalion emphasized its ability to bring glory to the college. Wofford’s detachment participated annually in the Armistice Day activities held in Spartanburg. According to *The Old Gold and Black*, the unit was “always the outstanding feature of the Armistice Day parade,” and its members received so much praise that they will “have a hard time to keep from getting ‘swell headed.’”¹⁴⁴

One area of particular pride was in the ROTC band which served a useful purpose at events like Armistice Day and performed at home and many away football games. Their performances at football games “contributed not a little to the brilliant record hung up by the Terriers this season.” Despite the band’s relative youth, Wofford students believed it “was rapidly taking its place as the best student band in the state.”¹⁴⁵ Without federal ROTC money, maintaining a band would have been substantially more difficult for the small Methodist college.

¹⁴³ Unknown author, “The ROTC Unit at Wofford,” *The Old Gold and Black*, September 25, 1925, 4.

¹⁴⁴ G.B.H., “ROTC News,” *The Old Gold and Black*, November 27, 1925, 3.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

In matters of a purely military nature, the students also took great pride. News of impending inspections, inspection results, and competition results competed with athletic events for space on the front page. In February 1926, an inspection and remarks by Colonel Frank W. Rowell were highlighted by *The Old Gold and Black*. Rowell's inspection found the unit had improved since the previous year and praised the ROTC band. He also spoke out against groups and individuals opposed to ROTC. These anti-ROTC were not a pronounced problem in the South, but swept through detachments in the Northeast, Upper Midwest, and California during the 1925-26 school year.¹⁴⁶

The reaction to the news of Wofford's inspection for status as a distinguished military college testifies that Wofford students fully supported ROTC. An April 2, 1926 article "Wofford ROTC Unit to Be Inspected on April 8" identified the upcoming inspection's significance for the college as "the greatest honor she has had in years." The writer argued that all Wofford students "respected the work being done by the ROTC even if they do not take the course" and were "heart and soul behind the unit and what it stands for."¹⁴⁷ Their president had expressed his hopes in the 1923 ROTC survey that the ROTC experience would help teach "the significance of the themes of cooperation."¹⁴⁸ It appears the detachment, along with athletics, contributed to the growth of a corporate spirit among southern males long known for their attachment to individualism.

Wofford administrators, students, and parents felt ROTC fostered unity and a collective spirit among the student body. Citizens of other sections of the nation,

¹⁴⁶ Unknown author, "Wofford Corps Inspected by Colonel Rowell," *The Old Gold and Black*, February 15, 1926, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Unknown author, "Wofford ROTC Unit to Be Inspected April 8," *The Old Gold and Black*, April 2, 1926, 1.

¹⁴⁸ 1923 ROTC Survey, 1, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

however, were expressing fear that compulsory participation in ROTC would develop militaristic instincts in youth. Although opponents would not challenge the premise of ROTC itself, the movement to end compulsory participation in colleges outside the South reveals southern values were different from those of other sections.

The genesis of the movement was in a Midwestern state deeply attached to the values of progressivism. Long an opponent of military education and its perceived fostering of militarism, Wisconsin led the way. In the late 19th century, University of Wisconsin students rebelled against military training by destroying rifles used in drill.¹⁴⁹ The pattern was repeated in the wake of the First World War. In 1923, the Wisconsin state legislature decided the Morrill Act did not require compulsory military education, but only that the university should make military training available to interested students. Training became voluntary in Wisconsin.¹⁵⁰ Neighboring Minnesota abolished the compulsory requirement in the 1930s. In all, twenty-one schools abolished the mandatory two year requirement by the mid-1930s.¹⁵¹

The fear of militarism, however, was not isolated to Wisconsin or Minnesota. *Opinions of Leading Citizens on Military Training in Schools and Universities*, an army-produced pamphlet that was sent to Dr. Snyder, showcased efforts made by college presidents and civic leaders to defend ROTC from its critics. The absence of southern institution heads within its pages does not suggest southerners were unwilling to defend ROTC training, but demonstrates they faced fewer challenges to compulsory military

¹⁴⁹ Rod Andrew Jr., *Long Gray Lines*, 65.

¹⁵⁰ Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service*, 30.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 31.

training. In other sections, most opponents focused on removing the compulsory aspect of ROTC training, although opponents generally thought beyond merely defending students' rights. The reprinted remarks in *The Opinions of Leading Citizens on Military Training in Colleges and Schools* provide an interesting interpretation of regional values related to ROTC instruction.

A strong unit, the University of California at Berkeley's detachment, made the ranks of distinguished military colleges in the spring of 1926.¹⁵² The preceding fall, however, University of California Berkeley's president W.W. Campbell addressed public opposition to military training within his state. A vocal minority of Californians opposed to military training sent letters to Campbell to explain their fears that ROTC "develops a militaristic spirit in men." In Campbell's estimation, the letter writers believed the inculcation of militarism in college men would cause "our men to hope that war will come so that...they may apply to the killing of other men, what they, while in this regiment learned." A proponent of ROTC, Campbell argued "our likelihood of getting into war will be about in inverse proportion to our degree of readiness to defend ourselves."¹⁵³

Boston University Dean Everett W. Lord wrote an editorial that argued along many of the same lines. Lord believed that compulsory ROTC produced students that "were less militaristic in spirit than those who have had no such experiences."¹⁵⁴ Missouri President Stratton R. Brooks spoke of a study of the city of Boston when he explained

¹⁵² Distinguished Military Colleges 1926, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁵³ Opinions of Leading Citizens on Military Training in Schools and Colleges, 1, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 4.

that “few of those who took training in the high schools entered the state militia, while large numbers of those who did not take it enrolled in the national guard.”¹⁵⁵

In response to the rising sentiment against compulsory training, private eastern institutions Johns Hopkins, the University of Pennsylvania, and Princeton abolished the compulsory ROTC requirement in the mid-1920s.¹⁵⁶ By the 1930s, seventeen ROTC institutions moved to voluntary participation for students amid an attempt in Congress to pass legislation making all ROTC training voluntary.¹⁵⁷ Due to its formation as a purely voluntary unit, Wofford College was far ahead of the wave of conversions to voluntary ROTC. As enthusiasm waned in other sections, Wofford’s detachment continued to maintain an important position on campus, high standards, and a large enrollment.

Throughout the late 1920s and the 1930s, the ROTC experience continued to remain prevalent in the pages of *The Old Gold and Black*. In 1928, Wofford acquired a chapter of the Scabbard and Blade, a military honor society. Chapter news merited inclusion as front page material.¹⁵⁸ Community events involving ROTC generated even more notice.

When Charles Lindbergh visited Spartanburg in 1927, Wofford’s R.O.T.C unit played a prominent role. The unit aided in managing the crowd and the senior members of the battalion served as ushers and bodyguards for Lindbergh.¹⁵⁹ Armistice Day assumed a special significance for both campus and town. In 1927, Wofford College

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service*, 30.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 31.

¹⁵⁸ Unknown author, “Scabbard and Blade Holds Initial Meeting,” *The Old Gold and Black*, November 7, 1931, 1.

¹⁵⁹ Bob Wallace, “Colonel Lindbergh Worshipped by Throngs Over World and Met Here By Great Crowds, Unassuming,” *The Old Gold and Black*, October 14, 1927, 4.

ROTC was the central part of an on-campus program honoring the memory of the fallen. After the ceremonies, the cadets “were marched into the chapel for the regular morning service.” The day concluded with the unit leading the parade through downtown Spartanburg.¹⁶⁰

War Department reports also testify to the success of the unit and demonstrate Henry Nelson Snyder lost none of his ardor for ROTC. In his 1938 inspection report, Colonel H.R. Richmond identified Snyder as “one of the most ardent, if not in fact the most ardent of all heads of colleges and universities in his consistent and effective support of R.O.T.C and of National Defense.”¹⁶¹ In his 1936 inspection, Richmond described Snyder as an “ardent supporter of proper measures for the National Defense” and as a man with “national” influence within the Methodist Church.¹⁶² Not surprisingly, the unit received consistently excellent ratings.

The number of students within the unit remained high as well. By 1936, 232 cadets were enrolled in the basic course. The strictly limited advanced course enrollment kept the number of students small. By the 1930s, federal ROTC budget cuts squeezed advanced course enrollment. In 1935, there were sixteen more students eligible for enrollment in the advanced course than slots. By 1937, budget cuts and growth in Wofford’s unit increased the number of eligible students unable to obtain slots in the advanced course to thirty three.¹⁶³ This was a source of great consternation to Snyder, as it undermined his ability to keep students in school.

¹⁶⁰ Unknown author, “Armistice is Observed by ROTC,” *The Old Gold and Black*, November 11, 1927, 3.

¹⁶¹ 1938 ROTC Inspection Report, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁶² 1936 R.O.T.C Inspection Report, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

In a note written on budget cuts to ROTC during the 1934-35 school year, Snyder wrote students projected to be cut out of the advanced course “had made their plans on the expectation of continuing in ROTC” The “loss of the subsistence allowance,” would “prohibit the attendance of a majority of them.” The note also testified to the strength of ROTC within the region. Snyder explained that the Fourth Corps area, which consisted of Southeastern ROTC institutions, was “by far the largest corps area in terms of students.”¹⁶⁴

The Fourth Corps area was also distinguished by its values. Fervor for the Lost Cause had decreased considerably by the 1930s, but Robert E. Lee still rested atop the pantheon of southern military heroes. In 1932, the occasion of Lee’s birthday merited a speech from the college’s dean, lauding the character of the general. Dean DuPre’s message aimed squarely at the discipline and spiritual rectitude the college was trying to inculcate in its students. According to DuPre, Lee’s “greatest exhibition of mastership was his mastery of himself” and his greatest victories were “his internal and spiritual victories.”¹⁶⁵ He closed by suggesting students not only remember Lee, but “try to be like him.”¹⁶⁶ A student editorial honored Lee in much the same way, but emphasized Lee as a national hero that students southern and northern should honor and emulate.¹⁶⁷

In acquiring modern day Army officers for ROTC, Wofford sought pious men that would serve as a good influence to students. One particular requirement was that the

¹⁶⁴ Henry Nelson Snyder Handwritten Note, 1934, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁶⁵ J.B. Bennett, “Wofford College Commemorates Birthday of Robt E. Lee,” *The Old Gold and Black*, January 23, 1932, 1.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 4.

¹⁶⁷ C.H. Watson, “Lee-The Man,” *The Old Gold and Black*, January 23, 1932, 4.

officers “have no Catholic connections.”¹⁶⁸ The situation arose when it was discovered that year Captain John W. Rodman’s wife was Catholic, although the Captain was an Episcopalian.¹⁶⁹ This unique requirement did not escape the notice of the War Department. In 1936, when Major Herbert F. Teate was set to depart campus, a War Department inspection report noted his successor would have “to be selected with great care as to peculiar fitness and suitability for duty at an institution owned by and conducted under the authority of the Methodist Church.”¹⁷⁰ Southern institutions like Wofford had managed to mold ROTC to fit their unique situations, needs, and values.

On the cusp of the Second World War, the experiment had been a success. During the 1930s, the only obstacles to the continued growth of ROTC were limitations in monetary and officer resources which kept course enrollment lower than demand. By 1940, however, Wofford College reached a milestone that testified to the strength of its ROTC unit. In an era when regular army commissions were difficult to obtain, Wofford graduates Captains Walter C. Guy and Benjamin W. Rushton returned to their alma mater as Regular Army ROTC officers.¹⁷¹

Nationally, southerners were still seen as a superior stock of fighters. In 1937, graduates of southern ROTC units secured 12 of 50 permanent commissions in the regular army awarded by a competitive examination. Based on population, southerners should have only accounted for five to six commissions. In the opinion of General Van Horn Moseley, a Midwesterner, the feat demonstrated that “in our southern youth there

¹⁶⁸ Henry Nelson Snyder to Colonel E.T. Conley, May 11, 1925, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁶⁹ Colonel E.T. Conley to Henry Nelson Snyder, May 9, 1925, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁷⁰ 1936 ROTC Inspection Report, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

¹⁷¹ Morrell Thomas, “ROTC Unit Has Grown Much Twenty Three Years Here,” *The Old Gold and Black*, January 10, 1942, 1.

still runs with exceptional strength that preference for and adaptability to military leadership for which in the past they have been so universally credited and acclaimed.”¹⁷²

Although none of the 12 recipients of permanent commissions were Wofford graduates, Wofford ‘s ROTC unit made a proud record during the interwar years.

By the eve of the Second World War, ROTC became an integral part of campus and community life, melding patriotism with practicality. No opposition to the program appears to have developed, nor would any develop in the lead-up to the Second World War. The record of ROTC during the interwar years ultimately paved the way for Wofford’s disproportionate contribution of officers to the U.S. Army during the Second World War. Wofford’s military tradition grew in strength during the interwar years, while other institutions were less prepared for the outbreak of hostilities.

¹⁷² General Van Horn Moseley to Henry Nelson Snyder, June 2, 1937, Papers of Henry Nelson Snyder.

CHAPTER THREE

“SOME OF US WILL MARCH TOGETHER, SOME WILL GO AND COME BACK TO TELL, OTHERS WILL GO...”

After church and dinner on a Sunday afternoon in February 1946, 81-year-old Henry Nelson Snyder rose once again to remember Wofford College’s fallen. This time Snyder spoke not as Wofford College’s president, but as its elder statesman. He stepped down from the presidency at the close of the 1942 school year, ceding the position to his handpicked successor Walter Kirkland Greene. Many of the fallen, however, were his boys. He was the most fitting man to speak in their memory.

Unlike in 1919, Snyder would not pause to remember each of the dead, as the sheer number of the fallen would have made individual tributes impractical. His speech would also take a different tone, reflecting none of the 1919 generation’s optimism and idealism. For the war-weary audience, he would open by harkening back to the aftermath of the Civil War, a time few could still personally remember except for its role in the collective memory of white southerners. For Snyder, the image of “the vacant chairs” and a jacket made from his father’s Confederate uniform symbolized the suffering brought on by war; a reference he knew would resonate with his audience, particularly the older members.¹⁷³ For the younger generation, the collective memory of the South still mattered, but Wofford students were more apt to identify with their fathers’ service in the First World War than Confederate heroes, a definite departure from the boys of 1918.

The growing identification with nation above region was part of a longer-term process dating back to the War of 1898 and before. During the interwar years, ROTC helped alter the strong regional character of military training at Clemson Agricultural College and other southern

¹⁷³ Henry Nelson Snyder, “In Youth’s Radiant Way,” *Southern Christian Advocate*, March 14, 1946, 4.

military schools. At institutions like Wofford and Presbyterian College, where military training had not existed prior to the war, ROTC brought limited federal government involvement and nationalizing forces to campus. The popularity of ROTC training demonstrated a high level of enthusiasm among white southern males for military training, but did not make them particularly anxious for the coming of war.

Indeed, Wofford's experience in the late interwar years was marked by a slow drift towards war which never saw student opinion crystallize in favor of a declaration of war until the December 7, 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The war years were marked by the sacrifices of former students at war and the turmoil of dropping enrollment and other wartime pressures. The southern military tradition can be seen within Wofford's experience in the Second World War through the continuing strength of and enthusiasm for ROTC at the school.

Despite an October 1941 poll indicating 88 percent approval among southerners for an American declaration of war against Germany, Wofford students were slow to favor American entrance into the European War.¹⁷⁴ Opposition slackened as December 1941 approached, but never abated completely until the events of Pearl Harbor. Released days before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the November 1941 issue of *The Wofford College Journal* carried an article entitled "The Back Road to War" which suggested "few people recognize the peculiar parallel between Hitler's conquest of Europe and Roosevelt's progress to war."¹⁷⁵ Yet, amongst the rumblings of discontent at the prospect of war, Wofford prepared itself for service to the nation in war.

¹⁷⁴ Anthony Gaughan, "Woodrow Wilson and the Rise of Militant Interventionism," *The Journal of Southern History* 65, No. 4 (1999): 772.

¹⁷⁵ Unknown author, "The Back Road to War," *Wofford College Journal* 52:1 (1941): 2; the November 1941 issue of the *Wofford College Journal* was actually released days before December 7. Many students only read the article in the wake of the Japanese attack. This was unfortunate for the author whose sentiments, at least in a less provocative manner, were in line with many students.

Even as students declared their opposition to American entrance into the war, their actions demonstrated they were prepared for the inevitable. Participation in ROTC did not decline as a consequence of the coming war. The years between the outbreak of the war in Europe and the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor demonstrate gradually growing patriotic sentiment. Wofford students identified with the ideals of democracy and Christianity. They cherished the critical thinking skills and individualism inculcated in them by the liberal arts college experience. Alongside these ideas, many Wofford students voluntarily pursued military training through ROTC, a program that sought to foster a corporate spirit and adherence to rules and regulations. It was through this program that the college would contribute most to the war effort.

Upon the American entrance into the war, Wofford and other colleges of the Upper Piedmont proved their loyalty once again through their service to the nation. One of the primary means of serving their nation rested upon the strength of Clemson's, Presbyterian's, and Wofford's ROTC detachments, which allowed the institutions to furnish a share of officers to the armed forces disproportionate to their size. Likewise, each institution faced challenges unique to their all-male and in the case of Presbyterian, nearly all-male nature. Among them, Wofford College's evolving attitude towards the war, its survival as an institution through the war, the stories of its soldiers, and its postwar attitude toward military training illustrate the idea of a southern military tradition in all its complexity.

Nearly all vestiges of the Lost Cause were gone from Wofford's students' consciousness and vernacular by the Second World War. The students reached back to the First World War generation for inspiration and not to Robert E. Lee, or Stonewall Jackson. Wofford students identified with the American cause as a fight for democracy, particularly religious freedom and free speech. Even in the period of the First World War, these changes were becoming evident, but ROTC both fostered a greater sense of nationalism and served as the reason for Wofford

College's outsized contribution to the war effort. In the years prior to the American entrance into the war, Wofford's ROTC detachment benefitted from an intensification of effort alongside student opinion that advocated patriotism and preparation, but was against intervention.

In April 1939, Hitler's regeneration of Germany's armed forces and the threat he posed to Europe was on the minds of Wofford College students. The editors of *The Old Gold and Black* asked 50 Wofford College students if the United States should enter "any European war that might arise from the present crisis." The explanation of the poll's results occupied space on the front page of April 15 issue. At that early stage, 41 of 50 students, or more than 80 percent, of students surveyed "answered a flat and emphatic 'NO'" to the survey question. No reasons were given for their opposition. The writer, however, chose to explore the small minority in favor of intervention and their reasoning.¹⁷⁶

The reasoning for three freshman pro-war respondents is particularly instructive. They felt the United States "must take part in any war that might affect the balance of power in the world, in order to insure the protection of Democracy and other Christian ideals which are now threatened by various 'isms'." A larger exception was the opinion of "a conservative senior," who refused to pick sides unhappy with both "power crazed dictators and imperialistic statesmen."¹⁷⁷ When war arrived, the views of the three freshmen respondents in 1939 were in line with the majority of students' opinions on the war, but the process was gradual and not always logical.

In the autumn of 1939, Germany's invasion of Poland did little to spell anti-interventionist sentiment on the Wofford campus. A September 20 editorial, "Let's Remain Neutral," argued that the previous American fight for Democracy "only led to the conclusion that

¹⁷⁶ Unknown author, "Students Dislike Our Entering War," *The Old Gold and Black*, April 15, 1939, 1.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

the ideal did not exist.” Students were urged “let us not make the same mistake again.”¹⁷⁸ Much of the same would be said in the following winter. A February 17 editorial, “Americans Oppose War,” cited national polling indicating 83 percent of college men were against compulsory military service and concurred with this opinion, as “every student should do his part to keep a spirit of neutrality in the U.S.”¹⁷⁹

In the next issue of *The Old Gold and Black*, another editorial, “Our Neutrality”, attacked the contradictions of American neutrality. The author argued that “we support war in one country, while at the same time we raise money for the relief of war victims in another” and called for taking the “humane” path. This path included legislation that “will prevent our supplying materials to a ruthless and uncompromising nation.” The author’s view called for either strict neutrality, or erasing the contradiction of supplying arms to one country and sending relief to its enemy.¹⁸⁰

By the next year, sentiment softened glacially on the neutrality question. In a “What Students Say” feature in *The Old Gold and Black*, none of the six students surveyed were in favor of a declaration of war, but three of the six favored continued aid for Britain. As one student said, he favored “all aid to Britain, short of a declaration of war.”¹⁸¹ Meanwhile, interest and enthusiasm for the ROTC unit grew as Wofford students cautiously edged away from their opposition to entering into the European war.

Alongside the February 24, 1940 editorial, “Our Neutrality,” another editorial addressed the college’s ROTC detachment’s role at football games. The once-strong ROTC band had fallen in stature and was relegated to performing from the stands. Students desired the band resume on-field halftime performances. Another suggestion was to have a platoon performing silent drill

¹⁷⁸ Unknown author, “Let’s Remain Neutral,” *The Old Gold and Black*, September 20, 1939, 2.

¹⁷⁹ Unknown author, “Americans Oppose War,” *The Old Gold and Black*, February 17, 1940, 2.

¹⁸⁰ H.B.S., “Our Neutrality,” *The Old Gold and Black*, February 24, 1940, 2.

¹⁸¹ Unknown author, “What The Students Say,” *The Old Gold and Black*, February 15, 1941, 2.

which would “add much to the drawing card to a football game” and likely “increase the attendance at games.”¹⁸² On the surface, neither measure had much to do with the war in Europe, or American participation. Both ideas, however, say much about the college and community’s definition of militarism.

A military marching band and a silent drill company were thought to be means to increase the attraction of Wofford home football games for spectators. Although most students were against American entry into the European war, the students and community still appreciated and venerated uniforms, formation marching, and precision drill. Yet, a November 30, 1940 editorial took offense that the ROTC band members “wish to be soldiers first and musicians second,” a fact the student writer believed was “quite satisfactory with military headquarters here.”¹⁸³

The November 1940 editorial demonstrates an attitude that suggests Wofford students desired ROTC to serve campus above country. The student writer believed the place of the band was providing a source of pride to the campus for its acumen with musical instruments and precision marching. The emphasis on more strictly military aspects was part of the maturation of the detachment. The unit reached its peak effectiveness in the years leading up to American entry in the Second World War.

The November 4, 1939 editorial, “ROTC Unit Looks Promising” proved to be a harbinger of things to come. That fall, the writer explained the unit was doing its “best to create a military atmosphere around the ROTC as never been created before.” He predicted the detachment would be “one of the best units that has ever been at Wofford College.”¹⁸⁴ His

¹⁸² Unknown author, “Needed improvements,” *The Old Gold and Black*, February 24, 1940, 2.

¹⁸³ Unknown author, “Military Band Has Developed Quicker Into a Parade Unit,” *The Old Gold and Black*, November 30, 1940, 1.

¹⁸⁴ Unknown author, “ROTC Unit Looks Promising,” *The Old Gold and Black*, November 4, 1939, 2.

assessment proved correct, as the juniors of that unit won the proficiency cup, an honor never before accorded Wofford.

An October 18, 1940 article lauded the performance of ROTC seniors in their summer camp work at Fort McClellan, Alabama. Their work that summer led to the detachment earning the proficiency cup, awarded to the “school whose unit has the highest average” at camp work. Wofford won against all of its peers in the Fourth Corps Area, which included in-state military institutions, as well as detachments from the South’s largest universities. Their achievement was conspicuous and demonstrated the strong military aptitude of Wofford ROTC cadets.¹⁸⁵

During the 1940-41 school year, the ROTC unit again excelled. In particular, the rifle team reached a high level of effectiveness which attracted the notice of the campus sports columnist Bob Purdy. He suggested the team could be considered one of the college’s most successful athletic teams, although he jokingly suggested students believed that the team was actually “practicing for Hitler.” More seriously, Purdy attributed the team’s success to its members’ hunting backgrounds, as “the ability to shoot accurately is something the man ordinarily has before he ever arrives at school.” Per Purdy’s analysis, most of Wofford’s southern students obtained this skill through “hunting ducks, partridges, and doves.”¹⁸⁶ If the familiar concept of shooting a rifle accurately provoked only jestful references to the European war, the idea of training pilots proved different.

During the same period, an ostensibly non-military federal training program arrived on campus. The Civilian Aeronautics Authority’s Civilian Pilot Training Program commenced operations at Wofford in the fall of 1939. The program’s stated purpose was to “train young men who give promise of interest in and ability to continue flying activities as private and commercial

¹⁸⁵ Unknown author, “Col. Laughlin Praises ROTC Seniors in Cup Presentation,” *The Old Gold and Black*, October 18, 1940, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Bob Purdy, “Sideline Splits,” *The Old Gold and Black*, April 5, 1941, 3.

pilots.” The author was quick to point out “the program has no connection whatsoever with the ROTC unit we have now.”¹⁸⁷ Furman University was even quicker to dismiss the military implications of the Civilian Pilot Training Program. A September 1939 *Furman Hornet* article quoted Furman president John L. Plyler on the purpose of the program. Plyler explained that he wanted it “especially understood that this is not a militaristic move” and cited the act’s passage “three months before the outbreak of hostilities in Europe” as evidence.¹⁸⁸

By early 1940, Wofford students reversed their definition of the program. A January 11 article, “Fourth Civilian Pilots Training Course to Begin February 1st,” identified the course’s purpose as “for national defense and in recognition of the great need for pilots in present day warfare.” The January article also mentioned three Wofford men who completed the Civilian Pilots Training Course were heading into either the Army or Navy as pilots within the next few months.¹⁸⁹ In the months prior to January 1940 and with increasing frequency afterwards, a number of Wofford men volunteered, or were called to service as pilots.

On October 5, 1940, *The Old Gold and Black* noted former student Harry L. Mitchell recently received a commission as a 2nd Lieutenant piloting a B-17 Flying Fortress. Mitchell sought his commission to train as a pilot in the fall of 1939 and completed training in the summer of 1940. Appearing beneath Mitchell’s story was a John C. Calhoun quote, “the reward is in the struggle more than the victory.”¹⁹⁰ As Wofford students braced for the struggle ahead, recent graduates and older alumni began to depart campus for military service.

¹⁸⁷ Unknown author, “Aeronautics To Be Offered at Wofford,” *The Old Gold and Black*, September 20, 1939, 1.

¹⁸⁸ Unknown author, “Aeronautical Course Given For Students,” *The Daily Hornet*, September 22, 1939, 1.

¹⁸⁹ Roy Richardson, “Fourth Civilian Pilot Training Course To Begin February 1st,” *The Old Gold and Black*, January 11, 1940, 2.

¹⁹⁰ Unknown author, “Lieutenant Harry Mitchell Reports for Duty After Training,” *The Old Gold and Black*, October 5, 1940, 4.

An October 1940 front page article listed Wofford graduates in the military, most of whom were recent graduates serving in the infantry.¹⁹¹ They were called to service primarily because of their reserve commissions earned through participation in Wofford's ROTC unit. The following winter, Wofford's popular young basketball and baseball coach Roy Robertson, a member of the class of 1936 and former ROTC cadet, tendered his resignation to join the Army Air Corps.¹⁹²

For students not enrolled in ROTC, the Marine Corps provided another opportunity to serve. In the spring of 1941, recruiters from the Marine Corps arrived on campus. Fourteen Wofford seniors applied for a Marine officer commission. The commission would be offered to one principal and two alternates would begin training at a later date.¹⁹³ In May, *The Old Gold and Black* reported that T. Emmet Walsh received the principal Marine Corps appointment. D.C. Gibson and Newton Howle were alternates.¹⁹⁴

Other appointments struck closer to home for the editors of campus publications. In December 1940, the previous editors of *The Old Gold and Black* and *The Wofford College Journal*, Baker Lucas and A. Owen Wood, were called to active duty service.¹⁹⁵ The May 1940 issue of the *The Wofford College Journal* included "The Seniors May Go," a moving final piece by wood. Wood forecast the trials his fellow ROTC members would face in the looming war, intoning "when we march again, when we march again---we won't be on parade." There would be "no empty guns, no sponsors, no pretty dresses and flowers and medals." Wood never used the word war, but the implication was clear when he offered in closing that "some of us will march

¹⁹¹ Unknown author, "Wofford Grads Are In Military Service of The U.S.," *The Old Gold and Black*, October 5, 1940, 1.

¹⁹² Unknown author, "Roy Robertson Resigns To Enlist In Army Air Corps," *The Old Gold and Black*, January 11, 1941, 4.

¹⁹³ Unknown author, "Fourteen Seniors Apply for Marine Commission," *The Old Gold and Black*, March 22, 1941, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Unknown author, "Emmet Walsh Named Principal Marine Corps Reserve," *The Old Gold and Black*, May 2, 1941, 4.

¹⁹⁵ Unknown author, "Graduates Get Call to Colors," *The Old Gold and Black*, December 14, 1940, 2.

together, some will go and come back to tell, others will go.”¹⁹⁶ A. Owen Wood would go and not return, but his deployment and the entrance into the armed services of Wofford men helped bring the reality of a global war to Wofford’s campus.

Even closer to the campus, on the periphery of Spartanburg, Camp Croft, a new army installation, provided evidence of the drift towards war, but did not provoke the same negative community reactions as Camp Wadsworth. In a manner similar to the process of recruitment that brought Camp Wadsworth to Spartanburg, South Carolina Senator and Spartanburg resident James F. Byrnes provided the necessary push for the construction of Camp Croft. The sprawling facility opened on December 5, 1940 and reached a full strength of nearly 32,000 men.¹⁹⁷

Although residents were assured that Croft’s trainees would come from southeastern states, the Army reneged on this commitment. Most men who trained at Camp Croft were from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, including African American troops.¹⁹⁸ Certain precautions such as the presence of Military Police within the city to control the behavior of both white and African American troops were put into place, but no major incidents appear to have taken place between local whites and African American troops.¹⁹⁹

Following their forbearers, Wofford students voiced no opinion about the presence of African American troops in Spartanburg during the era of the Second World War, but proved more welcoming to the presence of a training camp. During the First World War, the editors of *The Wofford College Journal* urged students to “stop and exchange a few words” with the soldiers from Camp Wadsworth, most of whom were “college men and just like us.”²⁰⁰ In the

¹⁹⁶ A. Owens Wood, “The Seniors May Go,” *The Wofford College Journal* 50, No. 5 (1940):7.

¹⁹⁷ Ron Crawley, “Camp Croft & World War II,” in *When the Soldiers Came to Town*, ed. Susan Turpin, et al. (Spartanburg: Hub City Writers Project, 2004), 82.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 86.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*,

²⁰⁰ Unknown author, “Speak to the Soldiers,” *Wofford College Journal* 28, No. 2 (1917): 34.

December 6, 1941 issue of *The Old Gold and Black*, an editorial addressing Camp Croft carried a different tone, a product of ROTC and other nationalizing forces.

Wofford College and the community were “cooperating to the greatest extent with the soldiers stationed at Camp Croft.” The college offered evening classes for soldiers, access to the library, and expressed willingness to teach some courses for soldiers at Camp Croft. Their ties were strengthened by “the taste of military life which the ROTC has given Wofford” and the “fact that many alumni of the local institution are now located at Camp Croft.”²⁰¹

The next morning life changed for college, city, and country. Students’ initial reaction to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was relatively subdued. In the December 13 issue, the attack and subsequent declaration of war did not merit mention on the front page. In a small editorial on the second page, Wofford Students began defining what the war meant for the lives. Their first inclinations were to define the task ahead of them and ascertain the status of their former classmates now serving in the armed forces.

In the first issue after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, an editorial “Our Task” offered a brief rallying cry, as students pondered their future. In the short term, Wofford students were to “patiently toil at that which is our work here,” as they waited their turn to join the war effort. The longer term goal of transforming the “gum chewing, football crazed American college boy” into a soldier would take time, but American boys would adapt and “show up well under fire.”²⁰² The article mentioned that four Wofford graduates, among them A. Owen Wood, were already fulfilling their nation’s need by serving in the Pacific theater.²⁰³

In the December issue of the *Wofford College Bulletin*, Henry Nelson Snyder penned his Christmas message with these men in mind. Wofford College, Snyder said, was at war for the

²⁰¹ M.T. “, Camp Croft” *The Old Gold and Black*, December 6, 1941, 2.

²⁰² Unknown author, “Our Task,” *The Old Gold and Black*, December 13, 1941, 2.

²⁰³ Ibid.

fourth time in its history and each time “met all of the obligations required of them with fortitude, fidelity, and in the spirit of high and generous sacrifice,” as his former and current students would do again. In closing, Snyder offered Wofford’s “best wishes for either the experience or memory of an American Christmas under a flag which is as never before is the free heart’s only hope and protection of this hour.” For students, the issue of the American flag had been a patriotic rallying cry amidst uncertainty about American entrance into the war. An editorial in the November 9, 1940 issue of *The Old Gold and Black* argued a new flag should be purchased and raised daily because it would remind Wofford students of “the heritage that is ours.” According to the writer, the move was needed “now as never before.”²⁰⁴

Henry Nelson Snyder’s next words in a campus publication came in the form of a eulogy. Wofford’s first casualties of the war were David Buist Anderson and Roy Robertson, two pilots who suffered training crashes. The death of Robertson, known as Roy on the Wofford campus, shook the students and faculty. Snyder’s eulogy affirmed Robertson’s character. Roy was identified as a man known for “his uprightness, his gentleness of speech and manner, his sturdy qualities of character, his willingness to help others.” He died “preparing himself to protect for us the precious gifts and privileges of a free America.” Snyder offered his hope that God would ensure Roy’s sacrifice was “not in vain” and that “the dear God of grace and comfort be very close to all who loved him in these dark, strange hours.”²⁰⁵ A shorter student written article eulogized the life of David Buist Anderson, a former ROTC cadet, tennis player, and former president of the Calhoun Literary Society, who graduated in 1937.²⁰⁶

News of combat casualties filtered back to the Wofford campus as well. On February 14, 1942, news of A. Owen Wood’s wounding in the Philippines reached the campus. Fortunately,

²⁰⁴ Unknown author, “The Star Spangled Banner,” *The Old Gold and Black*, December 9, 1940, 2.

²⁰⁵ Henry Nelson Snyder, “Roy,” *The Old Gold and Black*, January 10, 1942, 2.

²⁰⁶ Unknown author, “David Anderson,” *The Old Gold and Black*, January 10, 1942, 2.

his wound was identified as slight.²⁰⁷ An effect of this news may have been to increase students' resolve. The news coincided with an uptick in aggressive, patriotic sentiment meant to rally the campus to the cause that was not present in the immediate wake of Pearl Harbor.

A March 7, 1942 editorial, "What A Totalitarian Victory Would Mean," argued Americans must focus all of their energy on the war effort because a German victory would lead to "all of us being put to work for the German overlords, or shot." The intent of the author was not to forecast defeat, but to stress the urgency required for victory.²⁰⁸ Other more subtle editorials explained how life would be different for the class of 1942, invoking their past military heritage, the difficult road ahead, and the values they fought for.

The Old Gold and Black reached back to the college's formative years when the senior class of 1861 enlisted in the Confederate ranks.²⁰⁹ The current students' focus, however, was largely directed towards the sacrifices of their fathers in 1918 and finishing what they started. An article, "War Graduate Study" within a themed section for the Class of 1942 suggested the men of 1917-18 "made heroic sacrifices," but "it is essential that this generation do a more thorough job in this war game than the boys of 1917-18."²¹⁰ Editorials defining the cause for which they were fighting emphasized freedom, particularly of religion and speech.

The emphasis on these principles was evident in the editorial "We Fall to Rise...Are Baffled to Fight Better." The editorial declared "ours is an enemy, hostile to all principles of free speech, Christian worship and the cherished respect for the dignity, peace, importance and happiness of the home."²¹¹ Another editorial, "You?," argued Wofford's liberal arts education

²⁰⁷ Unknown author, "A. Owen Wood Wounded in the Philippines," *The Old Gold and Black*, February 14, 1942, 1.

²⁰⁸ George B. Beach, "What A Totalitarian Victory Would Mean," *The Old Gold and Black*, March 7, 1942, 2.

²⁰⁹ Unknown author, "Commencement---1942---As Always," *The Old Gold and Black*, April 18, 1942, 9.

²¹⁰ Unknown author, "War Graduate Study," *The Old Gold and Black*, April 18, 1942, 2.

²¹¹ Unknown author, "We Fall to Rise...Are Baffled to Fight Better," *The Old Gold and Black*, April 18, 1942, 2.

gave graduates the resources to avoid “one sided personalities and lopsided learning” that blunted critical thinking skills which would serve them well in the “blitzkrieg world of our life.”²¹²

Students’ Anglo heritage, common at a southern institution of higher education, also provided a rallying cry. The need to protect the “mother country” remained largely in line with those of Wofford students during the First World War.²¹³ During the war and in the lead up to war, *The Old Gold and Black* engaged in more discussions of Hitler and the European war than Japanese aggression in the Pacific. In the lead up to the war, news of Wofford’s International Relations Club was largely concerned with Adolf Hitler and European affairs. Now, Wofford men were fighting and dying in the Pacific theater, but interest in the European War continued to exceed the war against Japan.

In closing, however, *The Old Gold and Black* reminded the seniors of A. Owen Wood’s prophetic and inspiring words in the May 1940 issue of *The Wofford College Journal*. The image of marching together for the last time fit their present situation. They would depart from campus into various branches of the armed forces and share in the uncertainty of war.²¹⁴ The college they left behind would endure a trying year, but continued operating through the assistance of the federal government.

In the 1942-1943 school year, manpower needs reduced the number of students enrolled on Wofford’s campus for the fall and winter terms from 476 to 404.²¹⁵ Numbers continued to thin and Wofford College entered into a contract with the Army Air Force which ensured the college’s continued operation during the war as a training camp for aviation cadets. Within the Upper Piedmont, Clemson Agricultural College, Erskine College, Furman University, Presbyterian

²¹² Unknown author, “You?,” *The Old Gold and Black*, April 18, 1942, 2.

²¹³ Unknown author, “Commencement 1942,” *The Old Gold and Black*, April 18, 1942, 2.

²¹⁴ Unknown author, “To Clear the Decks for Action,” *The Old Gold and Black*, April 18, 1942, 9.

²¹⁵ David Duncan Wallace, *History of Wofford College: 1854-1949* (Spartanburg: The Reprint Company Publishers, 2003), 262.

College, Winthrop College, and Wofford became the site of Army Air Force training camps.²¹⁶ In his history of Erskine College, future Wofford President Joab Mauldin Lesesne Jr., conveyed the experience of all of the Upper Piedmont men's colleges, when he described the program as "the salvation of Erskine and other small colleges during the war."²¹⁷

One of the program's primary benefits was keeping faculty members employed. On Wofford's campus, the program provided jobs for 16 faculty members to teach the aviation cadets.²¹⁸ The first men from Wofford's 40th College Training Detachment arrived in Spartanburg on the night of March 7, 1942 and marched from the train station to Wofford's campus. Their arrival provided another opportunity for campus and civic officials to display their patriotism.²¹⁹

The following morning, the first aviation cadets were treated to addresses from Henry Nelson Snyder, Walter Kirkland Greene, Spartanburg Mayor Jennings L. Thompson, and Camp Croft's Commanding Officer General Duward S. Wilson. Speaking to the largely Midwestern cadets, Snyder emphasized their shared unity of purpose. According to Snyder, they shared a desire for "loyal service in a common cause under a common flag." Mayor Thompson also emphasized loyalty, telling the cadets they were amongst a "loyal and patriotic people."²²⁰

The interest of Wofford's remaining students was naturally piqued by the cadets as well. *The Old Gold and Black's* reporting of the arrival emphasized the cadets were "seasoned soldiers," who "will be given an opportunity for a liberal education they would not have had in

²¹⁶ Courtney K. Tollison, *World War II and Upcountry South Carolina* (Charleston: The History Press, 2009), 116.

²¹⁷ Joab M. Lesesne Jr., "A Hundred Years of Erskine College, 1839-1939," PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 1967.

²¹⁸ Phillip Stone, "Wofford College And The Air Cadets," in *When the Soldiers Came to Town* ed. Susan Turpin, et al. (Spartanburg: Hub City Writers Project, 2004), 211.

²¹⁹ Unknown author, "Air Corps Cadets Invade Wofford," *The Old Gold and Black*, March 20, 1943, 1.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

civilian life.”²²¹ No anger at their displacement appeared. Upperclassmen may have even smiled at good fortune.

The college and ROTC unit continued to operate through a unique arrangement brought about by wartime strains. On February 22, 1943, the remaining Wofford upperclassmen began attending classes at Spartanburg’s all-girl Converse College, a departure from the Upper Piedmont’s tradition of single sex colleges and universities. Underclassmen’s coursework took place at Spartanburg Junior College. Housing was provided through local families.²²²

The continuation of the ROTC unit was through a similar, if more challenging, arrangement. ROTC relied on a having a functional corps of cadets for drill, although classroom instruction was split between basic and advanced course students. In the arrangement, basic course students attended Spartanburg Junior College while advanced course students attended Converse College. Likely out of deference to the tradition of Converse College, drill was held on the grounds of Spartanburg Junior College. The headquarters for the battalion and supplies continued to be maintained on the Wofford campus.²²³

The arrangement became easier after the class of 1943 graduated. Per new military policies, the 21 ROTC graduates in the class of 1943 were sent directly into Officer Candidate School. Following graduation ceremonies, the 32 ROTC juniors entered an Infantry Training Center course then followed the seniors into Officer Candidate School. The remaining underclassmen would only participate in the ROTC basic course. The advanced course was suspended by the War Department “for the duration.” The suspension of the advanced course

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² David Duncan Wallace, *History of Wofford College*, 254.

²²³ Technical Sergeant W.B. Stewart to K.D. Coates, April 22, 1943, Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene, Archives, Sandor Teszler Library, Wofford College, 1. (hereafter cited as Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene).

gave the Wofford ROTC staff more flexibility to handle their improvised situation, as drill was now held on the same campus as classroom instruction.²²⁴

Some hardships remained for the ROTC detachment. In May 1942, the Wofford ROTC unit's rifles were shipped to regular army training units. *The Old Gold and Black* forecast that the Army's promise of new rifles by the fall of 1943 would go unfulfilled unless "armament production in the United States can be speeded up soon."²²⁵ Even without the benefit of a full complement of rifles, the ROTC rifle team continued to perform at a high level. Technical Sergeant W.B. Stewart noted that the unit was one of four teams selected to represent the Fourth Service Command area in a national rifle competition. As in competitions held during the interwar years, Wofford outperformed "many of the largest Universities in the South."²²⁶

The mere survival of ROTC and its continued success demonstrated the unit's maturity. During the early years, Henry Nelson Snyder was the driving force for securing and ensuring the survival of an ROTC unit. By the late 1930s and in the war years, ROTC survived and succeeded through its dedicated group of army officers and enlisted personnel. In 1943, Technical Sergeant W.B. Stewart was completing his 13th year as an ROTC instructor on Wofford's campus. His unusually long tenure with the unit demonstrates officers and enlisted personnel deemed the assignment desirable. Consequently, the stability of the unit was reflected in its wartime performance.

Army inspection reports commended the detachment's performance in its difficult circumstances. A May 1943 inspection report noted that 50 percent of "the cadets have severed their ties with the unit for duty in the armed forces or for other reasons." Noting the difficulties imposed by the presence of an Army Air Force Training Detachment on the Wofford Campus, the

²²⁴ Ibid, 2.

²²⁵ Unknown author, "Army Without Guns," *The Old Gold and Black*, May 9, 1942, 2.

²²⁶ Technical Sergeant W.B. Stewart to K.D. Coates, April 22, 1943, 2. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene.

report noted that “in spite of the difficulties, the PMS&T are carrying on in a most efficient manner and are highly commended for their resourcefulness and energy.”²²⁷ The May 1944 report said “it is believed that Captain Culler has achieved excellent results in the training of his unit.”²²⁸ On June 13, 1944, the 40th College Training Detachment disbanded.²²⁹

As Wofford students and the ROTC detachment returned to the campus, former students and alumni served across the globe. By the spring of 1943, Wofford College’s ROTC unit was responsible for producing six hundred Army officers. According to a letter from Technical Sergeant W.B. Stewart, Wofford ROTC graduates served on “all battlefronts except Russia, as well as all sections of the United States and its possessions, in all grades from 2nd Lieutenant to Colonel.”²³⁰ Their actions were followed closely by students, faculty, and the ROTC staff through letters and reports of the heroic action.

During the war, Professor K.D. Coates published a news letter for Wofford College’s soldiers, informing them of campus activities and affirming the college’s support for their service. In return, Professor Coates received letters from Wofford soldiers across the nation and world. The letters often expressed a longing for home, a newly found seriousness of purpose, described new experiences, and frequently promised monetary contributions to the college.

Corporal John F. Anderson, a graduate of the class of 1944 stationed at an Army Air Force Base on the Matagorda Peninsula of Texas, described the news letter as “almost like a short furlough back to campus and when I read the letters of the boys I knew, it is almost like having a short chat with them.”²³¹ Marine Private W.G. Ariail told Coates that “the Marine Corps has taught me to appreciate a lot of things” and made him determined to “have more initiative and

²²⁷ May 1943 ROTC Inspection Report, 2. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene.

²²⁸ June 1944 ROTC Inspection Report, 2. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Technical Sergeant W.B. Stewart to K.D. Coates, April 22, 1943, 1. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene.

²³¹ Corporal John F. Anderson to K.D. Coates, November 26, 1944. Wofford College Military Files.

ambition.” He also expressed his intention to send a donation, but said “he hadn’t been paid in quite a while.”²³² Private S.H. Bowling, a member of the Army Specialized Training Program receiving medical training in Chicago, trained with two African American soldiers and called the experience “a step forward in democratic education.”²³³ Other letters to Coates and from Wofford soldiers to their families regularly appeared in the pages of *The Old Gold and Black*.

The reprinted letters often described chance encounters with former Wofford classmates and the hardships of war. Lying wounded in the hospital, Private David L. Wright discovered one of the other soldiers in the ward was a Wofford man and “that was grounds for friendship.” Lieutenant John C. Bunch recognized a captain in his unit as a senior from his freshmen year. Two Wofford soldiers in the Pacific described the tough conditions of the Pacific islands to the students. Sergeant William Seigler wrote that “the islands in the Pacific are good to study from afar,” but said he would “prefer the worst in the states to it.” On his island station, Major Ernest L. Rinehart encountered air raids, bombing, and near constant rain.²³⁴

Meriting front page mention were the stories of Wofford men’s heroism. In particular, the stories of two ROTC graduates demonstrate the program’s effectiveness at Wofford College. In December 1942, the writers of *The Old Gold and Black* interviewed Lieutenant Dean Hartley, recently returned from duty on Guadalcanal to get married in Spartanburg. Hartley, an ROTC graduate transferred to the Naval Air Corps then to the Marines as a fighter pilot, shot down “two zeroes and was in on the kill of two bombers” over Guadalcanal.²³⁵

Fighting with MacArthur’s army in New Zealand, Lieutenant Gale Peabody, a 1940 ROTC graduate, earned the Distinguished Service Cross and Oakleaf Cluster. Peabody won the

²³² PFC W.G. Ariail to K.D. Coates, May 1944. Wofford College Military Files.

²³³ L.H. Bowling to K.D. Coates, November 11, 1943. Wofford College Military Files.

²³⁴ Unknown author, “Letters Received By Editor Of News Letter From Former Wofford Men,” *The Old Gold and Black*, February 27, 1945, 3.

²³⁵ Unknown author, “Hartley Bags Two Zeroes and Two Bombers, Guadalcanal,” *The Old Gold and Black*, December 6, 1942, 1.

D.S.C. for leading a party through enemy fire to search for survivors of a vessel carrying American soldiers that was the victim of a Japanese attack. The Oakleaf Cluster was earned by leading a “carrying unit” to resupply a cut-off patrol by “crawling through enemy mortar fire and sniper activity.”²³⁶

Hartley and Peabody were only two of the many Wofford men distinguished for bravery in combat. Hundreds of other Wofford men performed their duties admirably, if without notice. As the final offensives of 1944-45 pushed American forces across the Rhine River into Germany and to outskirts of the Japanese home islands, small senses of peacetime life began to return to campus.

After dipping to only 230 students in all terms during the 1943-44 school year, enrollment rose to 371 students in all terms in 1944-45.²³⁷ Athletics returned to the Wofford Campus as well. In a normal time, dissatisfaction would likely have surfaced with their losing record, but wartime pressures created a new sense of appreciation among students. *The Old Gold and Black* understood the ad-hoc nature of the team and was moved to note in an editorial that “every boy who has conscientiously played or attempted to play should be congratulated personally.”²³⁸

Another symbol of the coming close to the war was the appearance of a Wofford “Bulletin for World War II Veterans,” a publication prepared for soldiers seeking to return to college under the “GI Bill of Rights.”²³⁹ At the end of the school year in May, with the close of the war in Europe, Walter Kirkland Greene announced postwar plans to increase the college’s

²³⁶ Unknown author, “Gale Peabody, ’40, Awarded D.S.C. And Oakleaf Cluster,” *The Old Gold and Black*, January 30, 1943.

²³⁷ David Duncan Wallace, *History of Wofford College*, 263.

²³⁸ Unknown author, “Congratulations, Team!,” *The Old Gold and Black*, February 27, 1945, 2.

²³⁹ Unknown author, “Wofford College Edits Pamphlets for Ex-Soldiers,” *The Old Gold and Black*, February 27, 1945, 4.

capacity through an ambitious capital campaign, in anticipation of greater postwar enrollment, and build a war memorial chapel to honor the fallen.²⁴⁰

The following March in the old chapel, Henry Nelson Snyder's memorial address put a close to an era at Wofford College. Already, demobilized veterans were returning to campus to complete their college educations. The resurgence of ROTC's popularity would be a slow process, but the detachment again became strong. Though unspoken by Snyder, on that Sunday Wofford College and the community of Spartanburg could be proud of their sacrifice for the nation. By 1945, campus and community had indeed proved their loyalty to the nation. Much of the credit belonged to ROTC and recruitment of training camps.

²⁴⁰ Unknown author, "Wofford Prepares for Tomorrow," *The Old Gold and Black*, May 19, 1945, 1.

POSTSCRIPT

“FUNDAMENTALLY ALL OF IT IS BASED ON THE ESSENTIALS LEARNED THEN.”

When the war ended, Wofford’s finances were aided by the new influx of students, but programs like ROTC suffered for several years, as the aftermath of war dampened student enthusiasm for military training.²⁴¹ This cannot be considered unusual, as a number of students were veterans, and had little use or enthusiasm for basic military training. Administrative enthusiasm for ROTC did not slacken.

In the fall of 1945, Walter Kirkland Greene requested the War Department allow Wofford to reestablish the ROTC advanced course, as “soon as practicable,” but his enthusiasm was not matched by students.²⁴² A May 1946 Army inspection revealed that of 270 students only 70, or around 27 percent, were members of the Army ROTC unit, a number far below Wofford’s average.²⁴³ In July, Walter Kirkland Greene received word that for the first time his detachment had been rated “unsatisfactory,” a blow to the unit and college’s pride, more a consequence of changing War Department standards than poor student performance.²⁴⁴

By 1951, however, Wofford College was responsible for producing 51 men eligible for officer commissions, an all-time high that despite growth in enrollment revealed that ROTC quickly regained its position as a prominent part of Wofford College life. In subsequent years, the effects of the Vietnam War would take their toll on enthusiasm for ROTC and military service, but Wofford’s unit remained active. The voluntary nature of Wofford’s ROTC program may have

²⁴¹ Ibid, 254.

²⁴² Walter Kirkland Greene to Commanding General, Fourth Service Command, October 10, 1945. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene, Archives, Sandor Teszler Library, Wofford College. (hereafter cited as Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene).

²⁴³ Rating Sheet For Annual Administrative Inspection Of ROTC And 55c ND..Units 1946. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene.

²⁴⁴ Walter Kirkland Greene to Colonel Leroy W. Nichols, July 8, 1946. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene. The report indicated Wofford’s ROTC facilities were considered subpar, although the War Department had not chosen to take issue with facilities during the interwar and war years. This appears to be the primary reason for the unsatisfactory rating.

shielded it from more pressure, but southern colleges and universities proved less susceptible to anti-Vietnam sentiment.²⁴⁵

ROTC also continued to thrive in a climate that saw ROTC largely abandon its citizenship component. Michael S. Neiberg, author of *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service*, argued “The life of the ROTC cadet in the 1950s and early 1960s revolved around training in strictly military subjects to prepare him to be immediately useful to the armed services.”²⁴⁶ This orientation ran counter to Henry Nelson Snyder’s initial justification for bringing the program to the campus, but Walter Kirkland Greene and his successors adapted to meet new realities.

After the Second World War, Greene even attempted to form an Air Force ROTC detachment on Wofford’s campus, but the Air Force decided against granting Wofford a unit.²⁴⁷ No record appears of the college pursuing the matter further. The pursuit of Air Force ROTC, however, demonstrates that the Wofford administration remained interested in providing training programs for their students, and garnering the federal money that went with the programs. One of Greene’s justifications for Wofford’s ability to form and maintain an Air Force ROTC detachment was their “natural set-up for such a unit in that we have a flying school here in the city.”²⁴⁸ Wofford’s relationship with the Army Air Force Training Detachment may have also played a factor in their desire to form an Air Force ROTC detachment.

Furman had also been brought into a closer relationship with the military through the Second World War. After hosting an Army Air Force Training Detachment, Furman University formed an Army ROTC armor detachment in the fall of 1950. The ROTC detachment’s formation

²⁴⁵ Rod Andrew Jr., *Long Gray Lines: The Southern Military School Tradition* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 118.

²⁴⁶ Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 60.

²⁴⁷ Major Harry A. Beamer to Walter Kirkland Greene, March 26, 1947. Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene.

²⁴⁸ Walter Kirkland Greene to General L.A. Walton, March 10, 1947, Papers of Walter Kirkland Greene.

claimed the headline of the opening *Furman Hornet* of 1950-51 school year. *The Hornet* article “Reserve Officer Training Starts Here,” described the change in campus life. Participation was mandatory for all male freshmen and sophomores and the course was housed in facilities constructed and used for the Army Air Force Training Detachment during the Second World War. A caption beside a photo of Furman students posing with their newly acquired 40,000 pound tank, told students the picture was “not taken in Korea, bur right here on the Furman University campus.”²⁴⁹ Although mandatory participation was phased out during the Vietnam era, the detachment continues to remain active.²⁵⁰

At present – four Upper Piedmont institutions Clemson, Furman, Presbyterian, and Wofford—maintain active Army ROTC detachments, none of which mandate participation in ROTC for male underclassmen. Many states do not have four Army ROTC detachments. Their continued existence on these college campuses demonstrates southerners’ enthusiasm for military education and service persists, particularly within the Upper Piedmont.

ROTC succeeded and continues to succeed for a variety of reasons. I have argued that the memory of the Lost Cause played an important, although difficult to define role in the formation of ROTC detachments at southern institutions. In Wofford’s case, military education only came to campus after the Lost Cause faded in intensity and through a federal program. During the First World War, Wofford students steeled their resolve to fight for an American cause through the memory of Confederate heroes. By the late interwar years and the Second World War, the discourse evolved to include American rather than Confederate heroes. The Lost Cause may have facilitated southern acceptance of ROTC, but eventually the program did not need the memory of Confederate heroes to thrive on southern campuses.

²⁴⁹ Unknown author, “Reserve Officer Training Starts Here,” *The Furman Hornet*, September 23, 1950.

²⁵⁰ About the Battalion,” Army ROTC Furman University, <http://www.armyrotc.com/edu/furman/about.htm>. Accessed December 8, 2011.

Even before the rhetoric of the Lost Cause was removed from the college's discourse, however, the movement was not antithetical to fighting in service of the wider nation. As Andrew and Foster demonstrated southerners serving an American nation in war affirmed southerners' loyalty and the fighting skill of their forbearers. Southern soldiers could be patriots and maintain their regional identity.

Part of this regional identity was the South's policy of segregation. Spartanburg's experience with Camp Wadsworth in the First World War demonstrates that southerners were willing to support the war effort to receive the benefits of federal spending, but expected their loyalty to shield them from federal intrusion in southern racial practices. Later, Spartanburg's experience in the Second World War with a training camp appears not to have fostered another racial confrontation. Racial concerns appear not to have been a major motivating factor for Wofford students' service, as the issue was never taken up in print.

The identity most frequently espoused by Wofford students was as Christians and citizens in a democracy. When war came, the belligerents were identified by students as enemies of both Christianity and democracy. Wofford students fought for these principles, although they were not necessarily any more eager than students in other sections of the nation. Wofford's embrace of ROTC did not mean students and administrators wanted war to come. In the case of the Second World War, Wofford students' enthusiasm for entering the war slowly grew, but isolationist sentiment did not fade until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. When war arrived, however, campus and city fully supported the war effort.

Lastly, there is the single, most tangible and pragmatic reason for ROTC's popularity on campus and the community's pursuit of training camps— money. In both cases, financial gain was an important factor. In the case of Wofford's ROTC unit, however, only advanced course students received money, and advanced course enrollment was limited by the federal government.

Most ROTC cadets never qualified for a slot in the advanced and thus, never received federal money to pay for the costs of their education.

Ultimately, each factor, with the possible exception of race, played an important role in the success of the Army ROTC detachment at Wofford College, and at other detachments in the Upper Piedmont. Wofford demonstrates the southern military tradition persisted, but evolved to serve America. The values behind the unit and the institution were perhaps best exemplified in a war letter from Sheldon M. Dannelly, former ROTC cadet and member of the class of 1939.

In a July 1943 letter, Sheldon M. Dannelly wrote to Professor Coates from his unit in the South Pacific. Dannelly spoke quickly of his ROTC training, telling Coates that “little did we actually feel that some day the lives of men and the accomplishments of tasks greater than ourselves would probably depend upon the sciences and tactics grasped from the classroom lectures.” In combat, Dannelly saw much that could not be taught in classroom, but wrote “fundamentally all of it is based on the essentials learned then, and most of what we know is a revival of things once learned.”²⁵¹

Dannelly also saw beauty in his wartime existence. He wrote that “there is always a beautiful side to every situation,” and “even huddling in slit trench half full of water in the New Guinea swamps, with Zeroes and dive bombers bombing and strafing hadn’t changed that.”²⁵² For Dannelly, the sound of “a native call echoing through the tall jungle grass at sunset” and the “sky lighted up like coral” at sunset made him say “God, is there still such beauty in the world?”²⁵³ Dannelly also saw beauty in the shared sacrifice of war. He wrote the war had brought together

²⁵¹ Sheldon M. Dannelly to Professor K.D. Coates, July 27, 1943, 1, Wofford College Military Files, Sandor Teszler Library, Wofford College (hereafter cited as Wofford College Military Files).

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

diverse peoples who “all were one in the same cause; Yank and Aussie, black and white; all working together against a common foe.”²⁵⁴

In the spring of 1945 as American forces advanced into the Philippines, Captain Dannelly earned his first distinguished service cross for bravery in combat for his actions on April 4-5, 1945. At the cost of his life, he received a second Distinguished Service Cross for his actions on April 25, 1945.²⁵⁵ The captain from Ehrhardt, South Carolina in rural Bamberg County exemplified the values of his alma mater and Henry Nelson Snyder’s belief in ROTC as a means to develop character and serve the nation in peace and war.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Sheldon M. Dannelly, Military Times Hall of Valor, <http://militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/recipient.php?recipientid=6063>, accessed April 12, 2012.

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