The University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire

A Living Memorial: A Case Study on the Creation of Memorial Stadiums at the University of Illinois, University of Minnesota, and Indiana University during the 1920s

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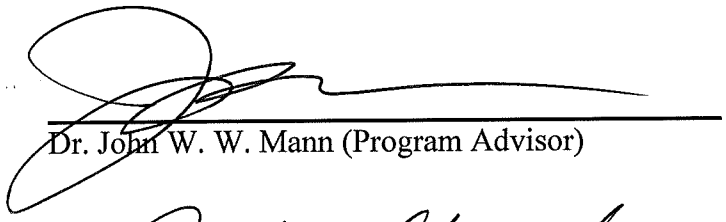
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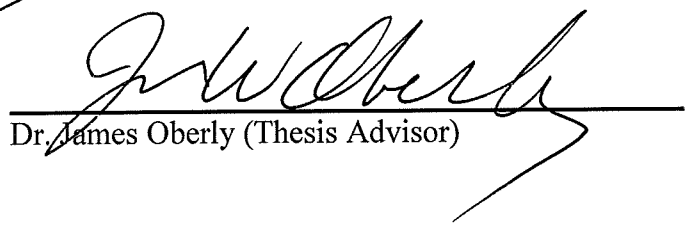
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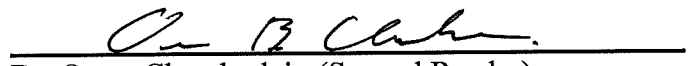
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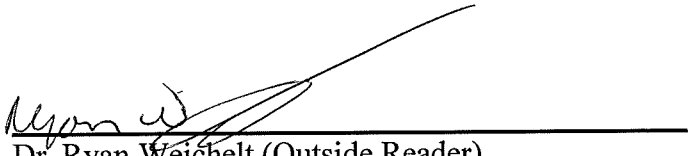
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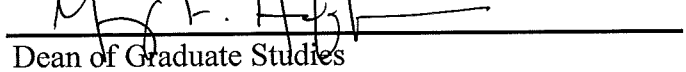
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A Living Memorial: A Case Study on the Creation of Memorial Stadiums at the University of Illinois, University of Minnesota, and Indiana University during the 1920s

By

Jeremy Edward Swick

The University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 2017
Under the Supervision of Dr. James Oberly

This thesis presents three case studies of the "Memorial Stadiums" and other campus buildings created at the University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign, the University of Minnesota – Twin Cities, and Indiana University – Bloomington following the completion of World War I. These case studies, utilizing primary sources including, but not limited to, newspapers, correspondence, campaign records, university yearbooks, among other archival material from the three universities studied explore the reasons behind the creation of the stadiums and various buildings on the campuses. These case studies also examine how the various building projects gained and maintained support from students, alumni, staff, and general public. This topic was selected because the history of these three stadiums, all built around the same time, and with the same name, have not received extensive research in this manner.

Thesis Advisor (Signature) May 11, 2017 Date

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Chapter I: Introduction

Despite near banishment for its violence in 1905, football rose to become one of America's favorite pastimes and developed into an American sport. Following World War I (WWI), Americans sought ways to honor soldiers who sacrificed their lives for the country. By the 1920s, college football became an American game, this combined with the American desire to create extraordinary buildings and monuments allowed for campus buildings, including stadiums, as an avenue to honor veterans. Named in honor of WWI veterans the "Memorial Stadiums" at the University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign, the University of Minnesota – Twin Cities, and Indiana University – Bloomington represented a way to foster nationalism following the trauma of WWI. Through this same sense of school and national pride it also created an opportunity for the university to complete other building projects that the school planned to focus on before the outbreak of war. A longstanding tradition of "Senior Class Memorials" at colleges and universities aided these goals.

By utilizing the already existing Senior Class Memorial structure, which included subscriptions and fundraisers, the universities channeled the student body and alumni enthusiasm into various Memorial Campaigns to rally student, alumni, faculty, and public support to fund the buildings they desired while also honoring those who served.

Historiography

College Football

By the 1920s, football became a staple on many college and university campuses. Pioneering players became the first historians of the game once their playing careers were

over. In attempts to be nostalgic and optimistic on how football positively influenced the American identity, authors often uncritically examined football's complicated past. One of the earliest of these amateur historians was Alexander Weyand who wrote *The Saga of American Football.* Weyand, a captain of the 1915 West Point team wrote a book that chronicled football's meteoric rise beginning from the early 1870s to WWII.[1]

New rule changes allowed teams to implement the forward pass, creating many of the powerhouses of early college football.[2] This book also covers football's migration across the country, beginning in the East at the dominant universities of the time, including Harvard and Yale. The popularity spread to the Midwest as teams began to play intercollegiate football with teams outside of their immediate area. This started a shift in perception as many initially thought the East and other well-established programs such as Notre Dame would easily dominate the Midwest not seeing these areas on the same level. However, teams from the Midwest started winning games against great powerhouses as Iowa beat Notre Dame 10-7 on December 8, 1921.[3] After a brief stint with English rugby, the West Coast also rose as powerful football schools emerged. This book is an excellent starting point in examining the writing of American football history as it helps to lay the groundwork of college football during the 1920s.

A book that moves away from the purely nostalgic view of college football's importance is John Sayle Watterson's *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy.* Watterson, a professor at James Madison, provided an academic version of the long and often turbulent history of college football. Rather than the previous works, which focused

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[1] Alexander M. Weyand, *The Saga of American Football* (New York: Macmillan, 1955).
[2] Ibid., 104.
[3] Ibid., 129.

on season-by-season events and statistics, this work uses the chapters as a way to examine important historical events that transformed football. He discusses how in the 1920s big universities and to a lesser extent smaller colleges started looking for paid coaches. Schools often looked for former players from big name schools or well-known coaches to help their schools in winning.[4] However, as he notes this did not come without controversy. He also discusses the area this thesis focuses on, the 1920s. Watterson argues that, "no longer was college football – or for that matter, coaching – the preserve of the 'gentleman amateur'. It had matured overnight into a well-paid profession."[5] This book breaks away from the previous narratives of only examining the sport from a fond standpoint and investigates the controversy that surrounded the game from its inception.

Brian Ingrassia's *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* is an excellent book that takes an in depth look at college football's rise to prominence.[6] Ingrassia discusses how that during the late 1800s colleges and universities started to welcome athletics as a method to spark public interest in higher education. Ingrassia specifically examines how football gained immediate popularity on college campuses, becoming a source of substantial income. Additionally, the cult of masculinity was an important influence in encouraging young men to play football. Developing a warrior like mentality on the field was an excellent expression of masculinity in absence of war. The continued desire to produce physically strong and mentally tough men was heightened by the increased sense of nationalism following

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[4] John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 144-150.
[5] Ibid., 144.
[6] Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 100.

WWI. Despite the prevalent scandals and moral crises that arose from football many universities still saw the potential benefit as too tantalizing to deny.

Ingrassia discusses the cultural significance placed on higher education during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Higher education was typically reserved for the wealthy members of society to gain knowledge and begin their professional aspirations upon graduation. With the inclusion of athletics such as football, many schools attempted to bridge the gap between their elitist reputations and the public. Football became a tool to sell the American public on higher education. Although many genuine reformers envisioned football as a way to attract the middle class into higher education, businessmen saw a way to make a profit. They saw football as a moneymaker that would be incredibly popular throughout the country. The hiring of professional coaches exemplified this. They often were part of the newly established physical education departments. Paying college coaches salaries that began to rival university presidents gave a clear indication that universities placed a higher priority on success on the football field rather than success in the classroom. Schools were willing to create the infrastructure, such as stadiums, in hopes of achieving success.

An important section of this book is the Chapter 6, "Stadiums: Between Campus and Culture. In 1902, Harvard engineering professor and athletic committee chairmen, Ira Hollis, advised President Charles William Eliot that the university should build a football stadium on the Soldiers Field athletic grounds.[7] Hollis argued that the new stadium was needed as bigtime spectator sport was, "probably a lasting addition to modern

[7] Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University,* 139.

universities."[8] The final cost of the stadium was $310,000, and finished in 1903. Although it was not the first large stadium it became the model stadium for decades after its construction. This created the interesting relationship, a gray area, between campus and popular culture.[9]

Both administrators and coaches claimed that athletics was an education experience, a form of physical, mental, and moral training. However, Ingrassia argues that the creation of these mega stadiums displayed the true commercial nature of the school's goals. These new stadiums would be a place to promote "manly sports" and prepare men for their "duties as men and citizens of the republic."[10] Even prior to WWI, stadiums and athletic fields received namesakes to honor those involved in military conflict. This included Harvard's Soldiers Field, dedicated to those who served in the Civil War, University of Wisconsin's Camp Randall, at first, the state legislature intended to use the former Civil War training field for, a veterans organization. However, a mass student protest in March of 1893, called for Camp Randall to become part of the campus. Citing Harvard's new field, they argued that the field could serve as a drill ground for the university's battalion, and be a place for war monuments and athletics.[11]

Harvard Stadium accommodated 21,000 fans with the ability to house an additional 12,000 for big games, at the time a huge facility. Following Harvard Stadium, seating regularly exceeded 50,000 spectators, even reaching 70,000 in some cases with rival schools racing to build the biggest and most luxurious stadia.[12] Following, WWI

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[8] Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University*, 139.
[9] Ibid., 139.
[10] Ibid., 141.
[11] Ibid., 141.
[12] Ibid., 142-145.

many saw football as the domestic version of war, thus promoting the sport to be a good tool to train young men for battle, even in times of peace.

The idea of war and masculinity, fit perfectly into the stadium building craze of the 1920s. Schools across the country used WWI as an opportunity to help gain support for their stadiums by dedicated them to those who served in WWI. As Ingrassia notes, "militarism was rampant in American culture during the early 1920s-even though it was falling out of favor with many academic intellectuals – when campuses began to consecrate sites of memory to fallen soldiers."[13] Administrators sold these stadiums as tokens of patriotism and a way to honor those who fought and died in WWI. Ingrassia argues that these methods helped mask the university's true goals, economic gains through athletics. During the 1920s, the stadium craze also spread from predominately elite or urban universities in the Northeast to schools in the West and Midwest. Besides prestige the allure of gate receipts helped encourage schools to build larger than life stadiums. By utilizing different seating rewards for contributions towards stadium creation it helped promote interest in ticket sales and ensure filled seats when the stadiums reached completion. By then opening these stadiums to the public, Ingrassia argues that these stadiums and the universities became sponsors of popular culture.[14]

Ingrassia does an excellent job in examining the shaky relationship between schools and athletics from the beginning. Many professors saw athletics as a distraction from the education that they believed should be the schools main responsibility. Thus, this thus further alienating them from the school's newfound interest, "ensconced within

[13] Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University,* 148.
[14] Ibid., 159-170.

a semiautonomous department located between the academy and the cultural market place university to maintain visibility in the public sphere from which many intellectuals had become disengaged."[15] This book helps to further the literature of college football. Rather than being purely celebratory, it looks at the social histories of both the successes and failures of the development of football on college campuses within the context of Progressive Era culture. There were many that wanted to reform football, who saw the schools and coaches taking advantage of the system, exploiting the sport to gain revenue while ignore the academic needs of the students.

An article entitled "Harvard Stadium" by Ronald Smith examines the turbulent relationship Harvard and football have had during the late 19th and early 20th century. Although as the article points out Harvard was one of the "big three" with Yale and Princeton, when it came to football there was a considerable amount of pushback from administrators who detested the game and saw it as nothing but an embarrassing violent spectacle. This continued throughout the 1890s and 1900s with the administration banning the game at times with heavy student and some faculty protest. Once it was evident football would remain, the discussion of what to do with the grandstands at Soldier Field became a topic of discussion. Many thought that money spent elsewhere would have a greater benefit, while others thought by creating a permanent stadium the school could create a more aesthetically pleasing field.[16] This article is important because it discusses how, even at Harvard, considerable apprehension towards football existed. It also shows one of the first cases where students and alumni rallied support for the cost of

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[15] Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University,* 170.
[16] Ronald A. Smith, "Commercialized Intercollegiate Athletics and the 1903 Harvard Stadium," *New England Quarterly,* (2005): 41.

creating a stadium. The earliest histories of college football mention the creation of Harvard Stadium; however, they do not analyze the stadium. Rather than merely discussing the impressive size and cost of the stadium, Smith examined how there was substantial pushback by the administration and faculty at Harvard, despite there being wide support by students and alumni.

There are two books by Michael Oriard related to football. The first book by, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*, takes an in-depth look at how newspaper coverage of football greatly influenced its popularity in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The book also examines legendary coach Walter Camp, who recognized football as a, "cultural text whose meanings he wished to interpret."[17] Camp viewed college football as a training ground for future leaders in industry and commerce. He believed he would be that trainer to teach the ideals of personal discipline and the importance of having a thought-out strategy.

Oriard continues to examine how prominent newspapers covered the sport. Initially football received little attention, but near the turn of the century received extensive coverage throughout major and local newspapers. One of the most important annual events became the end of the season championship game played on Thanksgiving Day in New York. Played 11 times between 1880 and 1897 before a huge crowd, the game most often matched Eastern powerhouses Yale and Princeton against each other. Similar to the opera or other highly publicized performances, many spectators cared more about the festive and exciting atmosphere than the game itself. The games also

[17] Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 37.

demonstrated to college administrators of football's potential for raising huge sums of money. Shortly after these games both Harvard and Yale erected stadiums.[18]

Huge attendance, unless a marquee game, did not occur on college campuses until after WWI. College football saw benefit from the non-college-educated, "respectable" middle class's desire to emulate the social elites; as this group of people came last to embrace football for moral and social reasons. Football, among other leisure, activities already saw success and interest on college campuses across the country. By winning support from these remain groups of people football became a truly "mass audience" spectator sport.[19]

Oriard does an excellent job in giving a history of the newspaper industry during the time, which is helpful in understanding the impact of newspaper coverage on American life. Newspapers set the stage for upcoming games including the location, prominent people in attendance, player and coach information, and significance to the college football landscape as a whole, much like football coverage does with television today. It also expands on the discussion of areas of concern such as the violence on the field and the rowdiness of players and fans following the games. Football became an essential part of sports coverage in newspapers, and since newspapers were one of the few options offered to a mass audience during the late 1800s and early 1900s both became intertwined.

The second book by Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio, Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, The Weekly & Daily Press,* takes

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[18] Oriard, *Reading Football,* 57-60.
[19] Ibid. 61.

an interesting approach in examining how the American popular culture developed an inseparable bond with football. Expanding the first book Oriard wrote this as a follow up that examines football from 1920-1960, right within the period of intended area of study. The book investigates the changing conceptions of masculinity, collegiate and high school culture, eroticism in sport, and the media's role in promoting and shaping football.[20] Oriard analyzes football coverage using a broad range of popular media including radio and newsreels, expanding sport sections in newspapers, mass circulating magazines, and ethnic and political press. Through mass media, football and its traditions became seamlessly familiar to Americans across the country.[21] Mass media's coverage of football was extremely generous, as it rarely, if ever, made comments condemning football programs' shady practices or racism.[22] This era of football in the 1920s and its relationship to popular press was much different from the early 1900s, where newspapers were calling for the game's dismissal from college campuses. As football became more lucrative, criticizing the game became less common.

Already popular in the 1920s, ten minute feature newsreels, included football. In feature football films, standard football plots, biographies, and even musicals existed by the 1930s. Mass circulating magazines offered the "inside dope" on high profile players and coaches.[23] Magazines also created fictional forms of media via short stories and serials. Even coaches by the mid-1920s took part in the media frenzy. Walter Camp, already known as the "father of football" wrote articles for *Collier's The National Weekly*

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[20] Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 143.
[21] Ibid., 11.
[22] Ibid., 64.
[23] Ibid., 55.

until his death in 1925. Then noted Sportswriter Grantland Rice took over through 1932, Rice also took over Camp's All-America team, a feature in *Collier's* since 1891 until 1948 when he moved to *Look.*[24] From an early start many magazines saw the potential benefit of having football on its side.

Football became another avenue to unite even more members of American society. Ethnic interests created "tribal football," with a Jewish team at CCNY, and the immigrants' team of Notre Dame coached by Knute Rockne an immigrant from Norway himself. By the 1920s, an increasing amount of immigrant children played football and attend college. Rockne's "Fighting Irish" became a direct causation of this influx. The "Fighting Irish" started to replace the "Nomads" and "Ramblers" nicknames of Notre Dame. These namesakes meant nothing more than the fact that Notre Dame's football team played cross-country schedules throughout the season. At first, "Fighting Irish" received a pushback from Notre Dame Administrators as they saw the term a racial slur, until that through the team's winning the name became honorific.[25]

As Notre Dame faced taunts and hatred in places such as Lincoln, Nebraska, the team received welcome in New York. With a high immigrant and catholic population, New York became a home away from home game with its annual game against Army at Yankee Stadium.[26] Teams representing the various ethnicities on the field showed up to the game to show their support. Thus, during the 1920s, football reached another sector of American society to embrace the sport.

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[24] Oriard, *King Football,* Ibid. 54.
[25] Ibid., 262.
[26] Ibid., 263.

The use of mass media as a tool to influence and dictate the narrative of college football is important in understanding what the perception of football was to its increasingly diverse audience. As football became more popular, mass media wrote about football in a more positive light. However, this was not always the case with school administration, staff, and students who experienced the influence of the stadiums first hand. Many of the criticisms of the college game did not receive widespread mass media attention or support, but rather were relegated to private commentary or editorial opinions.

A book by Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930* attempts to analyze and chart the decade following WWI which saw success, failure, and controversy. As previously discussed, college football and its administrators, and media saw the financial potential of the sport. An increase in intersectional games including postseason and long distance road games helped promote the institutions financially but also boosted prestige and regional pride. An excellent example of this is Alabama's participation in the Rose Bowl, in Pasadena, California in 1926. Alabama defeated Washington in a thrilling game that propelled "Dixie Football" into prominence. Southern university football teams appeared in the Rose Bowl game five times from 1926-1932.[27]

An increase in style of play also affected the way in which spectators enjoyed the game. Coach Knute Rockne's "Notre Dame Shift," and Coach Pop Warner's "Double Wing Formation." These innovations in style of play helped create winning teams but

[27] Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 34.

also filled the stadiums with fans in the Midwest and West, also agitating the less innovative East that viewed these plays as an offense to the game. Following a decade long departure to English rugby, many prominent western teams resumed football play.[28]

Schmidt also examined three specific groups involved in football during the 1920s. Roman Catholic institutions, besides Notre Dame, football at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and Native American institutions of education. In previous decades, Jim Thorpe, made the Carlisle Indian School famous for his athletic feats. However, other institutions such as the Haskell Institute of Lawrence, Kansas also played football. During the 1920s, the Haskell Institute traveled 15,000 miles to play teams on both coasts of the United States.[29] Native American schools, similar to the Haskell Institute and Carlisle Indian School, regularly played "white" institutions both home and away. This helped foster the United States desire as a whole to assimilate rather than excluded Native Americans in American culture. However, HBCUs did not receive the treatment. Although HBCUs, similar to "white" institutions, had a rich history of college football these histories existed in separate worlds. The first game between two African American schools is generally considered the game between Biddle University, now Johnson C. Smith University and Livingstone College On December 27, 1892.[30] The integration between major college football programs and HBCUs never happened, although some African American athletes did integrate and play for various college football teams with success.

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[28] Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 14-17.
[29] Ibid., 158-171.
[30] Ibid., 132.

A highlight of this book is the third chapter, entitled "Stadium Building and The Days of Big Business". It discusses how in the 1920s colleges became areas for big business as the desire to build stadiums swept across the country.[31] The University of Pennsylvania's Franklin Field was the first true college football stadium, opening in 1895. However, the prototype for the stadium of the time was Harvard Stadium at Soldier Field. Schmidt does an excellent job in discussing the stadium boom that occurred during the 1920s. Many of the major college football schools pushed for their administration to allow for a new stadium. As informative as this book is, it does not analyze the reasoning behind the namesake of the stadiums. Rather it focuses on the boom in stadium construction and leaves room for further development of study. By studying the namesake of the stadiums it helps to demonstrate what motives the universities have. Did the schools name their stadiums in honor of geographic location, Distinguished or generous alumni, in honor of veterans? A research potential for this subject are case studies on either stadium-by-stadium basis, groups of stadiums with similar namesakes, or stadiums in similar geographic areas. This includes the potential for a study of some of the "Memorial Stadiums" of the Midwest.

Football U: Spectator Sports in the Life of the American University, by Douglas Toma, is another piece of recent scholarship. Toma's purpose is to understand "the cultural significance of football at these institutions, as well as the place of spectator sports in serving the ambitions of the individual universities."[32] The institutions he is referring to are schools that are primarily public, relying on state subsidies and other

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[31] Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 39-61.
[32] Douglas J. Toma, *Football U.: Spectator Sports in the Life of the American University* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 2.

support from predominately local sources to improve, although there are also large private institutions such as Syracuse University and the University of Southern California.[33] By having successful programs these schools could increase their notoriety and, appeal, and it would help to fund other initiatives they find useful for their school.

Toma discusses how many high profile colleges and universities can trace much of their success back to football, which played an important part in the schools' histories. He mentions that although Ivy League schools now play in the FCS (Football Championship Subdivision), they once were football powerhouses. Throughout, Toma discusses how these institutions benefited from college football, "when teams are successful and appealing, football is the source of national prestige for larger institutions-standing that comes in few, if any, other forms at most institutions."[34] This breaks away from past scholarship, as Toma discusses how many universities can actually afford more academic initiatives through the revenue the school generates from a successful football program. "Prestige may be more important than actuality of quality here—perceptions may matter more than an actual job being done. Given the connections between athletics success and institutional prestige, a weak football program can prove to be a distraction when seeking external support to advance key initiatives and agendas. Along the same lines, a strong program may encourage needed support."[35] A critique of this book is that it is a defense of the commercialization of the college game. The work is more celebratory of the successes of colleges and their football team's winning traditions, which help them grow as an institution. It does not discuss in much detail how schools

[33] Toma, *Football U,* 2.
[34] Ibid., 10.
[35] Ibid.,120.

such as those in the Ivy League continue to prosper despite not having large athletic teams, nor does it cover the research of all the pitfalls that affect the commercialization of the college game.

Collective Memory

Shifting from how historians studied college football, another topic to examine is the role collective memory has played in the development of WWI memorials. The first book is *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919-1941* by Steven Trout. Trout argues that unlike Britain which quickly developed a "collective memory" of the war, seeing it as a case of waste and futility, Americans often found this war ambiguous and argued over what it meant.[36] Throughout the book, Trout discusses the uncertainty and at times contradictions of artistic representation and public celebration and commemoration.

This book takes an in-depth look at the shaping and creation of public memory following WWI. Trout discusses future President Eisenhower's time with the ABMC (American Battlefield Monument Commission). Eisenhower wrote a book entitled *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe,* doing extensive research on the topic. However, Trout argues that many of these commissions and groups that were honoring WWI veterans were, "if you will, in the memory business- and on a grand scale. As massive as any European monument at the Somme or Verdun, killing fields that saw far greater suffering and loss of life as the AEF's hallowed grounds."[37] Some of the

[36] Steven Trout, *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First War and American Remembrance* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010). 1-2.
[37] Ibid., xxii-xxiii.

information written in the various editions of the book to honor the war contained factual errors and received intense competition between the various military branches seeking remembrance.[38] Although this is referring to American monuments in Europe it is still important as it showcases that groups such as the ABMC's purpose was not to "... record history but to shape memory."[39] Similarly to the college football stadium boom of the 1920s, "Dwight D. Eisenhower was just one of the millions of individuals in the 1920s and 1930s who contributed to what historian Jay Winter has called the 'memory boom,' an international wave of public involvement in war remembrance triggered by the cataclysm of the First World War."[40]

This book contributes is it establishes a distinction between collective memory, which is the shared construction of the past, and remembrance, which is a set of practices and processes through which the vision assembles, communicates and perpetuates.[41] Trout discusses how much of what authors such as Hemingway, Faulkner and Fitzgerald wrote directly conflicted with the warm nostalgic perceptions many veterans had, as their writings discussed the brutality of war.[42] Trout also argues that the writings did not discuss the other problems that plagued America following the war.[43] The crux of this issue is, that as post WWI unfolded, there were varying perceptions of the war, and a divide in the collective memory of the nation was in progress.

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[38] Trout, *On the Battlefield of Memory*, xxv.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 1.
[41] Ibid., 13.
[42] Ibid., 9.
[43] Ibid., 28.

Many groups and people found ways to cash in on this created remembrance of WWI. Trout uses the excellent example of the *Spirit of the American Doughboy* which became so popular that a statue was erected in nearly 140 communities in 35 states, and 12 inch models were being designed and sold as lamp bases.[44] The statue created by E.M. Viquesney was mass produced inciting a wave of collectable figurines and memorabilia. This commodification of memory fits excellently with the idea of using an event such as WWI to insert the memory of the public into projects such as the building of "Memorial Stadiums." This book is extremely important in attempting to understand how the United States did not have one narrative of WWI, but rather there were many. Much like the Doughboy, many saw creating memorials, such as stadiums, as an overdone practice rather than a way to honor veterans.

The academic literature that focuses on stadiums is widespread; however, this writing appears to be on the possible economic impacts, urban studies, or engineering perspectives rather than a historical focus. One of the few books that incorporates the historical study of stadiums is, *The Rise of Stadiums in the Modern United States; Cathedrals of Sport,* by Mark Dyreson and Robert Trumpbour. One of the authors' main goals is to examine how and why sports change and remake certain landscapes into areas devoted to sport by shaping the ways cultures use and understand the location.[45] Dyreson and Trumpbour discuss the development of athletics and recreation during the early part of the 20th century and the arms race to build new stadiums in the 1920s. Many reformers saw sport and recreation a part of good citizenship and national readiness. The authors

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[44] Trout, *On the Battlefield of Memory*, 110.
[45] Mark Dyreson and Robert Trumpbour, *The Rise of Stadiums in the Modern United States: Cathedrals of Sport* (London: Routledge, 2010), 1.

argue that many institutions used stadium building to enhance their national image and prestige. Although Dyreson and Trumpbour's study reaches far beyond the time of the 1920s, it gives an excellent base in understanding how stadiums throughout the development of the history of American sport have changed, developed and failed. It helps demonstrate the progression of building stadiums did not happen in a linear fashion, but at times saw great success, as it did in the 1920s, and at times it saw failure, as cities or governments blocked the creation of newer stadiums.

It is clear there is substantial discussion of the history of college football beginning with amateur historians writing reaching to recent scholarship critiquing the system that college football created and perpetuated. There is also scholarship on the post WWI era and the development of an American public memory regarding the war. What is not covered is that since college football's rise to prominence, colleges and universities took advantage of fundraising systems already in place to create structures to honor WWI veterans. By using student and public desire to memorialize WWI many schools were able to take advantage of the stadium boom of the 1920s to create the "Memorial Stadiums" in Champaign, Illinois; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Bloomington, Indiana. By naming these stadiums in honor of WWI veterans, the universities could celebrate and honor those who served through the trauma of WWI while also garnering large financial support from students and alumni. In examining each of the three building projects at Illinois, Minnesota, and Indiana, it will show that this was not just an idea by one university, but rather an effective process to gain support for the creation of the stadiums among other buildings the universities desired.

The Golden Age: College Football

The beginning of the Roaring 1920s created a general sense of prosperity throughout the United States. The desire to win, a time honored tradition in athletics, dates back to the Colosseum in Rome and the Maya ball courts in Central America. Humans have always enjoyed competing amongst each other. Although bloody gladiatorial battles no longer occurred, the love of violence still persisted. Football, one of the most violent sports, became indispensable in American culture during the 1920s. With the Allied Forces victory over the Central Powers in WWI the world reached a temporary peace. A major issue the United States realized, after the war, was that many of its country's young men lacked physical fitness. Many college age men enlisting in the military did not reach the physical fitness requirements deemed appropriate, however, since the military needed to rapidly produce and train soldiers, they often overlooked the requirements. College football, especially college football stadiums eventual became a tool in promoting physical fitness and physical education courses.

Through channels such as radio and newspapers, college football reached audiences and influenced fans throughout the country helping foster nationwide growth and popularity. With America's desire to be financially successful, many, including universities, started financial endeavors with the goal to generate economic success. American football, clearly the most popular contact game played in the United States, yielded that potential. As college football received discussion in newspapers, radio, and film throughout the country the next step of football's evolution emerged. Football, a staple on many college campuses, also became a staple in American homes. Although team rivalries existed since football's earliest days, the primary fan base included current

students and alumni that kept in contact with the school. With the advent of mass media, the ability to be part of rivalry and support a team without attending the school or living in the same geographic location created an even larger fan base that many universities saw as an economic source.

This period saw a rise of sports heroes marveled by the American public. Arguably, the most famous of these sport icons, Babe Ruth, attracted American audiences with his high-profile lifestyle. Just as Jim Thorpe did the previous decade at the Carlisle Indian School, new stars emerged on the college football field. In the 1920s, Red Grange, a three time All-American from the University of Illinois gained nationwide notoriety. Grange came from Wheaton, Illinois, where he set multiple records in high school. These included scoring 75 touchdowns, converting 82 extra points, and earning 16 varsity letters in four sports.[46] As a college standout, he scored 31 touchdowns and gained 3,362 yards.

Although most of this press gave Illinois notoriety and assisted with recruiting efforts, controversy also followed. Upon Grange's last year at the University of Illinois, rumors circulated that he signed a professional contract, thus forfeiting his eligibility. Naturally, the Big Ten Conference, showed little desire to investigate his alleged professional ties.[47] Following Grange's final game, he announced he would leave the University of Illinois and turn professional. The call for larger stadiums increased, many

[46] Richard C. Crepeau, *NFL Football: A History of America's New National Pastime,* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 8.
[47] Ibid., 8.

at the university level saw it as an opportunity for a new revenue stream and a way to connect with the public.

The Need for Larger Stadiums

The desire for larger stadiums swept throughout the college football landscape during the 1920s. Mass media, including newspapers and radio, created football fans throughout the country. Members of the public could be supporters of their local school's football team without ever attending the university. With the increased demand for college football, the demand for tickets and places to view the games increased. Long ago, groups of students that gathered on the sidelines to watch football only competed with lost livestock who wandered too close to the field, by the 1920s many wanted to be part of the fandom of football.[48] Athletic departments knew in order to compete with other institutions they needed to attract alumni and public interest. One of the methods was through stadium building. Having the largest, most ornate stadium became a symbol of pride and prestige for a school.

The models of football stadium construction of the time period was Harvard Stadium, built in 1903, and The Yale Bowl, built in 1914. In all three of the Memorial Stadium cases, it was clear that many saw their college stadiums as highly inadequate and outdated for their respective programs, especially compared to the mammoth structures at Harvard and Yale.[4950] The distain for having an outdated stadium resonated throughout

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[48] "Fix Campus Fence Cows Have Taken Over the Field Where People Watch Football," *Daily Illini,* April 5, 1886.
[49] *The Story of the Stadium,* Circa 1921. Record Series 26/1/814, Box 1. Stadium Drive Publications, 1920-1924. University of Illinois Archives. University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign. Urbana, Illinois., 26.
[50] University of Minnesota, Fundraising Brochure. "University of Minnesota Invites Participation in a Great Program," Circa 1923. Memorial Stadium 1924-1992. http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/399.

college campus. Many alumni, faculty, students, and administration called for larger stadiums to demonstrate their support for the school's football team. At many schools the discussion of building or updating the school's current athletic fields existed. However, WWI put a stop to those discussions as the schools focused all their extra support and resources on helping with the war effort. Following the war, building on campus became a way to show school spirit through organizing memorial fund drives. These drives aimed to gain support and assistance from within. Administrators served as chairs of these memorial committees. However, student government organizations, and alumni boosters carried out the plans of the committees, searching for ways to gain support from the student body, alumni, former students, and friends of the university. In order to do this the universities needed to make their plans, inspire and benefit more than just those who enjoyed football.

Besides the stadiums, all three projects also included other buildings the universities needed. This ranged from student union buildings, auditoriums, and women's dormitories. By attempting to solve other building needs on campus, a larger pool of potential donors developed, increasing the likelihood of a wider range of people willing to donate, support, and volunteer towards the funds. One of the methods of gaining support for these colossal stadiums and other projects included using WWI as a way to rally support and funding on campus as a way to honor the veterans that fought and died during the war.

Chapter II: Remembering the Great War

Senior Class Memorials and the Eventual Case for Stadiums

A long standing tradition throughout college campuses included the graduating senior class creating a "memorial" to donate to the school. Typically, these memorials included ornate statues, benches, tablets, gardens, trees, or a feature built on to a previous class's donation. The way students paid for these memorials were through subscription services and fundraisers created by that year's Senior Memorial Committee. These campaigns gave graduating a seniors a chance to "leave their mark" on the college campus they called home for the duration of their education. This tradition mixed with the celebration of the victory in Europe created the perfect structure that easily translated for developing WWI Memorials. Instead of inventing a new way to raise the money, many universities simply incorporating honoring WWI veterans as part of their general senior class fundraising efforts.[51]

Although the United States involvement in WWI only lasted roughly two years of, a lasting impact remained in the nation's collective memory. One of the most notable aspects the war left on the ethos of the country was the belief in nationalism. People across the country wanting to celebrate and honor the victory of the war, desperately searched for ways to memorialize. Many colleges and universities, desiring to make improvements to their campus, called for the creation of new building. Upon entering WWI, schools shelved these plans and focused all their attention to helping in the war effort. After the war, these plans started to resurface. One of the biggest issues in raising

[51] Which Do You Want?," *Daily Illini,* December 8, 1920.

the appropriate funds to complete building projects was capturing the interest of student and the public. If students did not see the benefit for themselves or future graduating classes the desire to contribute fell. With college football becoming king in the 1920s, the emphasis on physical education, and a desire to honor those who served created the perfect combination to make stadiums the perfect venue to encapsulate all three goals.

College football became an excellent way for schools to generate excitement and revenue, in turn supporting other academic building initiatives. In searching for ways to justify stadium building the idea of calling these structures "Memorial" gained widespread appeal. By the end of the 1920s, college buildings across the country embraced the name "Memorial" as some part of the namesake of their building. By creating structures named in honor of WWI soldiers, it fostered a blanket atmosphere of overall approval also allowing for schools to continue or develop other building initiatives. By including these additional buildings such as student union buildings, auditoriums, and dormitories, schools gained a wider support base as it met other desires and needs of members of the university community. Eventually, the tradition of Senior Class Memorials became crucial generating support of the "Memorial Fund Campaigns" at all three universities.

In the cases of the University of Illinois, University of Minnesota, and Indiana University, some level of disagreement on specific aspects of the memorial projects existed, how to memorialize, what to build, physical location of the memorial, and source of funding, but an argument against honoring veterans in some form did not receive merit. Their challenge became ensuring their specific memorial projects gained popular support with the public, administration, faculty, student body, and alumni.

"A Solution of the Memorial Problem" – The University of Illinois

Since 1876 Senior Classes at the University of Illinois donated a Senior Memorial. These varied in design from the 1876 Memorial Tree to the 1913 Gate at the west entrance to the south campus.[52] In 1914, the Senior Memorial Committee made three suggestions for memorials including a bust of President Abraham Lincoln, placed in Lincoln Hall, a scoreboard for Illinois Field where the football team played, and a tomb for the use of Ma-Wa-Da.[53] Ma-Wan-Da was a senior honor society at the University of Illinois. All three ideas fit into the usual tradition of small contributions to the university from each class. Another suggestion, controversial due to its high cost, included chimes for the clock tower of University Hall. Undergraduate classes needed to pledge their senior memorial funds towards the purchase to ensure the project's success.[54] On March 6, the Senior Class of 1914 voted, by a margin of nearly double any other suggestion, that their class should create a "Chimes Fund" where their class and future graduating classes would donate to raise the necessary money for this long term project.[55]

Just before the onset of the United States' involvement in WWI the Class of 1917 voted to continue adding to the "Chimes Fund," roughly $3,500. The Class of 1917 gave the responsibility to purchase the chimes to the Class of 1921, when they anticipated the fund reaching $10,000.[56] During this period the university started to plan its largest

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[52] "Since 1876 Senior Class has Given Memorials," *Daily Illini,* December 7, 1917.
[53] "The Senior Memorial," *Daily Illini,* January 10, 1914.
[54] Ibid.
[55] "Chimes for Illinois," *Daily Illini,* March 7, 1914.
[56] "Committee Decides at Thursday Evening Meeting, Fund Originated in 1914 Now Totals $3500, Plan Installation of Bells Within Three Years." *Daily Illini,* January 13, 1917.

building program of the time, including the Smith Memorial Music building, a women's residence hall, and an education building.[57]

As the Senior Memorial Fund Committee continued raising money for the chimes, the Alumni Association continued their project of raising money for the Gregory Memorial Art Building. This included H.G. Burt, President of the Alumni Association, and the Executive Committee appointing C.A. Killer, Parker Hoog, and E.D. Colton as a committee to enlarge the income of the association to employ a permanent secretary. The Alumni Association would continue to solicit subscriptions for the art building, but also turn their focus to the Illinois Union Building, new student housing, and a stadium.[58]

Similar to other colleges and universities the University of Illinois fully committed themselves to the war effort. Obligations such as donating to the Senior Memorial Fund slowed.[59] However, despite the onset of war the university continued with their plans for construction of the new buildings.[60] In December of 1917, *The Daily Ilini* noted that the university, "has made no recognition of the men who have gone from her halls into the field of service."[61] The article continues to discuss that roughly, 2000 men left the university to serve in the military. Many schools during this time period already created plaques or memorial slabs to honor those serving, or dedicated memorials to those killed in action. The paper suggests that the university purchase service flags as a symbol of their appreciation for the students' service to the war. Purchasing the flags

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[57] "Building Program is Largest during History of University," *Daily Ilini,* January 12, 1917.
[58] "Alumni Would Boost Big Building Improvements," *Daily Ilini,* October 21, 1917.
[59] "Don't Forget the Chimes," *Daily Illini,* May 16, 1917.
[60] "Plan to Begin Work on New University Buildings Soon, Contracts are Left for Construction of Smith Memorial Hall and Education Building," *Daily Ilini,* July 14, 1917.
[61] "Recognizing Service," *Daily Ilini,* December 12, 1917.

demonstrated the school's pride in its students, turned service members, rather than a ploy of "advertising a false patriotism" as critics argued.[62]

In February of 1918, the university dedicated a service flag in recognition of the 2,686 students in service. The flag's gold stars represented each University of Illinois student killed while serving. Professor S.A. Forbes spoke at the ceremony, "The flag is a promise not a memorial," and Dean David Kinley added, "May it be an inspiration to strength us and to guide us in the trials that are to come."[63] The flag served as a reminder of the sacrifices of the soldiers in Europe, and that the students at home could and should contribute to the war effort. President Edmund J. James proceeded to give an emotional and inspiring speech.[64] As the President finished his speech the university band played "The Star Spangled Banner." The university clearly supported the war effort and a call for memorializing those service members was not far behind. Before the end of the war, both the state governments and universities across the country started planning ways to celebrate the victory and create memorials to honor those who fought in WWI. [6566676869]

When the war started, the University of Illinois created the "University War Committee." This committee's job included explaining the various ways in which the school helped in the war effort to the public and informed them how they could also be

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[62] "Recognizing Service," *Daily Ilini,* December 12, 1917.
[63] "Service Flag Dedicated to Ilini Soldiers, President James Speaks before Brigade as Flag is Raised, Cadets Pass in Review before Flag Raising, Dean Kinley Makes Stirring Address, Prof. Forbes Presents Flag to University," *Daily Illini,* February 15, 1918.
[64] Ibid.
[65] "First Americans Fell Just Year Ago Today, Gresham, Enright and Hay from Different States, First to Die in France, May Erect Monuments," *Daily Illini,* November 3, 1918.
[66] "Kansas Women Planning Monument to Heroes," *Daily Ilini,* November 26, 1918.
[67] "Boulevard Link Planned to Honor Chicago Heroes," *Daily Illini,* December 3, 1918.
[68] "Philadelphia to Have Big Peace Celebration," *Daily Ilini,* December 12, 1918.
[69]"In the College Realm," *Daily Illini,* December 14, 1918.

involved.[70] Evarts B. Greene, Chair of the committee, compiled the activities of the university into a large volume report, which he delivered to President James who served from 1904-1920.

A crucial goal of the University War Committee included the promotion of civic engagement in the war. Largely through informative pamphlets, the committee addressed the public offering ways and means by which citizens could cooperate with the government in conserving economic resources to help the troops. Specific officers, departments, or committees issued other pamphlets to help make other war topics clear to the general public. Later, these pamphlets included the committee's views on the problems with the Peace Conference.[71]

Beginning in January of 1919, *The Daily Ilini* asked students how the university should memorialize WWI veterans.[72] A general consensus formed, the memorial should either be a monument to stand as reembrace to those who fought and died in the war, or a building that would serve some type of utilitarian purpose for the students. Many students thought a stadium or athletic field fit perfectly as both a memorial and a building. The rugged nature of athletics, especially football, fit as an excellent embodiment of the sacrifice made during the war, while also helping to promote the increased focus on physical education. Some also believed that gate receipts from a stadium would help lower the future costs for a student union building, a project that both the students and the administration wanted.[73]

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[70] War Publications and Reports of the War Committee of the University of Illinois, 1917-1919," Illinois State Library. Illinois State University. Springfield, Illinois., Preface.
[71] Ibid.
[72] "The Open Forum," *Daily Illini,* January 30, 1919.
[73] "Others' Opinions Concerning the Memorial," *Daily Illini,* January 31, 1919.

Following the war, one of the committee's primary concerns included their input on a proper war memorial for those who died in their service. Although the emergency committee created for the war did not have the authority to enforce or demand a memorial, the committee did provide suggestions. This included H.S. Magill, Director of the Illinois Centennial Commission, suggesting to the committee that the university could take a certain amount of the Illinois centennial coins and sell them to the students and others as souvenirs. These fifty-cent coins, minted by the United States, celebrated the centennial anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Union. The students could sell them for one dollar and use the profits either for a specific smaller memorial, or as a base for a larger memorial fund.[74] With the approval of President James, the committee appointed Assistant Dean Warnock as part of the fundraising committee. This plan called for 1,000 coins, netting the committee $500. The committee also proposed developing a special committee to consider a much larger memorial. These administrators included Dean Kinley as Chair, and Dean Clark, Professor J. M. White, and Director George Huff, and H.B. Johnston, editor of *The Daily Ilini*.[75] The sale of these centennial coins started February 1, 1919.

With the election of a new president for the Illinois Student Union, a renewed commitment towards an Illinois Union Building as a memorial began. The main argument in favor of an Illinois Union Building as a proper memorial was that it honored those who served but also served a practical purpose for the student body that helped in the war effort. The newly elected members of the Illinois Student Union wanted the

[74] War Publications and Reports of the War Committee of the University of Illinois, 1917-1919., 7.
[75] Ibid.

university to help support this endeavor as it would also help solved their desire for a proper memorial.[76] Others also felt that this memorial avoided the ornamental memorials that previous senior classes were responsible for,

> "Those Illini who gave up their all to defend the homes and hopes of the rest of us, were not merely ornamental; if they had been, they would never have gone forth to battle. They did service for the whole world. Then let their memorial typify the spirt of that service."[77]

While many students weighed in with their opinion on what memorial to construct, others wanted to know about the senior memorial chimes the previous senior classes raised money for. Both students and administrators knew what other schools around the country started to build. Many schools initiated plans to create memorial buildings of their own to honor their soldiers.[78] In early February, the Illinois Student Union adopted a resolution that a union building, a suitable memorial, should be passed on to the university.[79]

Between the next interaction between the University War Committee and President James, some of the potential committee members changed. Dean Kinley withdrew his membership because of the pressure of other duties and Professor L.H. Provine took his place. Mr. E.C. Craig of Mattoon, Illinois was added to represent the interests outside of the university. The addition of E.C. Craig became a crucial step in expanding the plans of raising funds. Instead of relying solely on local student and alumni support, creating a national campaign helped expand potential resources.

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[76] "With the New President," *Daily Illini,* February 1, 1919.
[77] "Other's Opinions, The Union Building," *Daily Illini,* February 1, 1919.
[78] "Our Contemporaries, A Memorial Building that has Served its End (From *The Boston Herald*)," *Daily Ilini,* February 4, 1919.
[79] "Union Building for Student Use Proposed as Suitable Memorial, Committee Drafts Resolution Favoring Structure to Commemorate Illini Killed in Service," *Daily Illini,* February 5, 1919.

Following graduation or securing a job many alumni and former students dispersed all over the country. By utilizing outside support, the ideas and plans for a larger memorial commenced. The University War Committee sent letters to the President and Vice-President of the University, the members of the Board of Trustees, the Woman's League, the Student Council of the Illinois Union, several distinguished artists and architects, the faculty, and the administrative staff.

A mass student meeting in March of 1919 called by the committee to expand the discussion to the student body.[80] At the mass student meeting an interest in associating the memorial with the proposed Illinois Union Building existed. Making the memorial a central piece in a student building had the potential to gain a large amount of support and popularity. Great debate existed on the potential for this memorial project, as Professor Provine warned,

> "This work cannot be pushed and hasty conclusions drawn; it will take time. Any memorial which is eventually erected should be the type which will stand the test of ages and forever commemorate the part which the University played in the Great War."[81]

As a place holder for the future memorial the University War Committee called for the construction of a temporary war museum. Dean Clark sent out letters requesting museum artifacts. The location of this temporary museum would be housed in the rotunda of the University Library. The University Library, open to the public, reasonable hours, location on campus, and relative supervision by library attendants made it the perfect spot for this

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[80] "Be There Tonight," *Daily Ilini,* March 20, 1919.
[81] War Publications and Reports of the War Committee of the University of Illinois, 1917-1919," Illinois State Library. 13.

museum.[82] The desire for the chimes continued as many saw it imperative to have the remaining funds raised so the school, seniors included, could focus their full attention on the War Memorial Campaign.[83]

However, securing the remaining money for the Senior Memorial Fund proved difficult. Throughout the spring semester the Senior Memorial Committee made multiple attempts to raise the remaining funds. This included a ten day drive to secure the remaining money, pressure seniors that were yet to pay, and also a warning of past senior classes that needed financial relief from the university.[84] Despite multiple attempts the Class of 1919 did not raise the required funds and fell $200 short of their goal of $1,000. Although not every member of the class contributed, another major issue the Senior Memorial Committee experienced was tracking down those members who left the university. Many students either stopped attending the university as they already secured jobs, dropped out and moved away, or took time away from school due to financial burdens brought on by the war.[85] Despite the shortcoming of the Class of 1919, many believed that with the total funds, $5,500, the Senior Memorial Committee could start finding estimates and developing a payment plan for the remainder of the funds needed.[86] Additionally, the push for a WWI memorial on campus slowed, it became clear that a war memorial would not be erected in the near future. This stagnation was caused in part,

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[82] War Publications and Reports of the War Committee of the University of Illinois, 1917-1919," Illinois State Library., 13.
[83] "Chimes May Be Ordered By Present Senior Class – Addition of $1000 to Fund Will Insure Immediate Construction of Memorial, Last Payment by Juniors," *Daily Illini,* April 1, 1919.
[84] "Money for Memorial is Coming in Slowly According to Chairman Brock, Women Best Contributors," *Daily Illini,* April 24, 1919.
[85] "Memorial Fund Short of Goal as Drive Ends," *Daily Illini,* May 30, 1919.
[86] "Long Herald Chimes May Soon Make Their Appearance on Campus," *Daily Illini,* June 5, 1919.

from recovering from the war itself and student focus on finishing up the Senior Memorial Fund to start raising and saving money for the war memorial.[87]

The Homecoming of 1919 was a chance for the entire university and alumni to come together. On Saturday morning all returning alumni and former students received an invitation to attend a meeting to discuss how to honor the Illini who died in WWI. Besides President Kinley, Governor Frank O. Lowden also spoke at the meeting to encourage alumni and friends of the university to mobilize in persuading legislature to assist in acquiring what was necessary to help the memorial project along.[88] After the meeting the University of Illinois football team played their rival the University of Chicago in a highly anticipated match. An additional 2,300 temporary seats were constructed in anticipation of such a large crowd.[89] Besides the game, a carnival took place at night. A Sunday Memorial Service was the final opportunity for alumni and students to come together as "Illini" to honor those killed in WWI.[90]

Despite a substantial turnout and general interest from alumni and students, the discussion of a proper memorial for soldiers of WWI quieted once again. However, increased discussion of the final financial contributions needed for the Senior Memorial Chimes started in early January of 1920.[91] Due to falling subscription and apparent lack of interest in raising the necessary funds by senior classes alone, the Illinois Student

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[87] "A Castle in Spain," *Daily Illini,* June 8, 1919.
[88] "Lowden Wires Intentions to Address Grads, Governor Will Appear Before Homecoming Alumni Meet on Saturday, Revive Love For Illinois, President Kinley Hopes to Reach Legislative Powers by Appeal to Old Students," *Daily Illini,* October 25, 1919.
[89] "Entertainment is Homecoming Program Plan, 'Good Time For Everyone' Slogan Chosen to Greet Returning Illini," *Daily Illini,* October 15, 1919.
[90] Ibid.
[91] "Chime Committee to Dig in Senior Pockets for $2000, TO Canvas Mid-Year Graduates for $4 Each This Week, Solicit Other Donations," *Daily Illini,* January 21, 1920.

Union chose to invite the junior class, the Class of 1921, to join in raising the funds in order to purchase the chimes.[92] Although this was an additional financial burden for the junior class, it actually met a warm reception.

With a larger university memorial deferred, the students in 1920, followed the national trend of planting Gold Star Memorial Trees for each soldier killed during WWI. The campaign lasted a single day as the university raised an outstanding $1,454.[93] This made it clear that students were willing to donate when they deemed a cause worthy of merit. The ceremony was rescheduled multiple times on account of inclement weather. Finally, on April 23, the ceremony commenced with the planting of 173 trees and much fanfare as the student body and staff attended the ceremony. The men and women who served in WWI dressed in uniform. This included, soldiers, sailors, marines, Red Cross workers, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. workers, canteen and motor corps workers, among others who contributed the university war effort. After reading all 173 Gold Star students' names the 173 planting teams began their work followed by a twenty one gun salute, many of the family members of those killed attended the ceremony.[94]

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[92] "Juniors Stand Unanimous for Pledging Dues, Class of 1921 Decides to Work Plans to Contribute $2000 Toward Fund," *Daily Illini,* February 25, 1920.
[93] "Trees Ordered For Memorial To Illini Dead, Set April 12 as Tentative Date For Planting Living Monument to Heroes, Ask Volunteer Planters, Committee Plans Use of Brigade to Add Military Touch to Day's Program, *Daily Illini,* April 7, 1920.
[94] "University Plants 173 Trees, Living Memorial for Heroes, Impressive Military Ceremony Accompanies Student Tribute to Illini Dead, Brigade Passes Review," *Daily Illini,* April 24, 1920.

Seizing the Gold Star Memorial Tree momentum, the joint Senior-Junior Class Memorial Chimes Committee relaunched their campaign to raise necessary funds for the chimes in time for the Homecoming of 1920. Within a few weeks the campaign raised more than $4,000 in subscriptions for the chimes.[96] Beginning with the Class of1914 through the Class of 1921 juniors and seniors raised $11,000 for the chimes. An additional $2,500 for a memorial to the school of aeronautics was added making the grand total $13,500. With this increase in funds the bell set, originally an eleven piece set, became a fifteen piece set. In order to place the enormous bells one of the columns in the Library Tower needed to be removed. The Bell Committee included Professor J.M. White, supervising architect; and Director A.A. Harding. The Class of 1922 planned to raise funds to add the clockwork to ring the bells.[97][98] In October of 1920, the bells arrived on campus, in time for the upcoming homecoming celebration


Deepest-Toned of All

Edmund Janes James, president emeritus of the University, and the most massive bell of the senior memorial chimes which is dedicated to him by the classes of 1914-21. The inscription reads: "To Edmund Janes James, president 1904-1920, a gifted and inspiring leader, an educational statesman.

Figure 1: "Deepest-Toned of All."[95]

[95] "Deepest-Toned of All," *Daily Illini,* October 12, 1920
[96] "Chimes Will Ring Next Homecoming; Raise $4300 Fund , Committees Report Enough Money Secured to Purchase Eleven Bell Set, Canvass Will Continue," *Daily Illini,* April 27, 1920.
[97] "Chimes Will Ring Next Homecoming, Contract Signed for Fifteen Bells to be Installed by End of October, Set Will Cost $13,500," *Daily Illini,* June 16, 1920.
[98] "Juniors Will Give Chimes Clockwork," *Daily Illini,* September 30, 1920.

including the dedication of the chimes, one to former President James, and the others to the senior classes from 1914-1921.[99]


Chimes Will Ring Today

Fifteen memorial senior chimes, the biggest set installed at any university in the United States, lined up at the base of Library Tower previous to their being hung in place. They will ring for the first time today at the dedication held at 10 o'clock this morning.

Figure 2:"Chimes Will Ring Today"[100]

Throughout 1920, momentum for making campus improvements flourished, including plans for a colossal stadium. Similar to other schools, the University of Illinois desired a larger venue for their football games. The suggestion for a new stadium at Illinois was earlier than WWI, as rivals Indiana and Wisconsin planned for the creation of newer, larger, concrete stadiums.[101] The stadium arms race began with Harvard and Yale, among other Ivy League schools, eventually this stadium fever spread to the Big Ten.

As with most plans, WWI put the call for a new stadium on hold. The discussion reemerged in early 1920, with a study to determine the possible benefits of a new stadium. Coach Robert C. Zuppke spearheaded the initial charge of the project once the football season ended, including preliminary architectural plans which would go before the Board of Trustees in mid-December. One of the issues of planning for the stadium's

[99] "Homecomers, Students Will Witness Event, Marks Successful Achievement of Efforts of Eight Senior Classes, Victor Cullin '20 To Present Bells, Largest Chime Dedicated to Ex-President James, One to S.M.A. and One to Classes," *Daily Illini,* October 30, 1920.
[100] "Chimes Will Ring Today," *Daily Illini,* October 30, 1920.
[101] "Two Universities to Erect New Stadia for Athletics, Wisconsin and Indiana Abandon Former Fields for New Site; Illinois a Possibility," *Daily Illini,* December 1, 1915.

potential location was understanding how and where the university planned to expand in the future. "The stadium cannot be too far away from the center of the University activities… and must be located so it will harmonize with the new University growth."[102] If the university expanded south and west, the stadium would be erected on the 40-acre athletic field. The worry being it would not be large enough for additional aspects of the stadium, including multiple football fields, baseball diamonds, and tennis court.

Others called for the stadium's construction to occur on the current Illinois Field. Building the stadium on Illinois Filed, meant it would be ready sooner. However, the drawback being the interruption of gameplay during the season as it would take a couple of years for the stadium's completion. The University of Wisconsin's Camp Randall, exemplified stadium construction in two phases, across multiple years, in order to not interrupt the season, and add a few thousand seats to the stadium during the construction period. [103] Coach Zuppke envisioned the stadium to serve a multitude of purposes besides the varsity football team. Practice fields would serve as intramural fields for students, baseball diamonds for the baseball team, inside the stadium a track would help the track team. Additionally, outdoor concerts, dramas, and graduation ceremonies could see benefit from the stadium.[104]

A new student union building resurfaced as a potential suggestion. The union building would be a hub for students to work, study, and enjoy each other's company.[105]

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[102] "Zuppke Heads Project to Build Huge Illinois Athletic Stadium," *Daily Illini,* December 1, 1920.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] "Plans For New Union Building Seek Comforts, Proposals for Future Offered if Campaign Is Launched, Discuss Merits of Probable Location, Auditorium, Ball Room, Pool, Dining Rooms if Move Adopted," *Daily Illini,* December 2, 1920.

The features of this union building included a swimming pool, auditorium, large dance hall, dining room, book store, and pool hall among other amenities. Although envisioned as place for students, rooms and offices would also be reserved for alumni to host events, and faculty to work. To coincide with other planned memorials the suggestion of dedicating the building to President John Milton Gregory, the first president of the university, or WWI veterans received consideration.[106]

This started a debate between the prestige of a stadium and the utility of a union building. Some argued that a stadium was necessary for the University of Illinois if it wished to keep pace with its Big Ten Conference rivals all were in the process of planning larger stadiums.[107] Many feared that if Illinois did not stay competitive in football the team would be relegated to a lower division, or larger teams would lose desire to play Illinois. Additionally, the gate receipts of games would help increase revenue for the university as a whole, helping to promote other goals. This includes the expansion of the athletic department. A coaching school, the first of its kind in the United States, was developed by the athletic department. This coaching school brought top tier coaches from all over the country to help develop the program. Administrators, including Dean Clark, believed that the athletic department could not expand any further without a stadium due to the increased number of contestants and forms of sports the university offered. Intramural athletics also needed a larger location to practice and play and a large stadium could provide a solution. "Unless a stadium is built soon, the physical

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[106] "Plans For New Union Building Seek Comforts, Proposals for Future Offered if Campaign Is Launched, Discuss Merits of Probable Location, Auditorium, Ball Room, Pool, Dining Rooms if Move Adopted," *Daily Illini,* December 2, 1920.
[107] "Illinois Needs Stadium Most Declares Clark," *Daily Illini,* December 5, 1920.

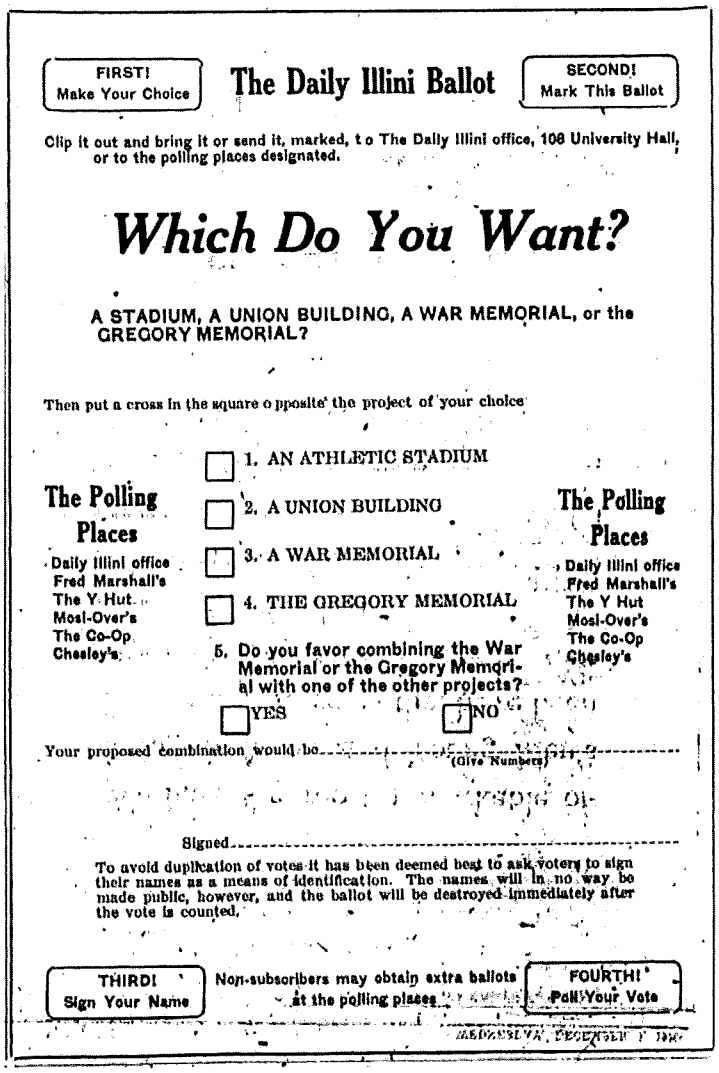
development of the University, which is just as important as the mental will become stagnant."[108]

Although some argued that the stadium was not used more than a few times a year, the counter argument was that the coaches and administrators also served as teachers helping to promote the increasingly popular and necessary physical education department.[109] The argument for the student union building, was that students could use it year round. The union building also created the space for various campus activities which occurred throughout the year, including dances and mixers. Whereas previously the basketball team, often forced to yield to dance committees, in the gym annex of the auditorium would have the luxury of practicing as much as they wished. It created a universal building for all students to enjoy rather than a stadium which catered to outsiders of the university as it would seat nearly 60,000 people.[110]

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[108] "Illinois Needs Stadium Most Declares Clark," *Daily Illini,* December 5, 1920.
[109] "Sports Writer Presents Arguments for Stadium," *Daily Illini,* December 7, 1920.
[110] Stadium or Union Building – Which? Adherents Present Rival Arguments," *Daily Illini,* December 5, 1920.

In attempts to gauge student and faculty interest in what project the university should support; a stadium, a war memorial, a student union building, or a memorial to President George the university enlisted the help of the *Daily Illini* to run a poll to see what faculty and students thought.[112] An interesting feature of this ballot was the possibility of combining these various projects into each other, rather than creating four separate plans. Note that "Memorial" is yet to appear in the stadium title.



FIRST! Make Your Choice

The Daily Illini Ballot

SECOND! Mark This Ballot

Clip it out and bring it or send it, marked, to The Daily Illini office, 108 University Hall, or to the polling places designated.

Which Do You Want?

A STADIUM, A UNION BUILDING, A WAR MEMORIAL, or the GREGORY MEMORIAL?

Then put a cross in the square opposite the project of your choice

1. AN ATHLETIC STADIUM
2. A UNION BUILDING
3. A WAR MEMORIAL
4. THE GREGORY MEMORIAL

The Polling Places
Daily Illini office
Fred Marshall's
The Y Hut
Mosl-Over's
The Co-Op
Chesley's

The Polling Places
Daily Illini office
Fred Marshall's
The Y Hut
Mosl-Over's
The Co-Op
Chesley's

5. Do you favor combining the War Memorial or the Gregory Memorial with one of the other projects?

YES NO

Your proposed combination would be _____ (Give Numbers)

Signed _____

To avoid duplication of votes it has been deemed best to ask voters to sign their names as a means of identification. The names will in no way be made public, however, and the ballot will be destroyed immediately after the vote is counted.

THIRD! Sign Your Name

Non-subscribers may obtain extra ballots at the polling places

FOURTH! Poll Your Vote

Figure 3: "Which Do You Want?"[111]

Upon completion of the voting it became clear that the university desired combining the war memorial plans with the creation of a stadium. The stadium received 1,353 votes, twice as many as the other three projects with nearly 2,005 voting participants. 627 wanted a union building, 24 wanted a war memorial and one wanted a Gregory

[111] "Which Do You Want?," *Daily Illini,* December 8, 1920.
[112] "Campus Folk Cast Ballots in Voting on Building Plans," *Daily Illini,* December 8, 1920.

Memorial. Combined with other projects, 950 favored the war memorial, 179 for the Gregory Memorial. A stadium and war memorial was the most popular with 614 votes. 320 wanted a union building to be part of the war memorial. 114 wanted the union building to be a memorial to President Gregory, and 65 wanted the stadium to be a memorial to President Gregory. Of the more unusual combinations 25 wanted a joint stadium and union building, 12 wanted a union building to act as a Gregory and war memorial, 11 wanted a combined war and Gregory memorial, 5 wanted the stadium combined as a war and Gregory memorial, one wanted a joint stadium and union building for a war memorial, and nine wanted all four projects to be combined. The results of the poll were sent to the Board of Trustees to consider during their next meeting.[113]

The Board of Trustees granted the stadium proposal with an expected seating capacity of 60,000.[114] With the board's approval, George "G" Huff sprang into action on developing a stadium drive to help fund the project. This began with Huff meeting with prominent alumni in Chicago to discuss organization for a campaign for funds, and a permanent chairmen of the executive committee. Besides electing committee members and a director the stadium drive also faced other challenges. This included the location of the stadium, and pressure from the community and especially parents of those killed in WWI for a proper memorial. The money for the stadium would be raised by alumni, students, and friends of the university with the possibility of state legislature appropriating funds. Alumni clubs throughout the country would act as agents for the drive. The plan to utilize extensive publicity and education would be put into place. Even

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[113] "Union Building Ballot is 637 in Plebiscite, Majority Urge Combining War Memorial with Athletic Amphitheater," *Daily Illini,* December 10, 1920.
[114] "Trustees Approve Proposed Stadium – Board Agrees to Athletic Project; Accept Plans for '22 Memorial Clock," *Daily Illini,* December 16, 1920.

rival Ohio State encouraged Illinois to dedicate the stadium as a memorial to those killed in WWI.[115] Every resource needed investigation as the estimates of the stadium were roughly $1,000,000 with the likelihood of eclipsing that estimate.[116][117]

Nearly all were in support of the proposed "Memorial Stadium," as many saw it as fitting monument to those who sacrificed their lives. The Memorial Stadium Committee sought assistance from Ohio State University and Purdue University's memorial committees as both schools successfully launched memorial campaigns at their respective universities.[118] On April 25, 1921 another mass meeting took place in the auditorium. President Kinley spoke first, voicing his support for the plan for a stadium. The next person to speak was G. Huff.

> "I want to see a great Stadium at the University of Illinois…I believe that you will get it. I believe there is a great spirit at this university. The Stadium will be many things – a memorial to Illini who have died in the war, a recreational field, and an imposing place for our varsity games. But it will also be an unprecedented expression of Illinois spirit. The Athletic Association, out of its own funds, is paying the expenses of this campaign. The money you pledge will be devoted solely to the Stadium. What you have started, our alumni will finish."[119]

With the support of the administration, faculty, and students the university was on its way to building a living memorial for those who served in WWI, the next objective, determine how to raise necessary funds.

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[115] "Ohio State Advises Illini to Make Stadium Memorial to War Heroes," *Daily Illini,* January 20, 1921.
[116] "Seek Illini Leader for Stadium Drive, G. Huff Says Campaign Committee Will Organize by January 1," *Daily Illini,* December 16, 1920.
[117] "Plan For Stadium Rounds Into Shape – Arrangements for Drive to Raise Fund Under Way Says Huff." *Daily Illini,* January 22, 1921.
[118] "Stadium Workers Return from Ohio, Carlson, Coolley and Clark Back after Conference on Memorial Plans," *Daily Illini,* February 22, 1921.
[119] *The Story of the Stadium,* 18.

"Minnesota State Memorial Commission" – The University of Minnesota

Following the completion of WWI, the country was in a frenzy of trying to find ways to honor the soldiers that served. Minnesota was no different in these ambitions. The Minnesota Memorial Commission began brainstorming ideas that they saw fitting to honor both the living and those killed in action. On February 24, 1919, upon gathering information, they released their findings in a report entitled "Report of the Minnesota State Memorial Commission."[120]

This commission, created by Minnesota Governor Joseph A. A. Burnquist, sought to investigate what type of memorials best honor the soldiers. In 1919, the Commission met on January 31, February 14, and February 22.[121] Letters, telegrams, and petitions poured in throughout the state with citizens giving different opinions on how to memorialize the veterans of WWI. The Commission heavily examined two major memorial locations, one on the campus of the University of Minnesota and the other on the state capitol grounds. Additional proposals included Memorial Highways, Memorial Fountains, a Pyramid, and an Americanization House, also planting throughout all state parks and vacant lots.

They also decided, unanimously, a structure built on campus would honor Minnesotan veterans that served in the Civil War, Spanish War of 1898, and WWI.[122] The initial plan called for the creation of a campus mall. At the north end of the mall, a Memorial Auditorium Building with seating for 6,000-8,000 people, including various

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[120] University of Minnesota, "Report of The Minnesota State Memorial Commission," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/281.
[121] Ibid., 5.
[122] Ibid., 7-8.

rooms for veterans to hold meetings. Plans for the auditorium included a place to house relics and documents of the wars, and the rotunda with bronze tablets with the names of the men and women who served Minnesota. On the south end of the mall, a 225 feet high Campanile listing all of the men and women who died while serving.[123] The Commission agreed that the campus, rather than state capitol grounds, was the best location and had the most concrete plans. The soldiers returning from war and beginning their education at the school also could then view the memorial. During the meetings, the Commission listened to the opinions of many veterans and current soldiers on where to place the memorial.

It was apparent to the Commission that the campus was the best location. This idea received positive opinions with the veterans at the meetings, but also roughly 9,000 WWI veterans, men and women, were either current or former students at the university. Although the Commission hoped for no more wars in America's future, the next generation of soldiers and officers would receive their training from colleges around the country. This was imperative to building a stronger America as the country was, in some respects, unprepared for war the scale of WWI.[125]

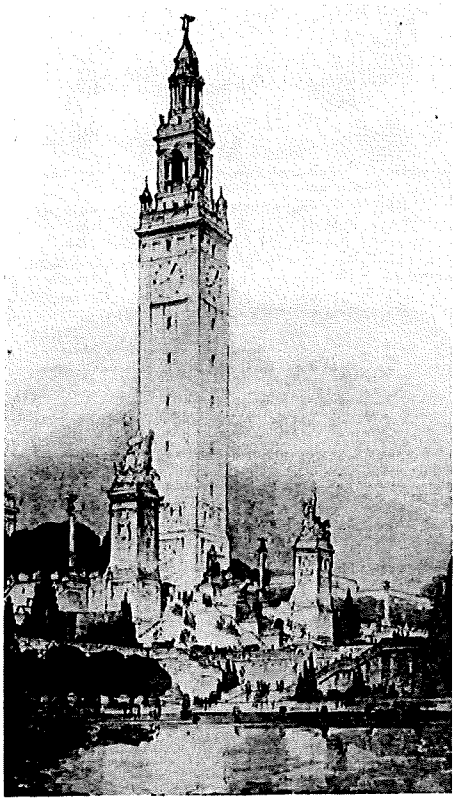


Figure 4: "The Campanile"[124]

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

[123] University of Minnesota, "Report of The Minnesota State Memorial Commission," 12.
[124] Ibid., 4.
[125] Ibid., 20.

Additionally, by creating the memorial to honor veterans of past wars the Commission could address their shortcomings. According to the Commission, Minnesota had not properly honored the troops that fought in the Civil War. The Commission wished to create some sort of separate and distinct feature of the memorial to, "... let these men know that we have not forgotten them in honoring the younger heroes of this day."[126]

University President, Marion LeRoy Burton, wrote a letter responding to the Commission's finding and resolutions. President Burton wanted to clarify that the $5,499,000 the university already requested, and approved by the governor would not be effected or used in the potential memorial finances. Also, the "Minnesota Memorial Mall' which would potential be located upon campus was first put forward by the Alumni Association's Board of Directors, not the Board of Regents. However, the regents expressed their approval of the plan. Lastly, when the Board of Regents gave their approval it was with the understanding that the method of raising funds would not come

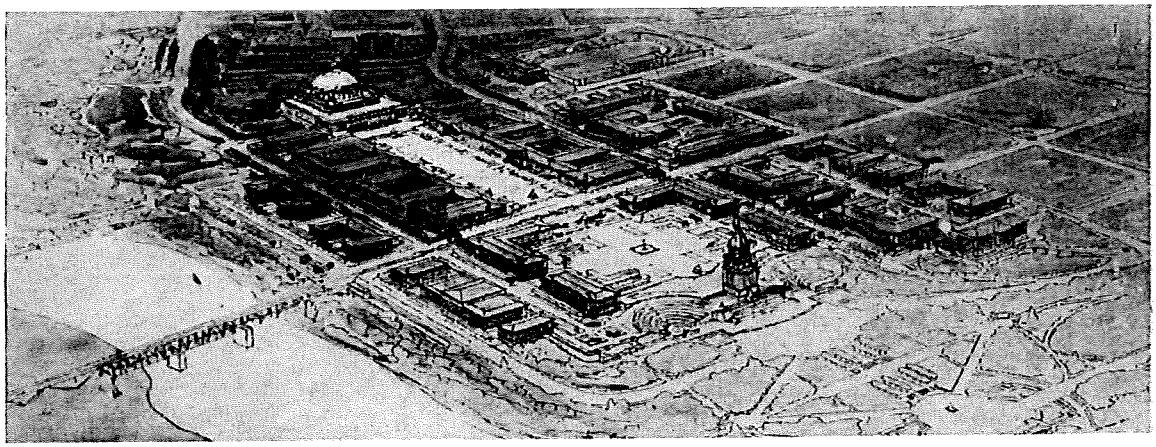


Figure 5: General View of the Proposed Memorial Mall with Auditorium at Upper End and Campanile at Lower End, Overlooking the River."[127]

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

[126] University of Minnesota, "Report of The Minnesota State Memorial Commission," 21.
[127] Ibid., 22.

from government legislation but rather private subscriptions.[128] President Burton's letter helped clarify the university's standing on the memorial plans. While the university supported the initiative, they wanted to make it clear that they were not asking for an addition $1,500,000 for the memorial from the government. By voicing that, the university did not intend to seek funds from the government it demonstrated to the students, faculty, and community that they did not intend to use, presumably taxpayers, money to build the memorial but would rely on their alumni network and fundraising capabilities. This was important as many began to claim that the university was attempting to gain even more money from the state.

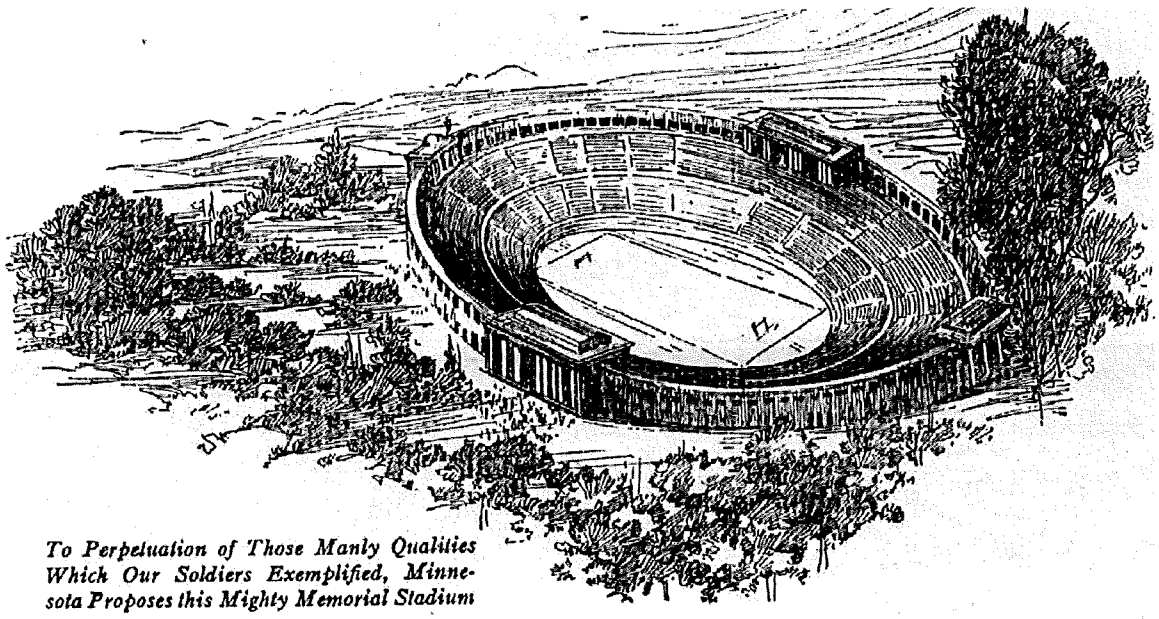


Figure 6:"To Perpetuation of Those Manly Qualities Which Our Soldiers Exemplified, Minnesota Proposes this Mighty Memorial Stadium."[129]

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

[128] University of Minnesota, "Letter to Governor J.A.A. Burnquist from University President Marion Burton Regarding a Memorial to Servicemen of World War I ," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, 2017, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/280.

[129] University of Minnesota, "Fundraising Brochure "University of Minnesota Invites Participation in a Great Program"," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, accessed March 29, 2017, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/399., 7.

In May of 1921, the newly inaugurated University President is Lotus Delta Coffman.[130] Less than a week after Coffman presidency began, in collaboration with the Alumni Association, he announced a $2,000,000 Memorial Stadium and Auditorium plan. This plan included a 36 acre athletic field with stadium seating for 90,000 spectators and a $1,000,000 auditorium.[131] The expansion from then current Northrop Field, included purchasing land from the Northern Pacific tracks and houses surrounding it. $750,000 covered the stadium and $250,000 covered the purchasing of land needed to expand the area. The seating of 90,000 helped to reduce admission costs and generate gate receipts for future university use. The auditorium, seating 7,000 students and 800 faculty planned to include a magnificent pipe organ which helped to, "answer the University's dream of beauty."[132] Fundraising for these initial plans were set to begin in fall of 1921.

On May 25, 1921, President Coffman sent a letter to alumni members regarding his thoughts on fundraising for a stadium and memorial auditorium. He commended the Board of Regents on their action towards moving these plans from an idea to reality:

> "The need for those projects is obvious, but greater than that is the need for clustering the sentiments and interest of the alumni and friends of the University of Minnesota around some tangible object. Minnesota has a proud history. She has a great future. The future will be raised only as she is entitled to receive and does receive the support of her alumni."[133]

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[130] "Coffman Takes Oath Today," *Minnesota Daily,* May 13, 1921.
[131] "Minnesota Alumni Plan $2,000,000 Stadium, Group of $200 Grads Pledge Support to 'U'," *Minnesota Daily,* May 17, 1921.
[132] Ibid.
[133] University of Minnesota, "Letter from President L.D. Coffman to Alumni Members Regarding Fundraising for a Stadium and Memorial Auditorium," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992,* http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/187.

This letter helps illustrate that President Coffman believed that the completion of the stadium and auditorium plans represented more than a utilitarian need but also a method to help to honor those who served.

On July 7, 1921, the Alumni Campaign Committee met to discuss the progress of the university's memorial project. This included the approval of the project as a whole, proper appropriation of the funds sufficient to complete the project at the earliest possible time, the specific location of the auditorium and stadium, and the certain flexibility to use the auditorium apart from university functions. The goal of $2,000,000 was set for the auditorium, stadium, and the purchase of land to enlarge the athletic field. The auditorium serving for assemblies, conventions, musicals, and lectures. The stadium seating 90,000 including improving the athletic fields. The alumni would be the primary donors to this campaign.[134] The goal was set to have student and faculty solicitation around Homecoming, November 5 1921.[135] In this meeting, Mr. Lyman L. Pierce, president of the Northern California Alumni Association, outlined ten elements that he believed would yield a successful campaign:

1. An appealing case
2. A reasonable objective
3. A friendly, well informed constituency
4. A connectional devotion and allegiance
5. Numerous local points of contact
6. One distinct local appeal
7. Timeliness
8. Organization and method
9. Adequate preliminary gifts
10. Competent direction.[136]

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[134] University of Minnesota, "Meeting Minutes of the Alumni Campaign Committee," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/273., 1.
[135] Ibid., 2.
[136] Ibid.

While trying to gain support of potential donors it was imperative to demonstrate the university's need for help. This included explaining the rich history of the university itself. At that time, the University of Minnesota existed for over 40 years, and typically received its funding and support from state legislation. The reason given for a different avenue to gain funds, alumni donations was attributed to Minnesota's exponentially rapid growth. Founded in 1868 with just 18 students, the university expanded over five decades from 214, 972, 2665, 3685, to 7023 with estimates of over 11,000 students enrolled in 1923.[138] With the steady growth of the university the legislature itself despite its efforts could not increase their funding to a level for the school to develop their two new initiatives. Cyrus Northrop served as president of the university for 27 years. The memorial fund campaign wrote about his contributions, "his great heart found a place for every student. His great arms encompassed the entire student body and drew it to his bosom in genuine affection. So great was his power in public address to energize and inspire that this first need, the Auditorium, is to be a memorial to him."[139]

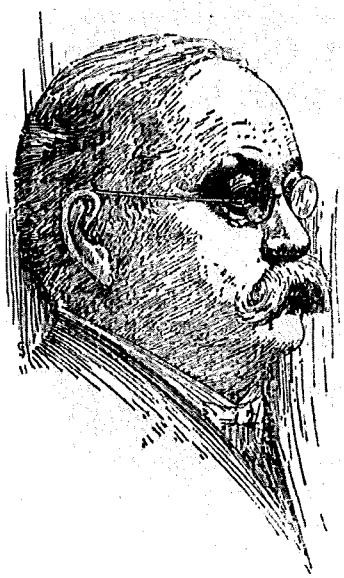


Figure 7: "Cyrus Northrop"[137]

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

However, by October E. B. Pierce the secretary of the Alumni Association announced the postponement of the stadium and auditorium fund, citing the hard economic times and depression the country faced. This decision came after discussing with prominent local

[137] University of Minnesota, "University of Minnesota Invites Participation in a Great Program.," 1.
[138] Ibid., 3.
[139] Ibid., 4

business men to assess the financial success of the project.[140] The Alumni Campaign Committee reconvened on October 14, 1921. The committee decided that an opening for active campaign would take place at least a year from October 1921. F.B. Snyder and C. F. Keyes had the task of drawing a form for alumni and friends of the University of Minnesota to make bequests to the university in their wills.[141]

Eventually, the university saw success, becoming the location of the memorial project. The plan still included an auditorium, named in honor of former university president, Cyrus Northrop. In addition to Northrop Auditorium Memorial Stadium would serve as a living memorial to the men and women who served Minnesota throughout the years. The stadium would help to build the next generation of soldiers to defend the United States as physical education and discipline would develop future leaders. Additionally, the stadium helped as a method to build the spirit of the university, creating an atmosphere that the whole student body could enjoy. Football's dominance on college campuses created a universal message; a strong football program meant a strong school, giving the University of Minnesota's students, faculty, administration, and especially alumni, a tangible structure to demonstrate their support for the university.

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[140] "Stadium Drive for $2,000,000 Fund is Postponed, Prevailing Hard Times Blamed for Lack of Funds, According to E.B. Pierce," *Minnesota Daily,* October 4, 1921.
[141] University of Minnesota, "Meeting Minutes of the Alumni Campaign Committee.," 3.

"Where Honor is Due"– Indiana University" – Indiana University

The idea for the Memorial Stadium, and other buildings created during the 1920s in Bloomington, Indiana predated WWI. This included a new Memorial Union building and dormitory for women. During an Alumni Council meeting on October 16 & 17, 1913, senior Earnest H. Lindley, discussed "should the university seek endowments, and for what?"[142] By January, 1914, the Alumni Quarterly, reported that,

> "The University needs a large auditorium. The student body should be socialized while here so that, broken up, it may go out and form the nuclei of innumerable other social centers. The men and women should come together often, and come together under inspiration. There should be a great organ in the auditorium and great music with it."[143]

Initially the namesake of these "Memorial" buildings sought to honor alumni and former students, which the university would call upon to help fund the projects rather than a way to honor WWI soldiers. In an editorial article in the *Indiana Daily Student,* called for the wise use of the Class of 1916s funds. Rather than creating the typical class monument as the Class of 1914 did with an "I" shaped bench,

> "We offer this suggestion: divide whatever money there may be in the memorial fund proportionately between men and women of the class. Give the women's portion to the fund for a women's building. And give the part that belongs to the men of the class a foundation for a Union Building fund, that will make the Class of 1916 remembered a hundred times longer than the most ornate tombstone that the class could possibly erect on campus."[144][145]

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[142] Alumni Council Report 1913-1916. Box 1, Histories and personal accounts, 1922-1936, Memorial Fund Campaign records, 1919-1951, bulk 1921-1931, C80, Office of University Archives and Records Management, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
[143] William Bryan Lowe to Prominent Alumni and Friends of the University. Box 1.
[144] "Special Program for Senior Day, Presentation of Class Memorial and Production of Play Chief Events." *Indiana Daily Student.* June 11, 1915.
[145] "Apropos of Senior Memorials," *Indiana Daily Student,* March 20, 1916.

Before the Alumni Council raised any sort of money from the solicitation of alumni or former students, the council needed to decide what it planned to create. In the July, 1916 an issue of the *Alumni Quarterly* reported that during the April 13 Council meeting:

> "In the discussion a number of other proposals for the raising of funds for the University came in for consideration, including the building of a women's dormitory and the raising of funds for the celebration of the University's Centennial."[146]

When the country became engulfed in war all of the focus shifted away to wartime obligations.[147] Every year President Bryan hosted a reception for the seniors. Rather than supplying food for the seniors, the money would instead be sent to support some type of relief fund, possibly the support of two French orphans whose father was killed on the front lines during the war.[148] This was the status quo, with every bit of extra bit of money being donated to support one war time cause or another.

At the commencement of the graduating Class of 1917, the university honored President Bryan with the "Bryan Fund." This $1000 fund would help lend support to Indiana students that enlisted in WWI.[149] This allowed President Bryan to use the funds at his discretion to help support the families of the enlisted students. In the commencement acceptance speech Bryan discussed how he wanted the families of the soldiers to know that he and the university would be there to support them throughout the

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[146] William Bryan Lowe to Prominent Alumni and Friends of the University. Box 1.
[147] William Bryan Lowe to Board of Trustees of Indiana University. Box 1.
[148] "Reception for Seniors," *Indiana Daily Student,* May 29, 1917.
[149] "Dr. Bryan Honored at Commencement, Board of Trustees and Faculty Designate Local War Donation as Brian Fund," *Indiana Daily Student,* June 5, 1917.

war campaign.[150] Classes throughout wartime donated their Senior Memorial Funds to the Bryan War Fund.[151]

The first Indiana student killed in action was Lieutenant W. T. Fitzsimmons, Class of 1912. This started a movement to create a memorial tablet to honor the fallen soldier.[152] By the end of WWI, 37 students died. Fitzsimmons and the other students killed in WWI would receive much more than a tablet, rather, "some memorial that will live for years as a token of our appreciation for those thirty-six men and one woman, who, carrying true the ideals of the University, gave their all for the cause."[153]

Not until after the war did the discussion of using alumni funds for an on campus purpose reemerged. On October 28, 1919, President William Bryan Lowe wrote a report to the Board of Trustees of the university. In the report he discussed how prior to the war, faculty and alumni gave extensive consideration to celebrating the centennial of the university. He also sent out a letter to roughly one hundred prominent alumni and friends of Indiana requesting that these alumni and friends be a part of the Advisory Council for the Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana University.[154] The purpose of this committee was to discuss how the university could celebrate its centennial. This became public knowledge via *The Indiana Daily Student* on October 31, 1919.[155]

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[150] "Dr. Bryan Honored at Commencement, Board of Trustees and Faculty Designate Local War Donation as Brian Fund," *Indiana Daily Student,* June 5, 1917.
[151] "Annual Senior Dance to be Held Friday Night, Affair Open to All Men in University, Proceeds to Go to Senior Memorial War Fund," *Indiana Daily Student,* April 24, 1918.
[152] "Where Honor is Due," *Indiana Daily Student,* October 30, 1917.
[153] "Honor Indiana's Heroes," *Indiana Daily Student,* February 19, 1919.
[154]William Bryan Lowe to Prominent Alumni and Friends of the University. Box 1.
[155] "Trustees Discuss Plans for Memorial Building, Suggest Campaign for Funds From Students and Alumni, Needed as Assembly Hall." *Indiana Daily Student,* October 31, 1919.

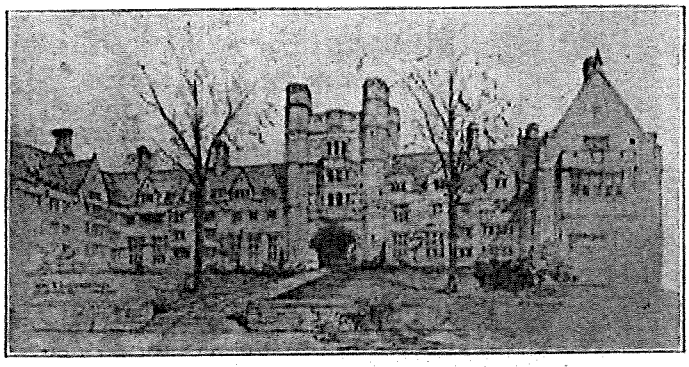
The stadium boom of the 1920s was in full effect by the time Indiana became involved. Along with Indiana's ambitions to improve the football stadium, plans resumed to complete building projects interrupted by the outbreak of war. Similar to the University of Illinois, the state memorial commission did not play a role in the development of the stadium or surrounding buildings. This is due in primarily to the Indiana Memorial Commission's focus on their efforts in Indianapolis. Following WWI, an attempt to lure the newly formed American Legion to move their temporary headquarters from New York City to Indianapolis was in motion. The Soldier's and Sailor's Monument already existed at the center of Indianapolis. This obelisk, created to honor the Indiana soldiers of the Civil War made Indianapolis the perfect spot for the commission to focus their efforts.

By 1919, the foundation for the Indiana War Memorial Plaza was set into motion. In 1920, the Indiana War Memorial Bill passed, this bill appropriated $2 million for the construction and land needed. Construction began in 1921, the city and state reached an agreement where the city would pay for the site and its upkeep while the state would pay for the construction costs. On November 21, The Plaza, dedicated to the American Legion, preoccupied Indiana's Memorial Commission, leaving the creation of Memorial Stadium and its accompanying buildings up to Indiana University.

In June of 1920, the Alumni Association proposed a campaign for a Memorial Fund of at least one million dollars from former students and alumni.[156] On June 7, 1921, the Executive Council of the Alumni Association adopted the resolution.[157] T to build

[156] A campaign for a Memorial Fund of at Least $1,000,000. Box 1.
[157] Ibid.

Memorial Hall, a women's dormitory, the Indiana Memorial Union Building and Auditorium, and the 10th Street Memorial Stadium.[158]

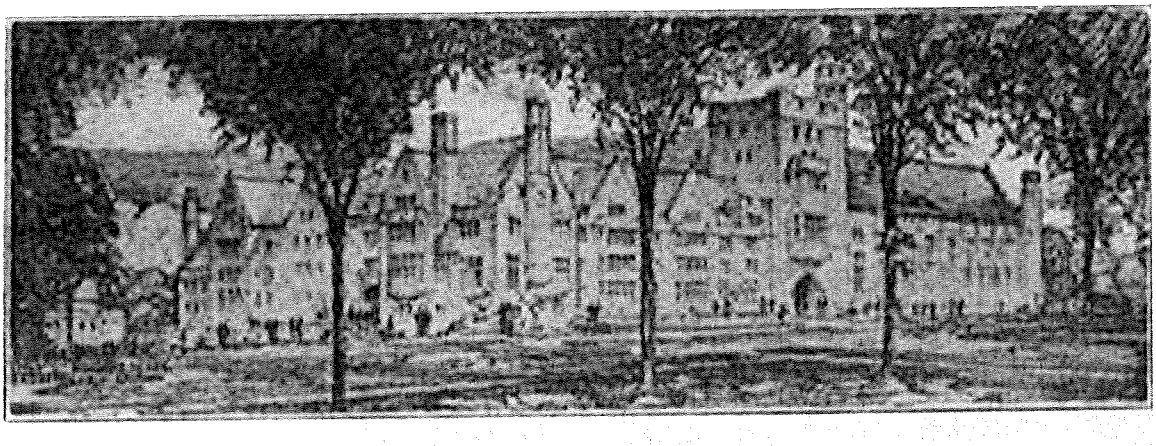


THE WOMEN'S DORMITORY.

Figure 8: "The Women's Dormitory"[159]

(Courtesy of Indiana University Archives, Indiana University, Bloomington)

The Alumni Council viewed the one million dollar goal as every alumni and former student's duty to make sure Indiana received the funding it needed.[161] This idea of raising one million dollars was not a new idea, but an idea implemented by previous universities. For example, as early as 1915, *The Indiana Daily Student,* reported that the University of Michigan set the goal to raise one million dollars through support from their 35,000 alumni to help created the Michigan Union



THE PROPOSED UNION BUILDING.

Figure 9:"The Proposed Union Building."[160]

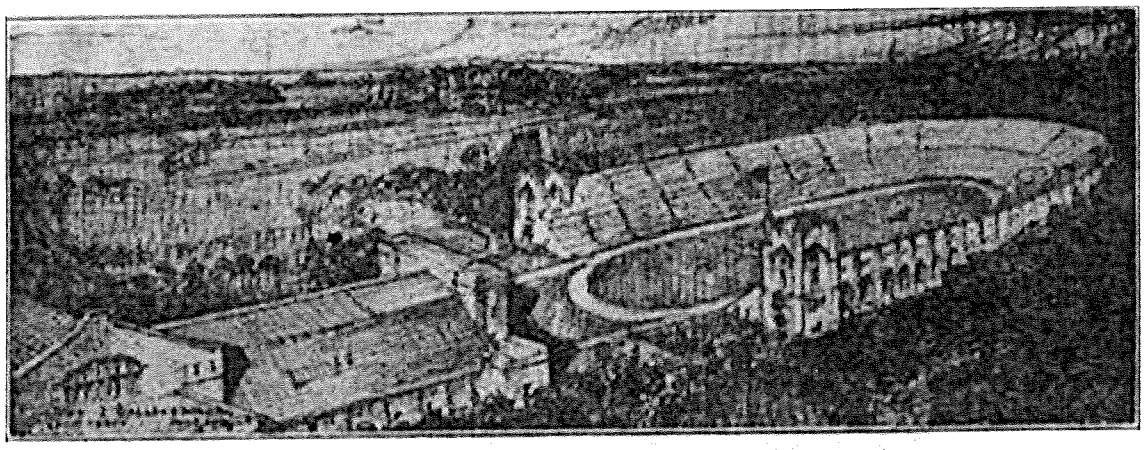
(Courtesy of Indiana University Archives, Indiana University, Bloomington)

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[158] Extract from Minutes of Alumni Meeting June 6, 1922., 272.
[159] "A Directory Campus and Well House Indiana University Alumni in Indianapolis and Marion County. Box 4., 42.
[160] Ibid., 12.
[161] Extract from Minutes of Alumni Meeting June 6, 1922., 272.

Building.[162] This also included stadium building, including Wisconsin's Camp Randall which was built using alumni and friends of the university donations.[163]

The appropriation for the Memorial Fund included: $500,000 for the Union Building, $250,000 for Memorial Stadium, and $250,000 for Memorial Hall.[165] Many believed that the success of this Memorial Fund campaign would change the way the rest of the world looked at Indiana. Indiana was well aware of what other "Memorial Stadiums" were doing to raise funds. *The Indiana Daily* reported on July 19, 1921 that Illinois University was planning a $2,000,000 stadium set to be completed in 1923 and seat 75,000 persons. At that point in time the students raised $700,000 and the remainder was being subscribed among their alumni.[166]



THE STADIUM—PART OF THE MEMORIAL.

Figure 10: "The Stadium – Part of the Memorial"[164]

(Courtesy of Indiana University Archives, Indiana University, Bloomington)

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[162] "Michigan Union to be Housed in Costly Home, Million-Dollar Fund Subscribed with Which to Erect Permanent Home for Michigan Men," *Indiana Daily Student,* July 23, 1915.
[163] "For Wisconsin Stadium," *Indiana Daily Student,* June 1, 1916.
[164] "A Directory Campus and Well House Indiana University Alumni in Indianapolis and Marion County. Box 4., 42.
[165] A campaign for a Memorial Fund of at Least $1,000,000. Box 1.
[166] "Summer School Events at Other Universities," *Indiana Daily Student,* July 19, 1921.

Additionally, the people of Bloomington and Monroe County pledged $200,000 to help build up Indiana University.[167] Starting at the end of the war Monroe County and Bloomington called to create a war memorial to honor the people who died in WWI, eventually building a hospital in Monroe County.[168][169] This may have been the best option for the county and city to help to honor the soldiers but also show good will towards Indiana University as Representative Rothrock, professor of mathematics, helped pass a bill that allowed county commissioners to assist in the creation of the hospital.[170] Some felt that the Indiana should move their entire campus to a larger venue. C.B. Clark an alumnus, argued that "several desirable towns in Indiana have offered to duplicate the buildings now standing on the campus at Bloomington so it would not cost the state one cent so far as the moving the university is concerned."[171] He shared the sentiment of many alumni who did not see it fitting that Indiana to remain in Bloomington. The university often held classes in both Bloomington and Indianapolis. This was one of the reasons Bloomington and Monroe County exhibited a willingness to help fund the project, in part, out of fear of the university relocating. If the university were to physically move it may have dire consequences for the area through loss of employment and business. The next phase of the Million Dollar Memorial Fund Drive, develop a way for the students, faculty, and alumni to help raise funds.

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[167] Extract from Minutes of Alumni Meeting June 6, 1922. Box 1.,272.
[168] "Citizens Plan Memorial To Monroe County Men, Committee of Local Men Placed in Charge of Movement Here," *Indiana Daily Student,* February 11, 1919.
[169] "Committee Plans Drive For Memorial, Drive Will Start in April for Funds to Complete Hospital, Dedicated to Monroe County Heroes." *Indiana Daily Student,* March 7, 1919.
[170] "Commissioners May Help in Memorial, Recent Act of Legislature Grants Monroe County Right to Aid in Erecting Local Hospital." *Indiana Daily Student,* March 18, 1919.
[171] "Indiana University," *Auburn Courier,* September 28, 1922.

Chapter III: Selling Public Memory: Gaining Public Support & Funding

"For Fighting Illini" – The University of Illinois



Figure 11:"We have a heritage from the Illini Indian – the Great Heart, the fighting spirt"[172]

(Courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives, **University** of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

[172] *Story of the Stadium,* 1.

Fueled by the success of recent fundraising campaigns and the April 25, 1921 meeting, the Illinois Student Union and Alumni Association set out to make sure the university raised the funds necessary for the building of the stadium. By the end of the meeting the undergrad student body pledge $700,000.[173] After the initial goal of $1,000,000 the Illinois Student Union and the Alumni Association increased the goal to $2,500,000 due to enthusiastic student support. To honor those fallen, the stadium would include stone columns, each with a soldiers names to continue their memory. Besides the amount pledged at the meeting, over 50 student organizations pledged support for donating to the Memorial Columns.[174]

Given the recent success of the Senior Memorial Chimes Campaign, Senior Class of 1922 Memorial Clock Campaign, and Gold Star Tree Memorial Campaign, the students and university believed they could achieve the goal of $2,500,000. During the building process of the Memorial Stadium at Illinois, even opposing teams donated to help the university. Coach Fielding H. Yost, of the University of Michigan, presented $500 towards the creation of a column in the stadium to honor Lt. Col. Curtis G. Bedden, a former football and basketball star killed during the war. The Illinois veterans of the 149th Field Artillery of the Rainbow Division covered the remaining costs. Lt. Col. Bedden commanded the division in France during the war.[175]

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[173] "Illini Pledge $700,000 at Mass Meeting," *Daily Illini,* April 26, 1921.
[174] "Fifty-Three University Groups Pledge Columns," *Daily Illini,* April 24, 1921.
[175] "Michigan Athlete Will Have Memorial in Illini Stadium," *Daily Illini*, November 3, 1921.

The university kept promotion costs low, approximately $12,000-15,000 for initial publicity by utilizing student volunteers rather than hiring salaried workers. All of the money collected from students, faculty, alumni, and friends of the university went directly towards the stadium's actual construction costs.[177] A main way the university gained interest and attention was through publicity. This included a brochure, "The University of Illinois Memorial Stadium," with photographs of various campus views, by Clarence Welsh, Class of 1922. At the end of the brochure there was as spot to paste donation receipts stating, "I have given."[178] The Alumni Association, which often produced magazines directed towards the alumni of the university also contributed. Two of the most notable works included *The Illinois Stadium "For Fighting Illini"*, and *The Story of the Stadium. The Illinois Stadium,* released as a 20 page booklet detailed the needs and reasons to support the stadium project. *The Story of the Stadium*, a larger 45 page book, gave an even more in depth examination on why and how to support the stadium project. Given free to any alumni, former student, or donor.[179] Both of these items were excellent marketing tools in fostering a shared collective relationship between former and current Illini.

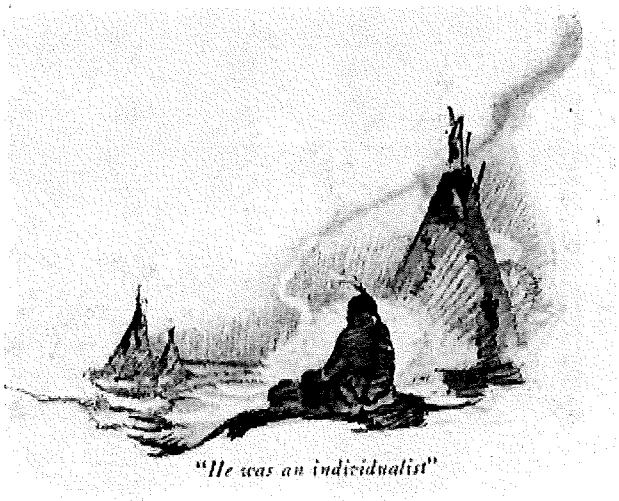


Figure 12: "He was an individualist"[176]

(Courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

[176] *Story of the Stadium,* 2.
[177] "Promote Stadium Drive For $12,000," *Daily Illini,* July 17, 1921.
[178] "Memorial Stadium Brochure Glows with Loyalty, Beauty of Campus," *Daily Illini,* April 23, 1921.
[179] "Story of the Stadium New Souvenir of Drive Given Free," *Daily Illini,* July 29, 1921.

A narrative needed creation to sell the idea of building a stadium to the alumni. The story of the Illini Tribe provided this. In, *The Story of the Stadium*, the story unfolded.

> "LISTEN to the historian, and learn what manner of man lived where today Burrill Avenue, Green Street and the Boneyard... The Illini Indian, he was called, and he was a hunter, a fighter, and more generous in war and in peace than his neighbors, the Shawnees, the Iroquois, the Sioux, the Chippewas, and the Kickapoos..."[180]

The magazine continues to discuss the history of the Illini, including the eventual warring with the pioneers of the time. Given the Illini namesake, the article insinuates, that the Illini athletes and fans inherited the traits of the Illini Indians, the Great Heart, the fighting spirit, the spirit of individualism, of teaching children to be free but brave and to have a God, "for these are the laws of our tribe."[181] Although most, if not all, student and alumni had very little relations to the Illini themselves, they still shared this imagined heritage. "See us today living vitally in our heritage. Watch us play football; see us on the cinder track, on the baseball diamond ... We are different, somehow, we of the middle west – not particularly better, but different. We are uniquely ourselves."[182] The implication that athletics provided an avenue to display young men's bravery and individuality fit perfectly with physical masculine narrative of athletics in the 1920s.

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[180] *Story of the Stadium*, 2.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.

Besides connecting the imagined heritage of the Illini, past and present, the Alumni Association attempted to explain the necessity of a new stadium. "Illinois Field is a battered veteran, gracefully resigning."[184] Throughout the years baseball and football games occurred throughout the Illinois campus. Eventually in the spring of 1891, the construction of the first athletic field began. The original grandstand seated 300 people; a donation from William B. McKinley, created the track. In 1905, the field expanded to incorporate bleachers for a baseball games, and the first football field. By 1914, the same year as the Senior Memorial Chimes Campaign started, the football bleachers seated 4,000 people. Seating expanded twice at Illinois Field, which brought it to 17,000 seats plus 3,000 standing room. The demand for the 1921 Illinois vs Ohio State game exceeded 50,000 people.



Figure 13: "The grandstand, seating 300 people, was the pride of the undergraduate body"[183]

(Courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

To avoid this from happening again, the Alumni Association argued that Illinois Field needed expansion.[185] The Alumni Association mentioned the victorious years seen at Illinois, including 1915 when the school won the football, baseball, track, and

[183] *Story of the Stadium*, 10.
[184] Ibid., 6.
[185] Ibid., 9.

basketball championships in the same year.[186] Rather than ignoring Illinois Field, the school simply out grew it.

The Alumni Association credited George "G" Huff for spearheading the new stadium vision. George Huff was he former legendary baseball coach, turned athletic director. The magazine described that, "when G. Huff speaks, the "powers that be" listen with marked respect and consideration."[188] As a coach and administrator Huff was aware of the expansion, other universities were developing for their athletic fields. So was Bob Zuppke, coach of the Illini football team, and chair of the stadium committee. Zuppke secured an enormous amount of victories against every team in the Big Ten Conference. It was clear that Illinois viewed itself on par, at least athletically, with Eastern powerhouse Harvard and Yale.[189] Besides a football field, the stadium would include a quarter mile track, basketball floors, handball and wrestling courts, lockers and showers, all underneath the stands. Outside of the stadium itself a 100 acre recreation field including baseball diamonds, football,

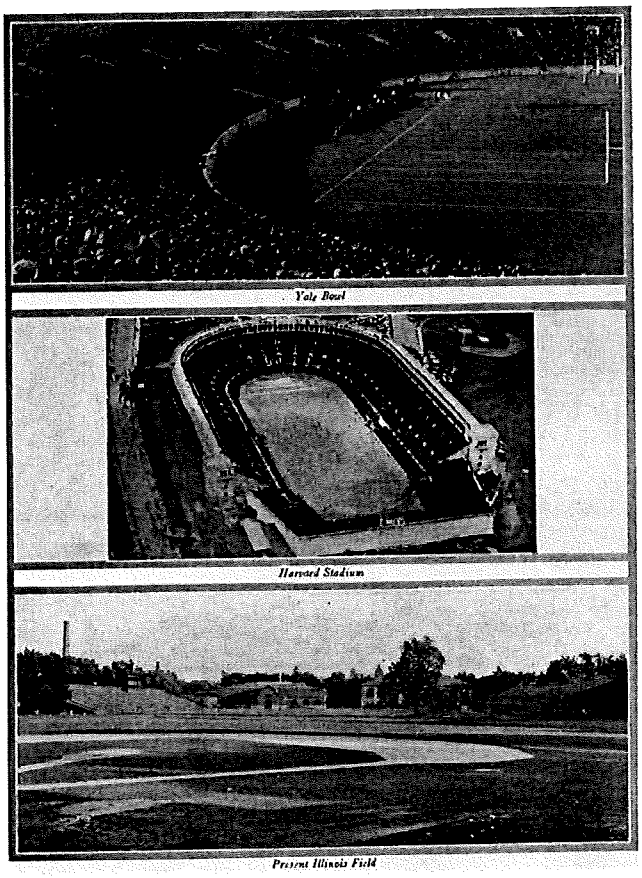


Figure 14: "From top to Bottom: Yale Bowl, Harvard Stadium, and Illinois Field"[187]

(Courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

[186] *Story of the Stadium*, 10.
[187] Ibid., 21.
[188] Ibid., 13.
[189] Ibid. 19.

hockey, soccer, and lacrosse fields, clay tennis courts and even a polo field. Larger than the Yale Bowl and the Harvard Stadium, this picturesque stadium would cost $2,500,000. $1,200,000 for the memorial features, and $1,300,000 for the stands. Likely built on the current university athletic fields, this stadium needed ample support for its lofty goal.[190] Aside from an athletic focal point on the Illinois campus, the stadium would also serve as a memorial to those who fought and died in WWI. At the end of WWI, 9,442 Illini were in the military. By the end of the war, 183 died, 158 wounded, and 120 received awards for distinguished service.[191] That stadium's presence on campus, would always remind those living, that 183 fellow Illini sacrificed their lives for the war. Throughout *The Story of the Stadium* the athletic feats and triumphs from basketball to swimming received notice. Members of various classes discussed the importance of the stadium to them, and the larger benefit to the school. Distinguished faculty, administrators, and friends of the university all lent their support by writing short articles in the magazine.



Figure 15: "..... "the spirt that sent them into action ... is a living thing."[192]

(Courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

[190] *Story of the Stadium*, 21.
[191] Ibid., 25.
[192] Ibid., 26.

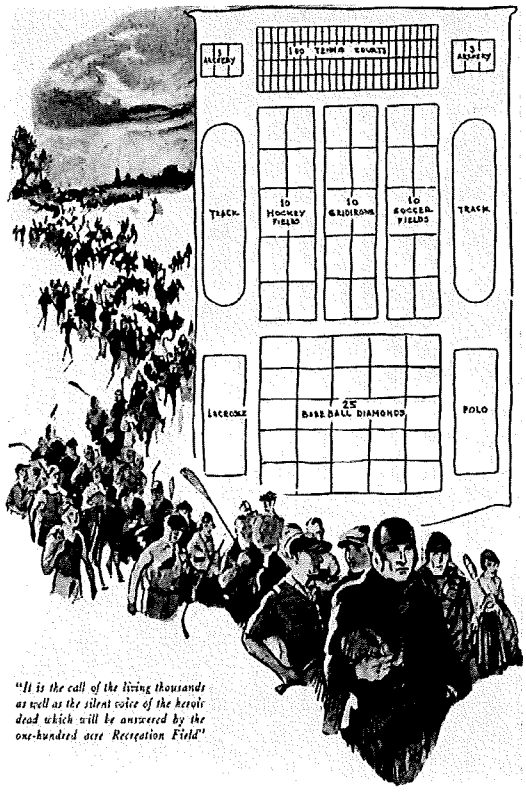


Figure 16: "It is the call of the living thousands as well as the silent voice of the heroic dead which will be answered by the one-hundred acre Recreation Field"[193]

(Courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

was the next option with payments ending July 1, 1926. The potential donor also received reserved seating at the future stadium. The donor had the opportunity to receive one good seat for 10 years or two good seats for 5 years. As the donation amount

Lastly, the Alumni Association offered its alumni a payment schedule for donation. Rather than donating one lump sum. "You don't pay a cent until January 1, 1922."[195] If the alumnus chose to subscribe to the regular quota, $100, they would then have 2 ½ years to pay. On January and July 1st, every six months, the donor owed another $20 payment, ending on July 1, 1924. Paid over 5 years, the $200 honor quota,

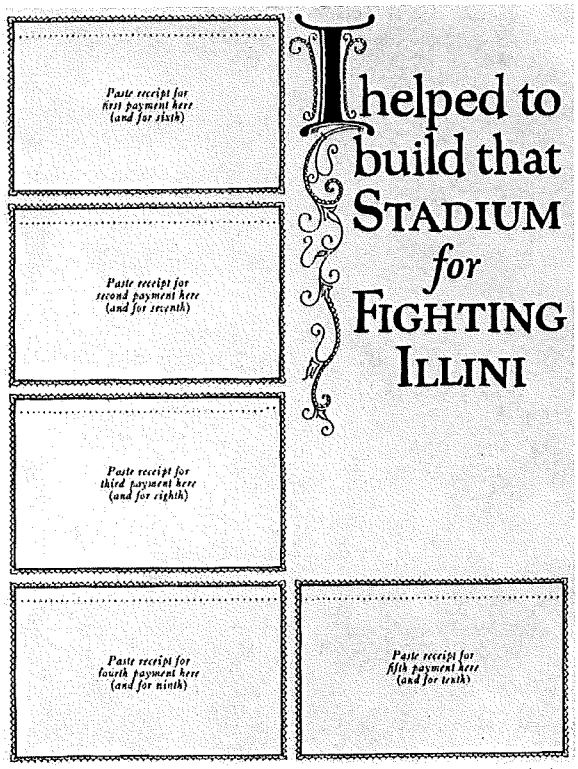


Figure 17: "I helped to build that Stadium for Fighting Illini"[194]

(Courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

[193] *Story of the Stadium*, 29.
[194] Ibid., 46.
[195] Ibid., 45.

increased, so did the seat options.[196] The most notable of these various subscription plans were the "Memorial Columns." Each column's fixed cost of $1000 included the engraving of an Illini soldier who died in WWI on a bronze tablet. This also included the option for 20 seats for 10 years or 40 seats for 5 years.[197] The most advantageous aspect for potential donners was that they did not owe anything at the time of commitment and even instructed not to send any money or checks to the Athletic Association. Instead volunteer solicitors, would contact them later. The solicitors would have cards for the donors to sign and in turn the donor received a receipt of their donation. Despite the warning to not, "under the influence of your enthusiasm for your University, promise more than you are sure you can afford to give."[198] Despite this warning the method of subscribe first, and pay later, would have dire consequences for the building and financing of the opulent future stadium. At the end of *The Story of the Stadium,* the last page included a place to paste the receipts. In enormous, bold letters read, "I helped to build that Stadium for Fighting Illini."

In October of 1921, the pledged amount reached $800,000 with new students signing on to donate.[199] Robert F. Carr, Class of 1893, became chair of the Stadium Executive Committee. Other members included. W.L. Abbott '84, Chicago president of the board of trustees of the University; President David Kinley; J.T. Hanley '10, Chicago; George Barr, Joilet; H.S. Capron, Champaign; W.B. Russell '22, Robert C. Zuppke and George Huff. These men were responsible for finances, campaigning, and architectural

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[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] "Stadium Funds Grow As New Students Sign," *Daily Illini,* October 21, 1921.

design.[200] By March 1922, G. Huff gave the orders for the old stadium arches to come down. Despite some controversy, a location near the drill field became the target for the new stadium.[201][202] On September 11, 1922, G. Huff broke ground on the stadium with the first spade of dirt. President Kinley spoke of the three aspects needed for a success: "The idea, the man and the method."[203] The idea: the stadium, the man: G. Huff, and the method: subscription. Students and alumni continued to raise funds for the stadium.

The subscription concept of "pledge now and pay later" started to stumble. Many hopeful Illini envisioned the stadium being completed for the 1923 football season, however, as G. Huff, explained:

> "The entire Stadium – with its outside walls – memorial columns – and other features will not be completed until the summer of 1924…When the students return next fall, you will see only the skeleton of the beautiful structure that is to be. I know this is disappointing. You want to know why… The answer is this: We will not contract for more work than we are certain we can pay for, when it is completed. It is still possible for us to change our contract so as to have a completed Stadium by the fall of 1923."[204]

As time passed, many students and alumni started to miss their subscription payments. As the steel for the stadium shipped to the construction site, the demand for those payments increased.[205] Throughout the first semester of 1923, the call for delinquent subscription payments increased as the university started to fall drastically short of their intended

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[200] "Carr to Head Executives in Stadium Drive," *Daily Illini,* December 6, 1921.
[201] "Stadium Arch Succumbs to Wrecker's Activities," *Daily Illini,* March 22, 1922.
[202] "Building the Stadium," *Daily Illini,* April 30, 1922.
[203] "Stadium for Illini Comes One Step Nearer Realization, 'G' Digs First Spadeful Of Dirt, as Beginning of Construction Work," *Daily Illini,* September 17, 1922.
[204] "Huff Urges Stadium Payments," *Daily Illini,* December 8, 1922.
[205] "Steel For Stadium Is Shipped to Site, Contractors Receive Bill for Material to Continue Operations; Next Month," *Daily Illini,* December 29, 1922.

capital for the stadium. Many feared that students and alumni began to forget the mission to honor those who fought in WWI.[206][207][208]

In late March of 1923, a fourth stadium drive started. Each time the students attempted a drive on campus they saw success, however, the first drive yielded the best results.[209] Students created a "Pay Up Week" to encourage students to pay for their subscriptions. Despite receiving some response, many of the payments were still missing.[210] This lack of action forced G. Huff to pose an important set of questions via the *Daily Illini*:

> "To students who are delinquent...Have I made an honest effort to pay my pledge? Have I been willing to deprive myself of some amusement-something I could have done without in order to fulfill my obligation?"[211]

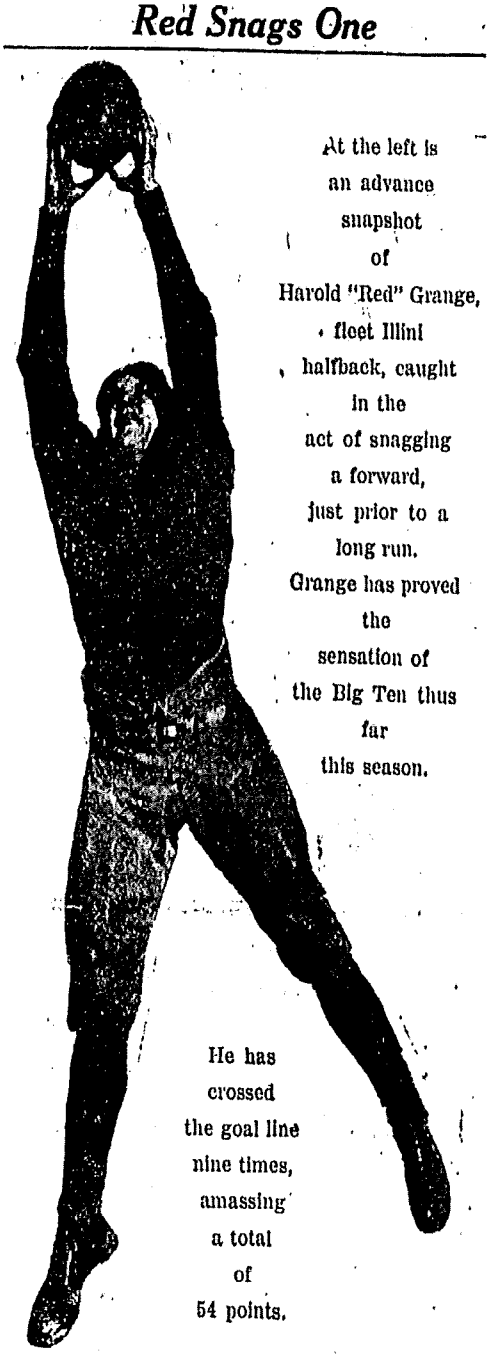


Figure 18: "Red Snags One"[212]

[206] "The Laggards," *Daily Illini,* January 25, 1923.
[207] "Honor Thy Greatest Heroes," *Daily Illini,* February 23, 1923.
[208] "Sacrifice for the Stadium," *Daily Illini,* May 6, 1923.
[209] "The Stadium Drive," *Daily Illini,* March 28, 1923.
[210] "Illini Fight and Illini Pay," *Daily Illini,* May 3, 1923.
[211] "'Pay Your Pledges," Says G," *Daily Illini,* April 27, 1923.
[212] "Red Snags One," *Daily Illini,* November 3, 1923.

Despite the issues with funding, the seats were ready for the homecoming game of 1923. The frenzy of football ignited across the Illinois campus. The university encouraged every student, faculty member, and alumni to attend the game. Even local businesses planned to shut their doors during the game.[213] A simple ceremony marked the inauguration of the stadium, as the Memorial Columns would not see completion for another year. The homecoming game reached max capacity of 62,000 against the University of Chicago and the dream of G. Huff came true.[214]

In the first game in Memorial Stadium, the Illini defeated rival University of Chicago 7-0.[215] After the success of the homecoming, donations and subscriptions again slowed, pushing construction behind. By the start of fall, it was clear that with the ramps leading into the stadium complete, walls upright, and Memorial Columns in place Memorial Stadium was ready for its official commemoration.[216]

On homecoming 1924, the official stadium dedication took place. 183 of the 200 Memorial Columns inscribed a name of an Illini killed during WWI, each soldier had their name read by President Kinley.[217] Another maximum capacity crowed witnessed Red Grange's five touchdowns, one of the greatest individual performances in college football history. The Illini won 39-14 against the University of Michigan.[218]

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[213] "The Goodwin Avenue Business Men's Association will close November 3rd 1:30 until after the game," *Daily Illini,* October 17, 1923.
[214] "Homecomers Will Fill Stands to Capacity of 62,000 to See Illini in Grid Battle Against Maroons," *Daily Illini,* November 3, 1923.
[215] "Illini Defeat Maroons, 7 to 0 Victory Amid Baptism of Rain Inaugurates Stadium," *Daily Illini,* November 4, 1923.
[216] "Stadium's Story Tells Glory of Memorial," *Daily Illini,* October 18, 1924.
[217] University of Illinois Archives, Building and Statue Dedication Programs: RS 2/0/808
[218] "Machine-Like Interference Aids Red in 5 Touchdowns" *Daily Illini,* October 19. 1924.

Despite the completion of the Memorial Stadium at the University of Illinois, the utopian ideal of everything else to surround the stadium faded. As the original plans called for a campanile, fountains, and lavish entrances.[219] Subscription services derailed and delayed plans to the point that the final project needed to be scaled back to fit the budget and timeframe.[220] Students, alumni, and faculty shifted attention to other projects on campus and by the end of 1925, Memorial Stadium was simply listed as one of the "13 Buildings Completed Last Year on Campus."[221] It would take future generations to expand and develop the area surrounding the Memorial Stadium.

[219] Allen S. Weller, 100 Years of Campus Architecture at the University of Illinois. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1968)., 18.
[220] "View of Stadium Features Latest Number Of Notes Plea for More Money To Offset Bills of Contractors Before January is Made," *Daily Illini,* November 6, 1924.
[221] "13 Buildings Completed Last Year On Campus," *Daily Illini,* December 27, 1925.

The University of Minnesota

Invites Participation In a Great Program



Figure 19: "The University of Minnesota Invites Participation In a Great Program"[222]

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

[222] University of Minnesota, "Fundraising Brochure "University of Minnesota Invites Participation in a Great Program"," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/399.

In preparation for WWI, the school used the athletic field for military training. After the war many started advocating for an updated field, specifically a stadium. Potential donors were reminded that their present athletic field was the smallest in the conference, yet the school had the largest enrollment. The school's updated physical education program was, "...set toward the making of men... supervised play, and exercise in rugged types of games. Upon the foundation thus built will scholastic training securely rest and normally function."[223]

While the official fundraising campaign did not begin, many clubs, including the Philippinesotans, the Philippine student organization on campus. The group put together a show and dance with the proceed going towards the Memorial Stadium Fund. Other groups such as the "Better Minnesota" Campaign, also started to raise funds.[225]



Figure 20: "I am One Of The 1500"[224]

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

Legendary football coach Henry L. Williams, retired at the end of the 1921 football season. Williams coached at Minnesota from 1900-1921. Coach William H. Spaulding became his successor for the 1922 season.[226]

On October 18, 1922 the Stadium Drive Committee met for the first time. This committee consisted of two chairmen, 15 division

[223] University of Minnesota, "Fundraising Brochure "University of Minnesota Invites Participation in a Great Program"," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, 4.
[224] University of Minnesota, ""I Am One of the 1500" Button," Memorial Stadium 1924-1992, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/470.
[225] "Stadium Fund Given Boost by Filipinos," *Minnesota Daily,* December 2, 1921.
[226] "Spaulding, Coach Dark Horse Candidate for Job Unanimous Choice of Committee New Mentor Backed by Extraordinary Record of Grid Success, 'Green Team' Specialist," *Minnesota Daily,* January 28, 1922.

commanders, 90 captains, and 450 squad leaders all took part. Each member of the committee received "I Am One Of The 1500" campaign buttons to show their involvement in the Memorial Stadium Drive Campaign.[227] On October 20, the headline of *The Minnesota Daily* read "A Stadium Worthy of Minnesota" with a large sketch of the stadium. Already noticeable changes from the original plan were present. Instead of 90,000 seats this new stadium seated 50,000.[228] The university assured, lower ticket prices, and preferred seating for alumni and students to encourage all alumni and students to attend game. Harvard made the tradition of making tickets available to students and alumni before the general public popular.[229]

As the Stadium-Auditorium Memorial Fund started, President Coffman sent thank you letters to those who donated to the fund. He reminded the donor that by donating the University would reap a double reward: they were helping with the much-needed updates of the two structures, which would perpetuate the memory of the students who gave their lives in the war, and honor a campus leader, Northrop, who gave 27 years of service to the University. The donor was also vitalizing the friendship for the university in a tangible way.[230]

Even in the initial stages of the campaign the students measured themselves against other universities and their building projects. The Homecoming weekend of 1922, shared the spotlight with the first major efforts of the Memorial Stadium Drive Campaign. The campaign shared the typical fundraising efforts of homecoming, 9,000

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[227] "Stadium Forces to Mobilize Today," *Minnesota Daily,* October 18, 1922.
[228] "A Stadium Worthy Of Minnesota," *Minnesota Daily,* October 20, 1922.
[229] "Assure Lower Game Tickets," *Minnesota Daily,* October 20, 1922.
[230] University of Minnesota, "Thank You Note to Memorial Stadium Donors," Memorial Stadium 1924-1992, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/422.

buttons went on sale. These buttons had a large block "M" and "Stadium, Homecoming 1922" printed on them.[231] Additionally, the "Four Minutemen" started making their speeches throughout the campus. These "Four Minutemen" made of students, faculty, and alumni gave short speeches regarding the importance and benefits of supporting the stadium and auditorium ambitions. A unique plea came from Coach "Bill" Spaulding, for students and fans to not travel to the team's away game at Iowa. In lieu of spending the money to travel to the game, students and fans should instead donate that money to the stadium fund.[232] While students planned to open their $500,000 goal drive on homecoming, the Alumni Association started to make arrangements for the spring of 1923.[233] The fundraising campaign committed the staff and faculty members to raising $150,000 during the homecoming drive.[234]

Homecoming saw great success as the students raised pledges of $546,201, and faculty raised $82,104.[235] With this success the Alumni Association vowed to help carry the memorial drive to the finish.[236] While the alumni campaign would not start until spring, the Alumni Association attempted to gain cooperation from the American Legion in regards to the stadium fund. Throughout the rest of 1922 and the beginning of 1923 the campaign fund hosted daily goals for donations to insure activity and attention remained

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[231] "Buttons Go On Sale Next Week For Homecoming," *Minnesota Daily,* October 25, 1922.
[232] "Abandon Trip to Iowa, Give Money in Drive, Plea," *Minnesota Daily,* October 26, 1922.
[233]"Alumni Plan for Campaign is Expanded," *Minnesota Daily,* October 30, 1922.
[234] "Faculty Awaits Opening Gun of Drive Will Secure $150,000 for Campaign Fund," *Minnesota Daily,* October 30, 1922.
[235] "Students Exceed Quota By $46,201 United Minnesota Scores Memorial Touchdown As Students Pledge $546,201," *Minnesota Daily,* November 4, 1922.
[236] "Alumni Pledge to Carry Memorial Drive to Finish," *Minnesota Daily,* November 8, 1922.

high on the stadium.[237] Throughout the campaign the Greater University Corporation, an association made of Minnesota Alumni helped the project.

By May of 1923, the university raised a grand total of $1,500,000 pledges.[238] In September it was confirmed that the Memorial Stadium would be ready for the Homecoming game of 1924. The stadium would be erected on 10 acres around Northrop Field. Although moderate compared to other larger stadiums in the East and Midwest, the university, "...planned to build the most dignified, complete, and convenient stadium in the country."[239] Northrop Auditorium was postponed to ensure necessary funds came through from pledges and the University Storehouse needed to be demolished to make room for the auditorium.[240]

Relative to other school's that implemented a subscription plan a large majority of students paid their dues on time. Those that did not initially pay, delivered money in the summer when while they worked various summer jobs. The students and faculty each paid 10 installments of the plan while the alumni paid 6.[241] In mid-November of 1923, enough money from initial subscription payments allowed for stadium construction to begin in spring of 1924. However, the university also reminded students that in order to see the stadium through and continue focus on the auditorium more funds needed to be raised and subscriptions needed full payment.[242] Throughout the campaign the university continually sent reminders for any student late on their payment. By giving the student's

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[237] "Students Rally to Support Daily," *Minnesota Daily,* January 23, 1923.
[238] "$1,500,000 Grand Total Is Pledge to Stadium Fund," *Minnesota Daily,* May 3, 1923.
[239] "Stadium Assured Minnesota's 1924 Football Squad," *Minnesota Daily,* September 28, 1923.
[240] Ibid.
[241] "October Stadium Pledges Needed to Begin Building," *Minnesota Daily,* September 29, 1923.
[242] "Stadium Construction Begins in Spring Work to Start When Frost is Out Of Ground," *Minnesota Daily,* November 15, 1923.

ample time and reminders to "Pay-Up" it allowed the fund to continue to remain on track for it intended total.[243]

A genius marketing idea came from Coach Bill Spaulding. In anticipation to the new stadium, Coach Spaulding offered a football course through the correspondence division of the university. "I am writing the courses so that all of the stuff is in them, but am putting them together so that one need not be an expert at all to see what I am driving at."[245] This allowed for anyone from the avid fan, coach, or newcomer to football learn from a highly trained coach. The class offered as 23 lessons covered all the basics of football. Spaulding wrote gave feedback and corrected papers of those who participated, in hopes of gaining new fans that could feel confident and comfortable at the new stadium.



Figure 21: "President Coffman Breaks Ground – March 6, 1924"[244]

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

On March 6, 1924 President Coffman broke ground on the stadium, as he held the spade he spoke, "For 20 years…this spade has been used to unearth the first sod for countless buildings at the University of Minnesota. It is an historic spade and never has it been used for a purpose more fitting to its greatness than today. It is a great step in the

[243] 'Pay Your Pledge' Week Helps Fill Stadium Coffers," *Minnesota Daily,* January 12, 1924.
[244] University of Minnesota, " Memorial Stadium Dedication Program," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992,* accessed March 29, 2017, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/446.24.
[245] "Spaulding Writes Series of Expert Football Lessons," *Minnesota Daily,* January 24, 1924.

forward march of the institution and, as we stand here now, it seems to me that I can see the thousands that will be affected by our actions on this field."[246][247]

An interesting correspondence between President Coffman and President William Lowe Bryan, the President of Indiana University on April 11, 1924. President Bryan warned,

> "You know that our Stadium partially completed is a partial failure. We hope and believe we shall be able to have it made right without financial loss. Meanwhile, you should be fully informed with regard to the facts of this situation in order that you may guard against any such trouble."[248]

This letter was sent to President Coffman as both university utilized the same engineering company in their plans of construction should of the stadium. As Illinois already enjoyed their stadium and Minnesota sought to have the stadium completed by the start of the 1924 football season, Indiana was forced to wait another year. Due to hasty craftsmanship and a rush to get the stadium finished much of the work needed to be redone from the initial pouring of concrete. This forced the Ohio State vs Indiana game, where the dedication was set to be moved to Ohio State.[249]

Another highly publicized drive scheduled from May 6 to May 9 hoped to continue to raise funds and gain more subscriptions.[250] Due to overwhelming success the

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[246] "Ceremony Marks Stadium Start Today Prexy Coffman Will Officiate At Formality," *Minnesota Daily,* March 6, 1924.
[247] "1000 Cheer When Prexy Formally Starts Stadium," *Minnesota Daily,* March 7, 1924.
[248] University of Minnesota , "Letter from President L.D. Coffman to Alumni Members Regarding Fundraising for a Stadium and Memorial Auditorium," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, accessed March 29, 2017, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/187.
[249] "Indiana Stadium Not Ready For Fall, *Minnesota Daily,* September 30, 1924.
[250] "'900 Strong' Plans Climax Tonight Campaigners to Have Final Pep Fest At Dinner," *Minnesota Daily,* May 5, 1924.

students extended the drive. [251] Becoming clear that the stadium would be ready for the 1924 football season with continued student, faculty, and alumni support. On June 17, 1924 Albert McClure Welles, Class of 1877 gave a speech for the cornerstone laying of the Memorial Stadium.[252]

> "The stadium stands for physical training; yonder buildings for mental discipline; and neither should be exploited at the expense of the other. A sound mind in a sound body is greatly to be desired, but to ensure symmetrical development of character, they should be supplemented by a sound soul."[253]

The first opponent at Memorial Stadium was North Dakota on October 4, 1924, with 10 WWI veterans in the starting lineup for Minnesota. Minnesota won 14-0 kicking off what the school hoped to be an excellent winning tradition at the new stadium.[254] The official dedication of the stadium took place the Homecoming game on November 15, 1924. The Gophers played Big Ten Conference Rival, University of Illinois.[255] A program handed out on the day of the dedication of the stadium, listed the "Statistic of World War Service." 151 students died during WWI, 1350 undergraduates served, 2177 alumni and former students served, 125 faculty involved in war work, 6183 students served in collegiate or vocational S.A.T.C., overall 9710 members of the University of

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[251] "'900 Strong' Vote Drive Extension Thursday Record For Frosh Drive Reaches $33,000," *Minnesota Daily,* May 9, 1924.
[252] University of Minnesota, ""Address Delivered at Laying of the Corner Stone of the Memorial Stadium of the University of Minnesota by Albert McClure Welles (Class of 1877)"," *Memorial Stadium 1924-1992*, http://brickhouse.lib.umn.edu/items/show/286.
[253] Albert McClure Welles., "Address Delivered at Laying of the Corner Stone of the Memorial Stadium of the University of Minnesota." June 17, 1924. Minnesota Historical Society Pamphlet Collection.
[254] "Dakota Clash Opens Stadium Today Enthusiasm For Tilt Aroused By Giant Pep-Fest," *Minnesota Daily,* October 4, 1924.
[255] "Minnesota Dedicates New Stadium Formal Ceremony Marks Tribute To World War Dead," *Minnesota Daily,* November 15, 1924

Minnesota helped with the war effort.[256] The program also listed that roughly, 118,000 Minnesotans served and 3,500 died in WWI.

> "Down thankful centuries they press – These dead at country's call' for men they were, and would no less, Than offer up their all. Then carve upon a silent sky, The prayer they surely give; That we, who reap the victory, May learn like men to live."[257]

The program continued to discuss how a stadium would best honor those who served Minnesota through the wars while at the same time serving living generations. The stadium would contribute to the maintenance of moral and physical standards in which it design symbolized. The focus on physical education in higher education also helped to explain how the creation of the stadium would benefit future generations. Although the number of men who played football was a small percentage, the university felt all students could benefit from an increased focus on physical fitness.[258] Minnesota stunned Illinois led, Red Grange, to a 20-7 victory.[259] Through the planning and fundraising efforts of students, faculty, and alumni alike the rise of Memorial Stadium, years in the making, was constructed in under a year.

By February 1925, students, faculty, and alumni pledged $1,735,000, of that $729,044.88 paid meaning the plans for Northrop Auditorium continued.[260] Through more donation campaigns and the subscription payments ground broke on April 30, 1928 with the auditorium's dedication on October 22, 1929 finally completing the Memorial

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[256] University of Minnesota, " Memorial Stadium Dedication Program,"1
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid., 3
[259] "Gophers Surprise Nation by Miracle Win Spaulding Team Runs Rough-Shod Over Illini," *Minnesota Daily.* November 15, 1924.
[260] "$80,003 Paid on Stadium Subscriptions Since Jan. 1," *Minnesota Daily,* February 17, 1925.

Stadium-Auditorium project.[261][262] The delay in auditorium construction occurred due to removing old buildings, and allowing time for the new buildings they replaced, and continued payment of subscriptions. Within ten years both projects came to fruition based on the work of student, faculty, and alumni.

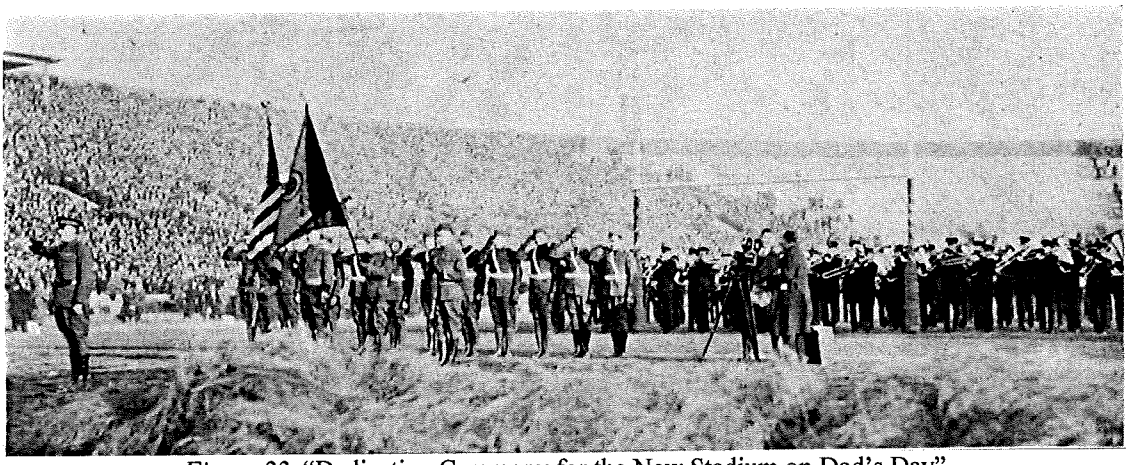


Figure 22: "Dedication Ceremony for the New Stadium on Dad's Day"

(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

One of the biggest factors of success for the Memorial Stadium and Auditorium Campaign was that rather than raising as many pledges as possible all at once, the campaign split up fund raising responsibilities. Students, alumni, and faculty all had different quotas to meet. The continued emphasis on daily goals and meetings helped keep the excitement continual. With the lapse in time between initial plans and the school's actual fundraising kick of the university made important changes to make the stadium and auditorium financially reasonable. This was a critical step that the University of Illinois missed, as they planned this grandiose stadium and accompanying athletic fields without raising any funds. The University of Minnesota worked within a

[261] "Giant Shovel Breaks Ground for New Auditorium State Chairman To Urge 1000 Per Cent Support By Campus," *Minnesota Daily,* May 1, 1928.
[262] "University Opens Doors of Auditorium At First Dedication Program Tonight," *Minnesota Daily,* October 22, 1929.

reasonable time frame to accomplish their goal. On top of this rather than building both structures at the same time the university first focused its attention on Memorial Stadium to ensure its readiness for the Homecoming Game of 1924. Northrop Auditorium's creation following the stadium helped to continue support of pledges as donors saw the Memorial Stadium as an embodiment of what they accomplished.

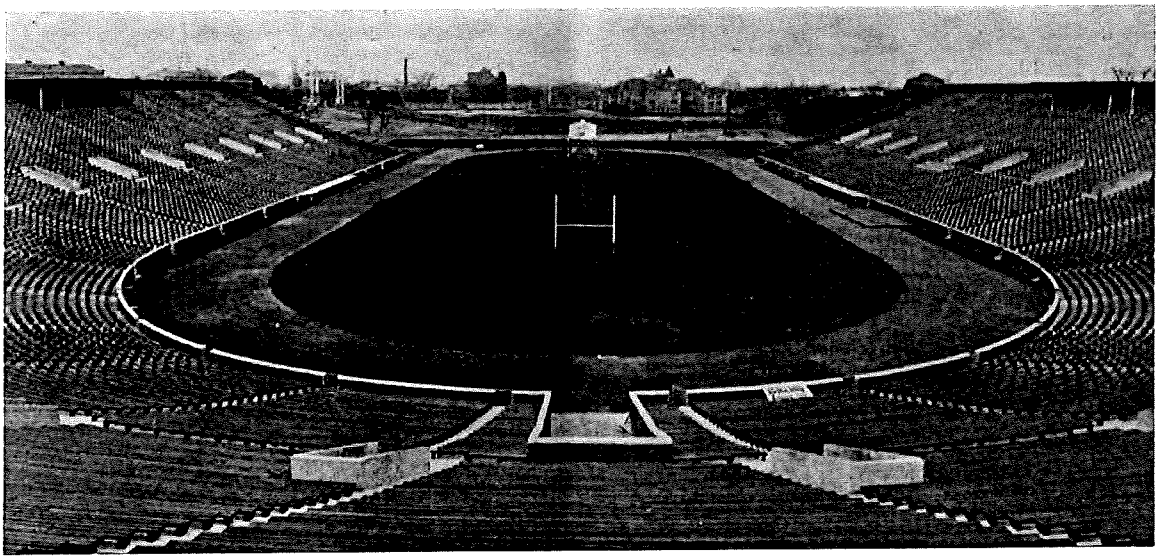


Figure 23: "Completed Memorial Stadium – November 13, 1924."[263]
The Alumni Weekly
(Courtesy of the University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)

[263] ""Completed Memorial Stadium – November 13, 1924."The Alumni Weekly

"The Great Hoosier State Offers You" – Indiana University



Figure 24: "The Great Hoosier State Offers You"[264]

(Courtesy of Indiana University Archives, Indiana University, Bloomington)

[264]The Great Hoosier State Offers You. Pamphlet. Box 5, Posters Flyers, etc., 1920s, Memorial Fund Campaign records, 1919-1951, bulk 1921-1931, C80.

The primary way Indiana University attempted to raise the necessary funds for their Memorial Fund Campaign was through the alumni. One of the main administrators of this was W.A. Alexander, the Director of the Memorial Campaign. One of his first objectives as director would be to provide project with the proper publicity, before asking for subscriptions.[265] Alexander had an important message to the students: "Let the folks at home know that for the first time in the history of Indiana University they have an opportunity to unite in one great piece of work, namely to raise $1,000,000 to provide three greatly needed structures … The more persons thinking, talking and doing for this project, the speedier we will achieve our goal."[266] From the beginning it was clear that Alexander knew that in order to have success with this campaign he needed the cooperation from both students and faculty and he worked to insure that by setting up joint committee meetings between the two parties.[267] Following the Thanksgiving break of 1921 the drive would begin.

Indiana Daily Student continually reported, advertised, and gave progress updates for the Million Dollar Memorial Campaign. Often the newspaper would have information from President Bryan or Director Alexander about how the students should help contribute. During homecoming this included using speakers at the men's Pow-Wow and the women's Homecoming banquet, and homecoming football game to help educate and encourage students about the memorial fund.[268] A running series of contributions from former Indiana University presidents was featured in the newspaper. Beginning with Dr.

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[265] "Will Provide Publicity," *Indiana Daily Student,* November 19, 1921
[266] "Committee of 70 Picked To Boost Memorial Drive," *Indiana Daily Student,* November 19, 1921.
[267] Ibid.
[268] "Challenge I.U. Men and Women to Unite Efforts For Success of Memorial Fund Campaign," *Indiana Daily Student,* November 19, 1921.

David Starr Jordan who served as president from 1885 to 1891.[269] In his address Dr. Jordan stated the need for alumni and students to support this initiative as it was necessary for Indiana University to grow and prosper as other colleges and universities were doing so throughout the country.[270] In the initial stages it was important to not only gain publicity but have some signs of future support. This was completed when the Indianapolis alumni club endorsed the campaign.[271] Following the endorsement an increasing number of student organizations agreed to pledge their support. Often this was done by slightly increasing existing fees the organizations already charged its members.[272]

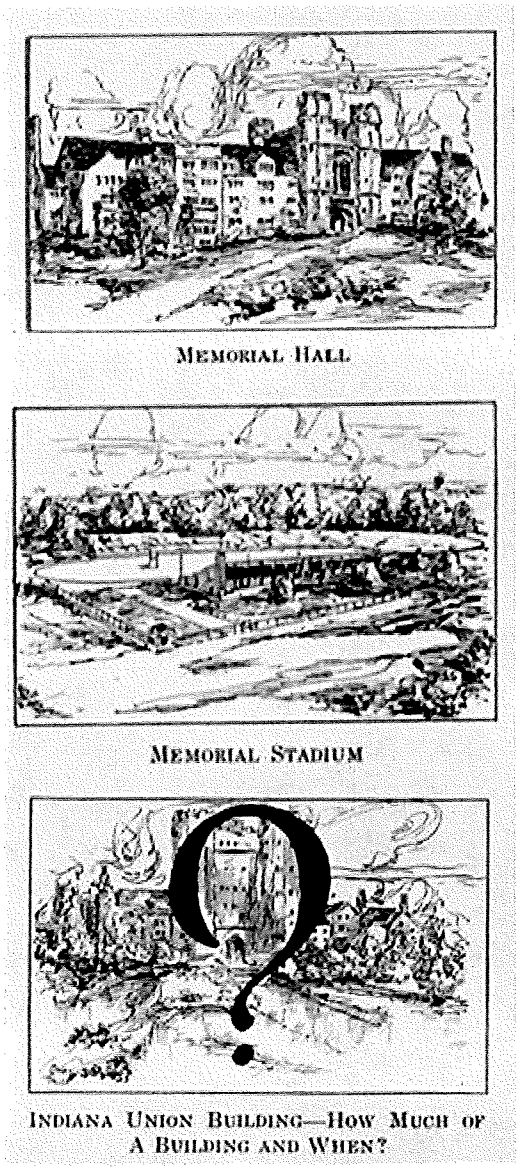


Figure 25: "Memorial Hall, Stadium, and Union?[273]

(Courtesy of Indiana University Archives, Indiana University, Bloomington)

While the general plan for the Memorial Campaign Fund was set into motion, so was the committee for building the stadium. The University

[269] "Alumni Must Keep Indiana I the Procession, Jordan," *Indiana Daily Student,* December 2, 1921.
[270] "A New Phase of the Drive," *Indiana Daily Student,* December 6, 1921.
[271] "Indianapolis Grads Endorse Campaign," *Indiana Daily Student,* December 7, 1921.
[272] "Five Fraternities, Three Sororities, Announce Gifts," *Indiana Daily Student,* December 13, 1921.
[273] Finish The Job. Pamphlet. Box 5, C80., 2-3, 15.

athletic board clearly endorsed their support for the prospect of a stadium. W.A. Alexander wrote many letters to the faculty at Indiana University, encouraging them to not only pledge money themselves but also use their influence to write to members.[274]

Using the vast network of alumni and other connections Alexander left virtually no alumni uncontacted. Ruth Woolery Bybee '12 and her husband often hosted former students and alumni in Austin, Texas.[275] In correspondence between Alexander and Bybee she suggest that he should advise President Bryan to contact the sister of George W. Brackenridge of San Antonio, a former alumni.[276] About a year prior to Brackenridge's death he traveled to IU to see the campus undergoing a transformation and barely recognized the place. He later became a regent of The University of Texas and built a dormitory and donated a large amount to the school. He left millions in inheritance to his sister Eleanor Brackenridge and Bybee suggested that Alexander may have success there.[277].

Many of those who donated looked back on their time as students at IU fondly, A.A. Norris, class of 02' wrote, "In my opinion Indiana University is the greatest single force for righteousness and I sort o'wanted to do a bit."[278] This sentiment was highlighted in the January 31, 1923 edition of *The Indiana Alumnus* which discussed the reasons why former students believed their fellow alumni should help donate towards the Memorial Fund campaign.[279]

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[274] Letters from W.A. Alexander to Faculty and Friends of Indiana University. Box 5, Memorial Director, 1922-1923, Indiana University President's Office correspondence, 1913-1937, C286.
[275] *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly 1917,* 204.
[276] Letter from Ruth Woolery Bybee to W.A. Alexander. Box 5. Memorial Director, 1922-1923, C286.
[277] Ibid.
[278] A.A. Norris to W.A. Alexander, January 27, 1923. Box 5. C286.
[279] *The Indiana Alumnus,* January 23, 1923. Box 5. C286.

In September of 1922, the campaign saw such enormous success that the alumni voted to raise their goal to $1,600,000 as the students raised over $400,000 in a matter of thirty hours. This was in part to the passionate support of both current students and alumni. Indiana's Governor Warren T. McCray stated his full support of the Memorial Fund Campaign and gained support by attending and speaking at the IU.[280] In the *Indiana Daily Student,* the letter sent from former Indiana Senator Albert J. Beveridge to W.A. Alexander congratulating him for the progress in the Memorial Fund was posted taking up nearly a quarter of a page.[281]

By March of 1923, the students had reached their goal of $500,000 for Memorial Stadium and Memorial Hall. This brought great congratulations from alumni and friends of the university. Even President L.D. Coffman of the University of Minnesota, sent a telegram wishing both President Bryan and the student body luck in their next step of the Memorial Campaign,

> "Assure students on the eve of their new campaign for funds for a memorial for Indiana soldiers that the success of the drive held last year and the one now about to be held are challenges to the alumni that they cannot ignore the alumni must and will respond in kind and the memorial will arise as an expression of the idealism of Indianas men and women."[282]

Ruth Woolery Bybee wrote and encouraging letter to president Bryan to thank the students who were behind the campus campaign, as she wrote, "with such a spirit reaching out to the alumni in every state of the Union and country of the world, the

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[280] "Governor McCray Suspends Business to Launch Great Memorial Campaign," *Indiana Daily Student,* September 5, 1922.
[281] "Albert J. Beveridge Commends Memorial Project," *Indiana Daily Student,* October 10, 1922.
[282] L.D. Coffman to W.L. Bryan, March 7, 1923. Box 5. C286

Memorial Fund will go far over the Million before Commencement time.[283] Letters to President Bryan poured into his office congratulating the Memorial Campaign and students in reaching their goal. Many even pledged to do what they could and more to help raise funds where they lived. This was a genius by setting goals for the fund raising it meant that the university and students would hit milestones on their way to raising one million. Those alumni who had not yet donated could be forced, or at least prompted to feel the need to contribute what they could towards the fund to reach the next goal which was $500,000 for the new Auditorium.[284]

Following this success, the university did an excellent job in prompting the incoming class and freshmen to help participate in the raising of funds. The Women's All-Campus Committee hosted a luncheon during the mass meeting for the Memorial Campaign on March 7, 1923.[285] This mass meeting was fully supported by President Bryan, who sent out a special request asking the heads of departments to hold no classes on the day of the meeting at 9:45am so that all the students would have the availability to attend the event.[286]

Throughout the campaign various pamphlets gave updates and encouragement to continue donating. A "dictionary" of Memorial Fund related terms also circulated to potential donors. Those comparison to other school's buildings and plans continued.

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[283]Ruth Woolery Bybee to W.L. Bryan, March 4, 1923. Box 5.
[284] W.L. Bryan to R.W. Bybee, March 15, 1923. Box 5. C286
[285]Letter from Mary Thornton to W.I. Bryan, March 2, 1923. Box 5. C286
[286]William Lowe Bryan to Heads of Department, March 3, 1923. Box 5. C286

Although many alumni supported the Memorial Fund there were others who supported it for different reasons. Rather than build the stadium, dormitory, and auditorium in their perspective spots in Bloomington, some felt that the IU should move their entire campus to a larger venue. C.B. Clark an alumnus, argued that "several desirable towns in Indiana have offered to duplicate the buildings now standing on the campus at Bloomington so it would not cost the state one cent so far as the moving the university is concerned."[288] He shared the sentiment of many alumni who did not see it fitting for IU to remain in Bloomington. The university often held classes in both Bloomington and Indianapolis. This helps demonstrate why Bloomington and Monroe County were so willing to help fund the project. If the university were to physically move it may have dire consequences for the area through loss of employment and business.



Figure 26: "We Are For The Memorial Fund For Old I. U."[287]

(Courtesy of Indiana University Archives, Indiana University, Bloomington)

[287] We Are For The Memorial Fund. Box 5. C80
[288] Indiana University *Auburn Courier,* September 28, 1922.

Similarly, to the other memorial projects around the country one of the biggest issues were donors either changing their subscription amount, as in the case of Mrs. Townsend of Morgan County who changed her original pledge of $62.50 to $2.00 for five years.[289] An impressive effort by IU to strongly encourage donors to follow through on their agreed pledged amounts was made.[290] This added effort in gaining the full pledge amount from donors allowed IU to not fall into the same trap that the University of Illinois did in running short of their funding. Or donors defaulting on their donations all together. It was not uncommon for the university send out past due notices for their pledges. The cards even state, "Please give this your immediate attention as contracts have been awarded on the theory that all pledges will be met promptly."[291] Through W.A. Alexanders swift handling of cases, only four percent of pledges were extremely delinquent in February, 1924.[292]

In 1922 the Memorial Stadium in Bloomington, Indiana started an expected to seat 22,000 fans at a cost of $250,000. This stadium replaced Jordan field, former home to the Indiana football team since 1887.[293] Plans for the women's dormitory and union were set to be finished in the fall of 1924.[294] However, due to poor and rushed constructions at Memorial Stadium the entire project was delayed a whole year as new concrete needed to be laid. Overall, this actually aided the university as it ensured that as subscription payments came in the university could pay for the buildings.

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[289] Letter from W.A. Alexander to U.H. Smith. Box 5. C286.
[290] Letter from U.H. Smith to W.A. Alexander. Box 5. C286.
[291] Past Due Notice for November 12, 1923. Box 5. C286.
[292]Letter from U.H. Smith to W.A. Alexander February 1, 1924. Box 5. C286.
[293] Indiana University, Indiana Football History 2005.http://grfx.cstv.com/photos/schools/ind/sports/m-footbl/auto_pdf/history.pdf., 118.
[294] "Buildings For Both Men and Women To Be Ready Next Fall," *Indiana Daily Student*, December 21, 1923.

On November 21, 1925, Memorial Stadium received the long awaited dedication ceremony. President Bryan greeted and thanked donors and friends of Indiana University at a luncheon prior to the game.[295] Indiana played Purdue to a 0-0 tie. With the completion of both Memorial Stadium and Memorial Hall the university started the construction of the Memorial Union building in 1931.[296] In order to ensure funding for the project the rest of the Memorial Fund subscription payments were utilized for construction. On June 13, 1932 the Indiana Memorial Union building was dedicated to, "the sons and daughters of Indiana University who had served in wars of the Republic."[297] As a similar strategy used by the University of Minnesota, the last building took longer to build as the university wanted to ensure the proper funding existed as to not force the university into any other unnecessary debt for construction. Thus, after over ten years the Memorial Fund Campaign successful completed its mission to build three distinct and much needed buildings to honor those who served in WWI.

[295] Letters from Guests of President Bryan to the November 21, 1925 Dedication Luncheon. Box 176. C286.
[296] Indiana University, "Indiana Memorial Union: A history 100+ years in the making," https://imu.indiana.edu/about/history.html.
[297] Ibid.

Conclusion

The University of Illinois, the University of Minnesota, and Indiana University all desired updated buildings and structures prior to WWI. Similarly to the rest of the country those ambitions subsided with the outbreak of war. Each school, including students, alumni, administration, and faculty all helped with the war effort in different ways. Once it was clear that the United States and the Allied Forces were victorious, the country looked for ways to honor those that served, and especially those that gave their lives fighting for the country.

College campuses became a prime location to create and dedicate these possible memorials. A large amount of abled body students became soldiers when the war started. Despite the United States' relatively short involvement in the war its clear the country felt the impact. Although economics played a large role in some aspect of finding ways to honor those fallen, also a general desire existed. With soldiers returning from war enrolling in higher education at numbers never seen before, it was only fitting that these future memorials be designed where those veterans saw benefits. With the United States jumping into war, many enlisting did not meet the physical requirements, but were waved through as the country needed soldiers. Some of these memorials would attempt to address this shortcoming. Stadiums became a perfect outlet for this goal of building up the body, while building up the mind at the university.

Stadiums as memorials received great support from the student body, alumni, and of course the administration that saw the financial benefit. However, a general pride and desire to compete with other universities, especially those in the same conference fueled the support just as much as the economic potential. Students and alumni's pride in their

school helped mobilize a student body and alumni network that had extreme economic potential.

With the desire prior to the war to expand the campus and update buildings the war also made this dream a reality. As some did not see a stadium fit or utilitarian other suggestions often appeared in discussion on campus. This included dormitories, student union buildings, and libraries. In various cases the university chose multiple ways to honor those that served in "The Great War."

Although the routes to developing all three Memorial Stadiums and accompanied buildings differed, taking various amounts of time and seeing various levels of success from their original aspect that remained was that in order to progress, the student body needed to support the university's plans. Although the university "approved" the plans, it was the students and alumni that determined the success or failure of the project. Additionally, the administration and alumni councils helped develop the committees needed to facilitate fundraising, and building strategy, however, without student support these efforts would be in vain. In using a system already in place, Senior Class Memorials, the university tapped into an already well established student desire to leave their mark on their campus and create their own contribution to "their" university.

Since alumni and former students also partook in the tradition of senior memorials, they were familiar with the ways in which the student body raised funds. This also increased the desire to assist and help move the project along for their alma mater.

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