

5-2017

Defining Dartmouth: Inclusion and Exclusion at Dartmouth College 1917-2017

Laura Barrett

Dartmouth College, laura.barrett@dartmouth.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.dartmouth.edu/dlstaffpubs>

 Part of the [Educational Sociology Commons](#), [Higher Education Administration Commons](#), and
the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Barrett, Laura, "Defining Dartmouth: Inclusion and Exclusion at Dartmouth College 1917-2017" (2017). *Dartmouth Library Staff Publications and Presentations*. 7.

<https://digitalcommons.dartmouth.edu/dlstaffpubs/7>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Dartmouth Library at Dartmouth Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dartmouth Library Staff Publications and Presentations by an authorized administrator of Dartmouth Digital Commons. For more information, please contact dartmouthdigitalcommons@groups.dartmouth.edu.

**DEFINING DARTMOUTH:
EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE 1917-2017**

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Master of Arts

in

Liberal Studies

by

Laura C. Barrett

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Hanover, New Hampshire

May 2017

Donald E. Pease
Department Chair

Thesis Advisors:

Julia Rabig

Donald E. Pease

Jay Satterfield

F. Jon Kull, Ph.D.
Dean of Graduate and Advanced Studies

Copyright 2017
Laura C. Barrett
CC BY NC

Abstract

Dartmouth College's demographics have shifted over the past one hundred years, from an almost entirely all male, white, and wealthy student body, to one with gender, racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity. During this time, the College has endeavored to maintain its reputation as an academically exclusive institution for the intellectual elite while simultaneously opening its doors continually wider to a more diverse student population. These aspirations, for broad inclusivity within the bounds of narrow exclusivity, have frequently worked in opposition to one another, and Dartmouth's administrators have led the College in a delicate balancing act amid shifting alumni demands, student needs, cultural expectations, and institutional priorities. I explore how, at four key points in the College's history, boundaries of exclusion and inclusion have been enacted and how those boundaries have been defined, redefined, and reshaped.

I focus each of the four sections on a time period during which national and local events shaped Dartmouth at multiple levels. I center each time period around a story that exemplifies the changes happening at the time, and I contextualize each story, exploring the circumstances that led up to it and the consequences that followed. I selected the four time periods based not on those the College uses to tell its own history, but by identifying national periods of historical significance in the role of higher education, understandings of gender, cultures of dominant and marginalized groups, individual and institutional identity development, and the evolution of political movements.

I use literature from history, cultural studies, women studies, education, sociology, and psychology to interpret and contextualize a myriad of primary source documents from Dartmouth's past including personal correspondence, student

memorabilia books, official publications, presidential speeches, oral histories, student publications, admissions documentation, and meeting notes from Greek organizations.

Through my research, I conclude that while significant progress has been made in diversifying Dartmouth—the campus looks markedly different than it did a century ago and the present-day student experience likely would seem foreign to a student from the class of 1917—the College still is steeped in its history in ways that sometimes surprise, and frequently anger, members of Dartmouth’s community who expect and demand more.

Acknowledgements

I first must acknowledge the faculty and staff of the Dartmouth College Master of Arts in Liberal Studies program for a transformative educational experience. I especially want to thank my thesis committee members Julia Rabig, Donald E. Pease, and Jay Satterfield for their excitement for and guidance of this project from its inception through its completion. I am grateful to Elizabeth Hayes Alvarez for her continuous support and friendship. Finally, I am indebted to the staff of the Rauner Special Collections Library for joining me in my process of discovery and for regularly greeting me with armloads of documents that enriched my research.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
What the College Means to Stand For	5
The Dartmouth Type.....	26
Destroying Their Dartmouth.....	47
Take Back the Night, Take Back Dartmouth.....	69
Bibliography	87

Introduction

Dartmouth College's community demographics have shifted over the past one hundred years, from an almost entirely all male, white, and wealthy student body, to one with gender, racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity. During this time, the College has endeavored to maintain its reputation as an academically exclusive institution for the intellectual elite while simultaneously opening its doors continually wider to a more diverse student population. These aspirations, for broad inclusivity within the bounds of narrow exclusivity, have frequently worked in opposition to one another, and Dartmouth's administrators have led the College in a delicate balancing act amid shifting alumni demands, student needs, cultural expectations, and institutional priorities. I explore how, at key points in the College's history, boundaries of exclusion and inclusion have been enacted and how those boundaries have been defined, redefined, and reshaped. I investigate issues of institutional and personal identity, tensions between tradition and progress, explicit and implicit institutional biases, and the roles higher education has played both in creating opportunity and maintaining the status quo.

In this project, I focus each of the four sections on a time period during which national and local events shaped Dartmouth at multiple levels including demographically, academically, and administratively. I center each time period around a story that exemplifies the changes happening at the time, and I contextualize each story, exploring the circumstances that led up to it and the consequences that followed.

In section one, "What the College Means to Stand For," I tell the story of James H.D. "Harvie" Zuckerman who entered Dartmouth College in 1918 as a member of the class of 1922. Zuckerman joined the student theater group, the Dartmouth Players, where

he achieved some renown for his female impersonations. At the time, it was common practice on all-male campuses such as Dartmouth for all theatrical roles, both male and female, to be performed by men. Dartmouth's president, Ernest M. Hopkins, suspected Zuckerman's on-stage cross-dressing of influencing the young man's off-stage behaviors. Hopkins became personally involved in Zuckerman's life, referring him to a psychiatrist who diagnosed with him "sex inversion" and communicating with Zuckerman's family members in an effort to "help" Zuckerman lose his effeminate tendencies.

Zuckerman's story takes place at a time when gender roles and notions of sexual identity were changing dramatically, redefining expectations for upper-class male behavior. Concurrent changes in higher education allowed administrators, for the first time, to select students from a competitive pool based on criteria that reflected institutional values and aspirations. President Hopkins, through his interactions with and response to Zuckerman, was working at the individual level to shape the identity of Dartmouth College as a whole.

In section two, "The Dartmouth Type," I explore the ways a national growing awareness of and opposition to anti-Semitism manifested at Dartmouth immediately after the Second World War. The war exposed Americans to the horrors of anti-Semitism and genocide in Nazi Germany and opened their eyes to previously accepted discriminatory practices at home. This growing awareness of discrimination, and movements to counter it, came at a time when an increased number of minorities were pursuing and gaining access to higher education through opportunities created by the Serviceman's Readjustment Act, commonly referred to as the GI Bill. Groups that had been underrepresented, even virtually absent, from American colleges and universities were

given the encouragement and financial resources to gain access to higher education. Jews and Catholics were two of the groups who benefitted the most from the Bill's educational support.

In 1945, just before the end of his presidency, President Hopkins's use of a Jewish quota in Dartmouth's admissions policies was made public. In response, a politically and socially progressive member of the Dartmouth faculty, Alexander Laing, wrote and helped pass a faculty resolution that eliminated the hidden Jewish quota from Dartmouth's admissions practices. Through Laing's story, I explore the ways the College's competitive admissions policies, local and national anti-discrimination advocacy, and the increased number of veterans attending Dartmouth on the G.I. Bill combined to further the democratization of this elite and selective institution.

In section three, "Destroying Their Dartmouth," I investigate the ways in which societal changes of the 1960s permeated Dartmouth in the 1970s, pushing the adoption of inclusive policies that disrupted what it meant to be a "Dartmouth man" and destabilizing the College's "work hard, play hard" reputation. I tell the story of a group of students who transformed a Dartmouth fraternity, dubbed Foley House, into a hub of progressive ideology that disrupted the College's longstanding culture and practices.

I interviewed two Dartmouth alums from the class of 1979 who lived in Foley House—Jim Schley and Alan Berolzheimer. The men describe the ways in which Foley House's intellectually stimulating environment, progressive ideals, and political activism were frequently met with resistance, particularly from neighboring fraternities. Through the experiences of Foley House residents in the 1970s, I highlight the ways that traditional and progressive values clashed on campus, both intellectually and physically.

Additionally, I explore the ways in which these students were guided by a complex interplay of rebellion against and loyalty to the College.

In section four, “Take Back the Night—Take Back Dartmouth,” I use a 2013 Dartmouth student protest to investigate college sexual assault and rape culture and how they, and students’ and administrators’ responses to them, are manifested in ways particular to the College’s history. Dartmouth College hosts “Dimensions” weekends every year for admitted students who are still deciding which college they will attend. During Dimensions 2013, a group of Dartmouth students staged a protest. They interrupted one of the evening events chanting “Dartmouth has a problem” and interspersing this chorus with facts about Dartmouth that demonstrated problems of sexual assault, racism, and homophobia. A little less than two years after this protest, a Dartmouth working group of faculty and administrators published the “Moving Dartmouth Forward” report containing recommendations addressing “the root causes of extreme student behavior in three critical areas: sexual assault, high-risk drinking, and lack of inclusivity on campus.”

This incident provides the opportunity not only to explore gender and power dynamics on campus today but also to reflect on the entire period of study and consider how much Dartmouth has changed and how much it is still enacting its past.

What the College Means to Stand For

James H.D. “Harvie” Zuckerman entered Dartmouth College as an undergraduate student in 1918 as part of the 434-man class slated to graduate in 1922. In addition to pursuing his studies, Zuckerman was drawn to the stage and became a member of the Dartmouth Players theater group. Dartmouth’s all-male student body necessitated that every role in the group’s productions be performed by men. Zuckerman was one of the actors who had an aptitude for female impersonation, and he was regularly cast as the leading lady in Players productions. The College’s student-run newspaper, *The Dartmouth*, frequently ran front-page stories on the Players, reporting on their auditions, announcing the upcoming season’s program, and reviewing their performances. The Players’ practice of sanctioned cross-dressing was accepted by the community, and performers were praised without irony for their aptitude portraying “feminine charms”¹ on stage.

While Zuckerman’s on-stage performances caught the attention of audience members, it was his off-stage persona that caught the attention of Dartmouth President Ernest J. Hopkins. In March of 1921, during Zuckerman’s junior year, Hopkins wrote a letter to psychiatrist Charles Bancroft of Concord, NH, expressing concerns about the student’s behavior. Hopkins implored Bancroft, an authority on mental hygiene,² to meet

¹ “Forty-Five Men are chosen from trials for players,” *The Dartmouth*, November 17, 1920, 1.

² Clifford W. Beers spearheaded the mental hygiene movement in the United States in the early 20th century. His goals were to promote mental health, de-stigmatize mental illness, and improve care in mental institutions. Manon Parry, “From a Patient’s Perspective: Clifford Whittingham Beers’ Work to Reform Mental Health Services,” *American Journal of Public Health* 100, no.12 (2010): 2356–2357. Accessed October 17, 2016. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2010.191411.

with Zuckerman and help him reverse “certain tendencies” that he displayed.³ In his letter, Hopkins admits that he has been accused of being “unduly concerned” with whether playing female roles makes a man effeminate, or whether a man’s effeminacy draws him to playing female roles. In this question lay the nature of Hopkins’s concerns about Zuckerman as well as about some other men who played lead female characters on Dartmouth’s stage.

Hopkins goes on to explain that he noticed a tendency for men such as Zuckerman to “develop exotic and unnatural instincts which are thoroughly out of keeping with what the College means to stand for.”⁴ He goes on to recount an incident where one such student, whose romantic feelings were rebuffed by a fellow thespian, “safeguarded the College reputation” by committing suicide in New York as opposed to on campus.⁵ While Hopkins claims that Zuckerman’s case is less serious, he hopes Bancroft can speak with him and, in doing so, can help prevent an “outbreak” of “sex aberrations”⁶ that other colleges were experiencing at the time.

In late March of 1921, Zuckerman met with Bancroft, and the doctor diagnosed him with “a fairly typical case of sex inversion”⁷ for which Bancroft prescribed behavioral remedies. He advised Zuckerman to discontinue his female impersonations

³ Letter from President Hopkins to Doctor Bancroft, March 26, 1921, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Letter from Charles P. Bancroft, M.D. to President Ernest M. Hopkins, April 4, 1921, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

while reluctantly allowing him to continue in the Players in a managerial role; to take up a daily athletic activity such as tennis followed by “a good rubdown;” and to cultivate a hobby such as ornithology to divert his mind by spending time out-of-doors. Bancroft reported all this in a letter to Hopkins in which he approvingly noted Zuckerman’s eagerness to “cure his tendency.”⁸ Further, Bancroft affirms Hopkins’s suspicion that dramatics might have a “pernicious effect” on men with tendencies towards inversion while leaving “normally constituted” young men unaffected.⁹

Zuckerman’s story continues to unfold through Bancroft’s and Hopkins’s correspondence and through additional letters from Zuckerman, Zuckerman’s brother-in-law Arthur Cohen, and local Episcopal minister John T. Dallas. Zuckerman appears to have wholeheartedly embraced efforts to redeem himself, discussing the matter with his family and even offering his resignation to President Hopkins in order to “safeguard [the College] from any embarrassment.”¹⁰ His offer of resignation is appreciated by Hopkins, though deemed unnecessary. Additionally, Reverend Dallas reports that Zuckerman visits him regularly and is considering converting to Christianity.¹¹

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Letter from President Ernest M. Hopkins to Charles P. Bancroft, M.D., April 29, 1921, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹¹ Letter from Reverend John T. Dallas to President Ernest M. Hopkins, May 6, 1921, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH. While Zuckerman was likely from a Jewish family, his Dartmouth records do not indicate a religious affiliation before his Christian conversion. Nevertheless, Dallas’s correspondence with Hopkins takes on extra significance when considered in light of remarks Hopkins made near the end of his presidency in 1945. He was quoted by the *New York Post* as saying that some Dartmouth applicants had been rejected solely on the basis of their being Jewish. He added, “Dartmouth is a Christian College founded for the Christianization of its students.” See section three for more on this incident and its repercussions. William Honan, “Dartmouth

Zuckerman's story demonstrates how early 20th century changes in gender expectations, notions of sexual identity, higher education, and psychiatric care converged to shape individual lives. While these changes positioned the college man to be a model of American masculinity—embodying the ideal blend of civilized Victorian manliness with its dedication to the life of the mind and an emerging masculinity that emphasized physical strength and male homosocial bonding—the rejection of men such as Zuckerman served to define the limits of accepted male behavior.

At the time Zuckerman was born, several important societal changes were taking place that would create the situation in which Zuckerman found himself at Dartmouth. A turn of the century “cult of masculinity”¹² developed in response to factors perceived to be emasculating, such as an increased number of women in the workplace, a move away from physical labor to office work, and growth in the business world resulting in deeper hierarchies and less autonomy for the predominantly-male workforce.¹³ Before this time, “manliness” was the term used to describe an ideal American man who was self-made, self-employed, or who rose up through the ranks of his profession on his own unique merits. His manliness was defined by Victorian ideals; he exhibited an upper-class refinement and polish and his physicality was that of someone who did not regularly participate in manual labor. Many such men lost their livelihoods in the 1893 depression

Reveals Anti-Semitic Past,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1997, accessed October 17, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/11/11/us/dartmouth-reveals-anti-semitic-past.html>. Zuckerman did convert to Christianity in 1932 and went on to have a career as an Episcopal minister.

¹² George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 114.

¹³ *Ibid*, 111-112.

that “resulted in tens of thousands of bankruptcies and drove home the reality that even a successful, self-denying small businessman might lose everything, unexpectedly and through no fault of his own.”¹⁴ The 40-year period ending in 1910 saw a significant decrease in the percentage of self-employed middle-class men, from 67 percent to 37 percent.¹⁵

In addition to the effects of the financial crisis, small businesses were losing their footholds as larger businesses increased in number and employed larger workforces. In exchange for the greater stability the larger organizations offered, their employees had to relinquish the independence they valued so highly. Men had far fewer opportunities to be self-made and instead were required to take positions in large, hierarchical organizations that valued teamwork over independence, and interchangeability over individuality. The skills that were valued in this new business landscape were specific to a defined role in a larger process, and employees were bounded by the requirements, and limits, of those roles. There were far fewer opportunities to move up through the ranks, and employees were confined to their places in the business world’s hierarchies. This move away from the prevalence of the self-made man was further complicated by other societal changes. The business world, as well as local government offices, were being infused with growing numbers of women and working-class immigrant men, upsetting upper-class white men’s hold on positions of power.

Additionally, the growth of bigger businesses and reduction in self-employment led to more defined business hours and, as a result, to an increase in leisure time and

¹⁴ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 12.

¹⁵ Ibid.

leisure time activities.¹⁶ This ultimately contributed to a rise in the value placed on sports and athletics, a value in direct opposition to Victorian “refinement.” As an added insult to Victorian notions of masculinity, there was a growing prevalence in the workplace of working class men who were on the whole stronger and more physically robust than were upper-class men. To maintain their place at the top of the social hierarchy, upper-class men were forced to reimagine their ideals of manhood. Nineteenth-century “manliness” was rapidly becoming outdated for this class, and men who embodied these waning ideals were newly derided with labels including “pussy-foot” and “sissy.”¹⁷ American men of Jewish heritage, in particular, were scorned for their effeminacy, widely considered “unmanly,” “feminized,” “gentle, timid, studious, and delicate.”¹⁸ The new male ideal of masculinity was rapidly superseding 19th century manliness; Victorian restraint and polish were replaced by physicality, virility, and aggression.

The 1893 World’s Fair, held in Chicago, Illinois, was utilized to reinforce white, male superiority. The aptly named “White City” showcased the ways white men had shaped civilization. Women’s contributions were excluded from White City; they instead were relegated to a separate building in which only products of their domesticity were on display. Non-white men’s contributions were also marginalized, and these men were present in the Fair only as exotic and savage beings to be ogled by civilized whites. Displays on non-white civilizations and cultures were physically separated to the Midway

¹⁶ Ibid, 13.

¹⁷ Ibid, 17.

¹⁸ Nathan Abrams, “The Jew in the Gym: Judaism, Sports, and Athletics on Film,” in *Jews in the Gym*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon. (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2012), 54.

Plaisance. The use of location and presentation to create gendered and racialized “others” demonstrates “exactly how strong these feelings of Anglo-Saxon,” and male, “superiority were on a national scale.”¹⁹ Charles Darwin’s *The Origin of Species*, which was published in 1859 and presented a theory of evolutionary biology written for a general audience, enjoyed wide popularity and was used to justify white men’s position in society. By creatively interpreting Darwin’s ideas, his notion of the survival of the fittest was used to explain white men’s dominance and to place them as the most evolutionarily advanced of all the races on earth.

Psychologist Stanley Hall built on this Darwinist foundation, overlaying individual human development with the development of the human species. Hall subscribed to and widely promoted “recapitulation theory” in which “children grew up repeating the actual psychological experiences of their primitive adult ancestors.”²⁰ According to Hall, children lived through and enacted the savagery of their ancient ancestors before developing into civilized adults. This theory of development had racist underpinnings, and Hall claimed that non-whites’ development could not progress past the savage phase while only white men, individually and as a race, could achieve the most advanced levels of development.

Hall’s theory did not simply offer a way to understand human development, he used it to provide a solution to one reportedly widespread condition, neurasthenia, which itself was a symptom of the “crisis of masculinity.” Neurasthenia was an ailment believed by many, including Hall, to afflict solely white, upper-class men. This nervous condition

¹⁹ Josh Cole, “Cultural and Racial Stereotypes on the Midway,” *Historia* 16 (2007): 12, accessed April 22, 2017, <http://www.eiu.edu/historia/cole2.pdf>.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 94.

troubled civilized men for whom civility caused unbearable mental strain. The paradox of neurasthenia was that while only white men were truly civilized, their civility was ruining them; as members of the “advanced white race,”²¹ they were victims of their own racial, cultural, and gender superiority. At the time, neurasthenia was considered a serious ailment, and Hall created a cure founded in recapitulation theory. He claimed that young boys could be inoculated against developing neurasthenia in adulthood by cultivating a healthy balance of both their savagery and their refinement. While non-white men were developmentally stuck as savages, Hall maintained that white men’s superiority enabled them to hold these two opposing natures in balance. Only white men could “wield manly power” by possessing “both a male body and the racial ability to restrain the masculine passion of that body.”²² Non-white men leaned too far towards savagery, and many white men leaned so far towards refinement that they became ill.

While neurasthenia was removed from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual in the 1980s and is no longer recognized in the United States as a psychiatric condition,²³ the context in which this disease was conceptualized can help us better understand how changes in notions of manliness and masculinity were deeply unsettling to upper-class white men. Neurasthenia gave these men an excuse to change their understandings and presentations of masculinity on their own terms. The illness allowed them to avoid acknowledging the ways that changing work cultures and diversifying immigrant populations were making some of upper-class white men’s long-held ideals irrelevant

²¹ Ibid, 84

²² Ibid, 85

²³ Wen-Shing Tseng, *Handbook of Cultural Psychiatry* (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2001), 307.

and, thus, were forcing them to change if they wanted to maintain their status. They instead could present themselves as victims of their own success, and their changing lifestyles and shifting values that embodied this new notion of masculinity could be presented as evolutionary development, as evidence of Darwin's survival of the fittest.

In using recapitulation theory to address the causes of neurasthenia, Hall advocated for "savage education" for young boys in which they fully live out their savage impulses early in their development. The benefits, Hall claimed, were twofold. First, by fully experiencing, rather than suppressing, their savage impulses the boys would tame their impulses and avoid being overrun by them in adulthood. Second, by living their savagery early on, the boys would bring just enough savage drive into their adulthoods to counterbalance their refinement and, thus, stave off neurasthenia. While "savage education" for young, white boys did not catch on widely and Hall's ideas were met with opposition, his ideas did attract support from some prominent figures including Theodore Roosevelt, an emblem of "virile manhood."²⁴ Roosevelt believed that Hall's approach would keep young boys from "becoming effeminate milksops,"²⁵ and that, "over-sentimentality, over-softness, in fact washiness and mushiness are the great dangers of this age and of this people. Unless we keep the barbarian virtues, gaining the civilized ones will be of little avail."²⁶ In Roosevelt's 1899 speech "The Strenuous Life," he derides the "over-civilized" man and extols the qualities to which all men should aspire including embodying "victorious effort," and demonstrating "those virile equalities

²⁴ Ibid, 100.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life.”²⁷ In Roosevelt’s view, the virtues of the individual create the virtues of the nation; therefore, striving to the ideals of manhood Roosevelt spells out is a matter of national duty and evidence of patriotism.

Roosevelt’s ideas about masculinity were shaped, in part, by his Harvard professor William James, a prominent and highly influential psychologist and philosopher and one of the leaders in the American philosophical tradition of pragmatism. James, who came from a wealthy Boston family, was both a neurasthenic himself and the son of a neurasthenic father, Henry James Sr.²⁸ James’s personal struggles with physical and emotional fragility at a time when the battle-hardened characters of Civil War veterans were being extolled (James himself did not serve in the War due to his poor health) drew him to explore the duality of male cultural types coming into public consciousness at the turn of the century—“the strong, assertive man and the gentle contemplative one.”²⁹ James further developed these two types into the opposing concepts of “tender minded” and “tough minded.”³⁰ Men with tender minds embodied feminine traits and were publicly derided for going “flabby” with “idleness and luxury,” while tough-minded men personified the new cultural ideals of purpose, strength, and moral fortitude.³¹ Even James, who strove for neutrality, could not mask his disapproval

²⁷ “Theodore Roosevelt, ‘The Strenuous Life’ (10 April 1899),” *Voices of Democracy: The U.S. Oratory Project*, accessed April 25, 2017, <http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/roosevelt-strenuous-life-1899-speech-text/>.

²⁸ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 186.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 267.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 268.

³¹ *Ibid.* 234-235.

of the “tender minded” and admiration of the “tough minded.” Theodore Roosevelt, with no attempts at neutrality, used James’s ideas in loudly voicing the social threats posed by male tenderness.³²

While Hall’s vision of savage education did not fully come to fruition, an institution grew in popularity at the time that was built on unifying the varying, and sometimes divergent, parts of men’s natures. The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) expanded on Hall’s dualistic notion of men’s natures in its commitment to help men achieve the healthful harmony of “mind, body, and spirit” through exercise.³³ This blending of three key elements of personhood—the physical, intellectual, and spiritual—was the recipe for attaining the new masculinity.

Examining life on college campuses at this time allows us to see how these larger societal changes affected both the value of a college education and the experiences college men had while at school. In many ways, the changes spurred by the influx of middle-class men into the workforce were mirrored in higher education. In the early 20th century, many colleges, for the first time, had the experience of selecting their students from an applicant pool rather than simply admitting all interested students from specific high schools with which colleges each had associations. While the percentage of eighteen to twenty-one year olds attending college was still relatively low, it was doubling every

³² Ibid. 268.

³³ Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 70.

ten to twenty years, growing from less than two percent in 1880 to 48 percent in 1970.³⁴ The percentage doubled from approximately four to eight percent during this period of study, the first quarter of the 20th century.³⁵ Whereas college previously had fulfilled the role of a finishing school for elite men entering society, changes in the business world led to college being increasingly valued as providing credentials for middle-class men with business career aspirations. This is not to imply that collegiate student bodies suddenly shifted to a point where they reflected the full diversity of the broader U.S. population. In fact, colleges geared for non-male WASPs—women and working class men—offered different curricula than did the longer-established institutes of higher education such as Dartmouth College.³⁶ College campuses still were comprised primarily of middle and upper class white men, though they was attracting a broader swath of students including, for the first time, “practical men of action.”³⁷

Collegiate sports grew significantly in the early 20th century, with the all-male Ivy League schools leading in way.³⁸ Additionally, the value placed on fraternity membership increased to the point that even families back home gained social credibility based on their sons’ fraternal affiliations. Interestingly, athletics and fraternity life also served to satisfy the business-world’s requirement that men fit in with peers and act as team players

³⁴ Helen L. Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1987), 5-6.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Daniel Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 78.

³⁷ Ibid. 48.

³⁸ Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 46.

in the workplace.³⁹ Homosocial relationships constituted the glue for all-male institutions such as Dartmouth College that relied on a tight-knit, thoroughly bonded community of men in order to function optimally. These bonds were so essential to their existence that it was in the institutions' best interests also to promote them through practices, rituals, and attitudes that effectively formed a glue bonding the men emotionally, physically, and psychologically. College, therefore, was unifying "two heretofore antagonistic ideals of American manhood—the cultured, genteel scholar and the resolute, courageous, and vigorous man."⁴⁰ In this spirit, Yale president Arthur Hadley in 1897 extolled his students' superiority, proclaiming Yale men "among the best examples of manly culture and cultured manhood to be found anywhere in the world."⁴¹

The shifts in the U.S. economic and business landscape and the ways those shifts affected aspects of life ranging from gender norms to the role of higher education are evident in many aspects of Dartmouth College's administrative policies and social practices in the early 20th century. The selection of Ernest M. Hopkins in 1916 as the 11th president of Dartmouth College,⁴² and the approach Hopkins took to his presidential duties, clearly demonstrate the ways Dartmouth responded to the broader societal changes taking place in the country. Hopkins's selection was a marked break in tradition. He was only the second president in the College's history who was neither an academic

³⁹ Clark, *Creating the College Man*, 185.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 81.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 53.

⁴² Hopkins held the office of President for 29 years, from 1916 to 1945.

nor a minister.⁴³ A Dartmouth alum from the class of 1901, Hopkins came to the presidency from a career in business, and his selection reflected the expansion and merging of higher education with the “spirit of American business and industry.”⁴⁴ In his inauguration speech, Hopkins addressed a number of key and timely issues including: the importance of the humanities and the liberal arts; the recognition that college men were newly pursuing careers in business and industry; the claim that the College had an obligation equally to develop students’ characters as well as their intellects; and, an insistence that in order to remain successful, all colleges must maintain strong intellectual ties with their alumni.⁴⁵ A significant number of faculty were skeptical about this outsider assuming the role of their new president, though some reported being reassured by his expressed commitment to the values of higher education in his inauguration speech.⁴⁶

One of Hopkins’s early and significant contributions to the College was the “new selective criteria for admissions” that he implemented in 1921. Dartmouth, like many other colleges, had its first ever opportunity to select students from a large pool of applicants and, necessarily, to turn away large numbers of interested students. The novelty of this situation is evident in newspaper headlines such as a September 1921 article from *The Sunday Herald* with the headline, “Dartmouth, ‘Mother of Men,’ is

⁴³ Charles E. Widmayer, *Hopkins of Dartmouth: The Story of Ernest Martin Hopkins and His Presidency of Dartmouth College* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1977), 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 30.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

Turning Men Away.”⁴⁷ Hopkins used this opportunity to put in place practices that allowed the College to select students based on their characters in addition to their intelligence. The newly created application, in addition to requiring academic credentials, asked students to list their extra-curricular activities and required reviewers—the high school principal and a Dartmouth alumnus—to rank the applicant on qualities including personality, intellectual interest, industry and faithfulness, and mental alertness.⁴⁸ This practice supported Hopkins’s strongly held belief that a college education was of no value unless it was used in the service of others. By selecting for character, Hopkins could craft a student body with high intellectual and moral fiber.

Hopkins believed that college was a privilege, not a right. In a 1922 speech, he articulated the idea that education is not for the materially wealthy, but for those in the “aristocracy of brains” who are “intellectually alert and intellectually eager, to whom increasingly the opportunities of higher education ought to be restricted.”⁴⁹ Dartmouth men, then, were members of this “aristocracy of brains” and their president insisted that, in all things, academics must take top priority. As stated above, the new criteria for admission first identified the intellectually elite and then, from within that pool, selected for character. Hopkins had a nuanced understanding of the role of sports in higher education. While he was emphatic that students’ first obligation was to academics and

⁴⁷ John E. Pember, “Dartmouth, ‘Mother of Men,’ Is Turning Men Away,” *The Sunday Herald*, September 25, 1921, 11. Admissions II Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁴⁸ “The Selective Process for Admission, 1923-1924” (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1923), 6-7.

⁴⁹ Ernest M. Hopkins, *This Our Purpose* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Publications, 1950), 142.

that athletics should never take precedence over academics, he strongly emphasized physical fitness. During his presidency he developed Dartmouth's athletics program, added physical education requirements to the curriculum, and oversaw additions to the College's Alumni Gymnasium. Demonstrating the same spirit held by the YMCA and its attention to the "mind, body and spirit," Hopkins further attended to the whole student by hiring a nutrition specialist onto the College's staff. Lastly, and key to Zuckerman's experience, Hopkins first contracted with Bancroft and then hired psychiatrist Arthur Ruggles onto the College's staff to establish a campus mental health service.⁵⁰

The responsibility of colleges to attend to the psychological wellbeing of their students was a new idea that was growing in popularity. The American Student Health Association was founded in 1920; that same year at its first national meeting, Frankwood Williams, MD, made a case for the importance of "mental hygiene" in helping retain students, giving students fuller use of their intellectual capacity, forestalling nervous and mental diseases, and minimizing unhappiness, inadequacy, and mediocrity.⁵¹ Ruggles rejected the critique that college psychiatric services were coddling college students, instead claiming that intervention in the college years could save some from a lifetime of mediocrity and others from "mental shipwreck."⁵²

Dartmouth men's eagerness to embrace the new ideals of masculinity are evident in the stories they themselves told of their Dartmouth experiences. Scrapbooking was a

⁵⁰ David P. Kraft, "One Hundred Years of College Mental Health," *Journal of American College Health* 59, no. 6 (2011): 477-481, accessed October 1, 2016, doi: 10.1080/07448481.2011.569964.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Arthur H. Ruggles, *College Mental-Hygiene Problems* (New York City: National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Inc, 1932), 1-12.

popular pastime for college men of this era, and Dartmouth men curated their own college experiences with tape, glue, newspaper clippings, photographs, and other mementos. The contents of these memorabilia books give us insights to the interests and values of the men who created them. While no memorabilia book belonging to Harvie Zuckerman exists in the College's archive, there are many created by men who attended Dartmouth around the time Zuckerman was a student. In addition to demonstrating much pride in their college, the men's selection of souvenirs is reminiscent of the "mind, body, spirit" balance emphasized by the YMCA. Typical Dartmouth student memorabilia books from this time contain souvenirs from multiple parts of college life including certificates of admission to Dartmouth College; programs from convocation ceremonies that mark the start of the academic year; handbooks detailing college policies including required attendance at both class sessions and chapel services; membership certificates to college clubs; "chinning"⁵³ invitations from fraternities; exam prompts; fraternity initiation certificates; dance cards with dance partners' names filled in; postcards from travels; friends' signatures and well-wishes on autograph pages; printed affirmations of Christian faith; playbills from Dartmouth Players performances; and numerous athletic souvenirs including game tickets, scorecards, newspaper clippings about winning games, and numerous publicity shots of star players. These last items are some of the most prominent found in the memorabilia books, even in those of students not active in sports; the scrapbooks creators seem to have had an admiration bordering on idolatry of these models of modern masculinity.

⁵³ Fraternity rush.

One memorabilia book, that of lifelong bachelor Harold Goddard Rugg, class of 1906, tells a slightly different story in one notable way. Rather than photos of star football players, Rugg created pages featuring photos of the Dartmouth Players “leading ladies”—the star, male cross-dressing players in full make-up and costume. Given that memorabilia books enable the creator to materially represent his “internalized sense of self,”⁵⁴ we can use these “leading lady” photos to speculate the ways in which Rugg’s sense of self diverged from the masculine ideal. Perhaps Zuckerman’s stage performances were his outlet to express his “internalized sense of self” that would have been unacceptable in any other venue. President Hopkins certainly seemed to believe so.

It is worth noting that as Victorian manliness was superseded by a new male ideal, “heterosexuality” simultaneously developed as a concept and an essential ingredient in 20th century masculinity. Sexuality became a defining element of one’s personality. Whereas sexual behavior previously was viewed as one aspect of a person’s life, the concept of the “homosexual as person” developed, and sexuality became a defining aspect of one’s identity.⁵⁵ Heterosexuality was established as a norm that mandated sex practiced exclusively with members of the “opposite” sex and prized behaviors that were decidedly masculine. This pervasive heteronormativity resulted both in a powerful “othering” of non-heterosexual behaviors and identities and in the creation of a culture that perceived these “others” as serious threats to the norm.

⁵⁴ Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 47.

⁵⁵ George Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, George Chauncey (New York: NAL Books, 1989), 311.

The confluence of factors detailed here that reshaped notions of masculine identity and the role of higher education help us to better understand life at Dartmouth in 1921 and the precarious position Zuckerman was in as a leading lady in the Dartmouth Players. As evidenced by the reported high turnouts for auditions and the amount of front-page space given to it in *The Dartmouth*, it is clear that the Dartmouth Players was a highly-valued organization and popular source of entertainment on campus. Upcoming seasons were enthusiastically anticipated and performances were favorably reviewed. Numerous performances were commemorated by audience members' in their memorabilia books. Until shortly after Zuckerman's time at Dartmouth, when local women were recruited to play female roles, the Players was regarded as one of the College's most valued organizations, along with fraternities and athletics, for the opportunities it provided for homosocial bonding. In the popular press and in student and alumni reflections during this period, Dartmouth is represented as an idyllic retreat where students develop fully into adults and members of cultured society. The College administration fostered and advertised Dartmouth as a place to enter, and remain a lifelong member of, a tight-knit community of men. President Ernest Fox Nichols, in his 1914 convocation speech, speaks directly to the role Dartmouth attendance plays in furthering the bonds of class and society. The students, he states, are about to "enter the fellowship of Dartmouth men" which "may well become for you, as it has for countless other Dartmouth men, one of the most prized possessions of the privilege now before you."⁵⁶ The Players, though, were perhaps too deeply rooted in Victorian manliness to withstand the pressures of emerging 20th century masculinity. Just as Victorian polish and

⁵⁶ "Dartmouth Opens for 146th Year," *Union* (Springfield, MA), September 25, 1914.

refinement became suspect when regarded through the lens of new masculine ideals, so, too, did the art of portraying “feminine charms” shift from a place of reverence to one of suspicion. Just as “manliness” was being derided as effeminate, and men who embodied it as sissies, female-impersonators at Dartmouth were for the first time being similarly scrutinized. In the new parlance, stemming from emerging understandings of sexual identity, these men were suspected of “inversion” and “homosexuality.” The presence of such men was deeply troubling to President Hopkins who had strong beliefs about the importance of character and about the type of character befitting Dartmouth men.

The start of Hopkins’s presidency was dominated by matters of inclusion and exclusion and of striking balances between the two in order to shape Dartmouth’s institutional culture and identity. Efforts to admit more students of desirable character necessitated the exclusion of students who did not meet the newly devised selective admissions criteria. Including and prioritizing male-only spaces within new ideas of gender and sexuality meant excluding those people and behaviors that threatened masculine ideals. For homosociality to function effectively as a bonding agent, as it did through rugged athletics and savage fraternity rituals, there must be a clearly defined limit to that bonding. That limit, in the early 20th century at Dartmouth College, was constructed as the effeminate and the homosexual; the invert. The wholesale and fervent exclusion of the invert allowed the homosocial bonding to exist and be understood as “normal”—unequivocally masculine and heterosexual. By pathologizing Zuckerman, President Hopkins not only was attempting to shape the character of one student, he also was defining the character of Dartmouth College as an institution. The act of excluding Zuckerman and of labelling his identity and behavior as transgressive was essential to

defining acceptable identities and behaviors for Dartmouth men. Hopkins was telling Dartmouth men who they were and who they could be by showing them who they were not and who they could not be. Zuckerman, then, was as essential to Dartmouth as was the star football player and the fraternity president. Far from bringing shame to the College, as he feared, he prevented the shame of a campus where “inversion” was allowed to exist unchecked. Rather than being patient zero in an outbreak of sex aberrations, Hopkins turned Zuckerman into the antidote.

The Dartmouth Type

Dartmouth College experienced another period of marked change in the 1940s and 1950s. While the College's transformation during World War II as host to a naval officer training program dramatically changed daily life on campus, from the suspension of fraternities to the adoption of a campus-wide military schedule with 6:00 a.m. reveille and 10:00 p.m. taps, more significant and lasting changes occurred in the post-war years. Some of the College's discriminatory practices came to light and came under sharp criticism, most notably from members of its own campus community. It was the combination of the College's competitive admissions policies, local action reflecting national growth of anti-discrimination sentiment, and the increased number of veterans attending Dartmouth on the G.I. Bill that furthered the democratization of this elite and selective institution.

This chapter in Dartmouth's history begins in August 1945, just before the end of both World War II and the presidency of Ernest M. Hopkins, when Hopkins received a request to support the creation of the National Fair Education Practice Committee "to eliminate quotas and other forms of racial and religious discrimination" in higher education.⁵⁷ Hopkins declined to offer his support, citing the value that "proportionate selection" played in not only creating a "balanced" and "representative" student body, but also in preventing the increased "intolerance" and "racial prejudice" that would result from "allow[ing] any racial group to gain virtual monopoly of educational advantages offered by any institution of higher education."⁵⁸ While Hopkins argued that he was using

⁵⁷ Widmayer, *Hopkins of Dartmouth*, 288-291.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Dartmouth's selective criteria for admissions intentionally to craft a diverse student body, promoting inclusion and tolerance, many read it differently. Hopkins's remarks were broadly received as anti-Semitic, as demonstrated in an editorial from the *New Republic* in which the author criticizes Hopkins for "arbitrarily rejecting certain elements, no matter how high their intellectual capacities, on a basis of religion and (fallaciously assumed) race." The author goes on to warn the president of the dangers of his way of thinking and acting, "We can no longer afford the luxury of these obsolete myths of racial differentiation, Mr. Hopkins; if you don't believe it, ask Hitler."⁵⁹

In the pre-war years, Dartmouth, Harvard, and other elite institutions had adopted new admissions practices that aimed to increase the caliber of their student bodies. In his defense of "proportionate selection," which was, in effect, a quota system, Hopkins demonstrated how these admissions criteria could be used to increase the diversity of the student body while simultaneously limiting access by some groups, most notably by Jews. Dartmouth's New Selective Criteria for Admissions, created in the 1920s and revised in the 1930s, prioritized academics first and then allowed for selection based on character. While this more subjective criteria enabled admissions officers to select the best of the best, those students who demonstrated exceptional "personality, intellectual interest, industry and faithfulness, and mental alertness"⁶⁰ on top of their academic achievements, these criteria also created room for the exclusion of less desirable groups,

⁵⁹ Editorial, *New Republic*, August 20, 1945. In Laing, Alexander file, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁶⁰ "The Selective Process for Admission, 1923-1924," (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1923), 6-7.

including Jews, based on “social characteristics.”⁶¹ Jews were the most academically ambitious of the immigrant groups at the time, making them highly competitive, at least academically, for acceptance to elite institutions.⁶² This created concern among many of those schools’ administrators that the Jewish student population would rapidly outpace their base of wealthy, white, Protestant men who previously needed no more than good-breeding and a “gentleman’s C” to gain admittance.⁶³ Hopkins’s defense of discriminatory admissions policies, which he openly admitted were aimed at limiting the number of Jewish students, hit a nerve with a country that “could no longer tolerate discrimination at home while playing the leader of democracy and the ‘free world’ abroad.”⁶⁴

Dartmouth’s twelfth president, John Sloan Dickey, took office not long after Hopkins’s telegram was made public and while accusations of institutionalized anti-Semitism at Dartmouth were still in the media. Early on, Dickey instructed Dartmouth’s dean of admissions that decisions were to be made “without any consideration whatsoever of race or religion.”⁶⁵ This statement set the tone for Dickey’s presidency, throughout which he emphasized individual responsibility and global citizenship,

⁶¹ Marcia G. Synnott, “The Admission and Assimilation of Minority Students at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900-1970,” in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. B. Edward McClellan, William J. Reese (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 315.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Marcia Graham Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton*, (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1979), 201.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Charles E. Widmayer, *John Sloan Dickey: A Chronicle of His Presidency of Dartmouth College*, (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College), 30-31.

repeatedly reminding students that “the world’s troubles are your troubles.”⁶⁶ This transition from Hopkins’s alleged anti-Semitism to Dickey’s inclusivity mirrors the attitudinal shifts taking place at the national level in the wake of World War II. The horrors of the treatment of Jews under the Nazi regime opened many American’s eyes to less egregious but still shameful discrimination embedded in their own country’s culture and institutions. Contributing to the public’s awareness of discrimination in higher education were reports created by President Truman’s Commission on Higher Education. The Commission’s four reports, published from 1947 to 1949, described the barriers students faced, on racial and religious grounds, that blocked qualified students’ access to education; one report noted the specific difficulty Jewish students faced in gaining admission to small, liberal arts colleges in New England.⁶⁷ Numerous lawsuits followed in the wake of these reports, forcing changes to discriminatory practices that had previously gone largely unchallenged.⁶⁸

The growing awareness of discrimination, and movements to counter it, came at a time when a growing number of minorities were pursuing and gaining access to higher education through opportunities created by the Serviceman's Readjustment Act, commonly referred to as the GI Bill. The GI Bill, which received unanimous support from Congress and was signed into law by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in June 1944, aimed to help veterans readjust to civilian life, in part, by providing them “readjustment

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door*, 201.

⁶⁸ Suzanne Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 74.

allowances”⁶⁹ including financial support for homeownership and education, two things which may otherwise have been unattainable.⁷⁰ By offering this much-needed support to returning veterans, the Bill’s creators sought to avoid the economic and unemployment crises that could have occurred if all veterans flooded the job market after the war. A 1955 survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau found that almost 80 percent of eligible veterans took advantage of some portion of the GI Bill, with 7.8 million veterans utilizing the education benefits to further their education and training. This number represents approximately 50 percent of eligible veterans and 75 percent of those who utilized some portion of the Bill.⁷¹ The number of people enrolled in institutions of higher education increased by 64 percent nationally, and 54 per cent in New Hampshire, between the 1939-1940 academic year and the 1949-1950 academic year.⁷²

One of the GI Bill’s most notable features was its indiscriminate approach to eligibility. All military veterans were eligible for benefits regardless of age, race, religion, socioeconomic background, or marital status, as long as they served at least 90 days on active duty and had not been dishonorably discharged.⁷³ The millions of veterans who attended college because of the GI Bill contributed to changing the demographics of

⁶⁹ Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 8.

⁷⁰ “History and Timeline,” U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, accessed May 3, 2017, <http://www.benefits.va.gov/gibill/history.asp>.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Thomas D. Snyder, editor, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993), 78, accessed May 3, 2017, <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>.

⁷³ Altschuler and Blumin, *The GI Bill*, 118.

higher education. Some groups that had been underrepresented, even virtually absent, from American colleges and universities were given the encouragement and financial resources to gain access to higher education. Jews and Catholics were two of the groups who benefitted the most from the Bill's educational support,⁷⁴ and married and older students also attended college in higher numbers than before, forcing many colleges, including Dartmouth, to build new family housing units.⁷⁵

While the GI Bill is widely lauded for its inclusivity, it was implemented in an era of institutional discrimination that limited its reach.⁷⁶ While all veterans who met the GI Bill's minimum qualifications were eligible to receive its benefits, the Bill did not remedy the underrepresentation of women and black Americans in the military or the fact that black GIs were "substantially less educated" than white GIs.⁷⁷ Additionally, the Veterans Administration (VA) refused benefits to many of the thousands of World War II soldiers discharged from the military for homosexuality who were given undesirable discharges, commonly referred to as "blue discharges." The ambiguity of the blue discharge's status combined with varying interpretations of the VA's authority to decide issues of eligibility for undesirable discharges resulted in numerous homosexual men being denied their rightful benefits.⁷⁸ Neither did the Bill require colleges to eliminate

⁷⁴ Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens*, 153.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 91.

⁷⁶ There is substantial published literature on the questionable benefit of the GI Bill to numerous underrepresented groups including African Americans and women.

⁷⁷ Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens*, 55.

⁷⁸ Margot Canaday, "Building a Straight State: Sexuality and Social Citizenship under the 1944 G.I. Bill," *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 3 (2003): 942-945, accessed May 3, 2017, doi:10.2307/3660882.

segregation, quotas, or any other discriminatory admissions policies they had in place,⁷⁹ and the Bill's benefits "fell disproportionately to white males."⁸⁰ Census data shows that while the percentage of people 25 and older who completed four years of college rose for all races and genders, white men's educational attainment started higher and grew more sharply than all other groups' between 1940 and 1960.⁸¹

The sharp increase in the number of college students immediately after the war led University of New Hampshire president, Harold Stoke, to observe that the GI Bill "unwittingly imposed compulsory education on the nation."⁸² While this was an overstatement, the effects of the GI Bill did contribute to a growing demand for higher education due to the expectation that a college degree was a prerequisite for professional careers.⁸³ An individual's educational attainment is influenced by their parents' level of education; higher levels of parental education lead to higher levels of education for their children.⁸⁴ The GI Bill disrupted this pattern by providing educational encouragement and support, that otherwise might have been absent, to veterans from lower-income and less-educated families.⁸⁵ The Bill diminished the importance of "socioeconomic,

⁷⁹ Provide information on problem with "blue discharge" for homosexuality which was not honorable and, therefore, excluded those veterans from GI Bill eligibility.

⁸⁰ Atschuler and Blumin, *The GI Bill*, 86.

⁸¹ Snyder, *120 Years of American Education*, 8.

⁸² Atschuler and Blumin, *The GI Bill*, 87.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Eric F. Dubow and Paul Boxer, "Long-Term Effects of Parents' Education on Children's Educational and Occupational Success: Mediation by Family Interactions, Child Aggression, and Teenage Aspirations," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly: Journal of Developmental Psychology* 55, no. 3 (2009): 237.

socialization, and religious factors” as determinants in educational attainment.⁸⁶ A study conducted in 1973 showed that GI Bill users “gained between 2.7 and 2.9 more years of education than they would have otherwise.”⁸⁷

While Dartmouth’s exclusivity at times has buffered it from wider societal influences, the GI Bill brought sudden and noticeable change to life at Dartmouth immediately after the war. Dartmouth expanded the size of its student body in order to accommodate new applicants, many of them veterans, as well as to accommodate previously-admitted students who had delayed attendance due to their war service. As reported in the student newspaper in spring of 1946, Dartmouth’s Board of Trustees voted to increase temporarily the study body size by 25 percent, from 2,400 to 3,000 students, in order to “admit as many possible of the veterans now on its application list.”⁸⁸ The author of the article cites other modifications made to meet the demands placed on the College by the increased number of students including larger class sizes, the addition of night classes, and increasing the number of students housed in the dorms.

The addition of so many veterans to the applicant pool and student body made Dartmouth’s increasingly competitive admissions process even more competitive as the rise in applications far outpaced the rise in admissions. The class of 1951, those admitted in the fall of 1947, had an eleven per cent acceptance rate with approximately 6,000

⁸⁵ Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens*, 90.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 91.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 90. The results of this study pertain to veterans from multiple eras, not only World War II.

⁸⁸ “College Expands to Enrollment of 3,000 Men for Fall Term: Normal Exceeded by 600; Veterans Get First Choice,” *The Dartmouth*, May 29, 1946, 1.

applicants for 671 spots.⁸⁹ Even with an increased freshman class size the following year of 724 students, the approximately 5,000 applicants to the class of 1952 faced a fourteen and a half per cent acceptance rate.⁹⁰ For comparison, Dartmouth's class of 1940 had an approximately 32 per cent rate of acceptance with roughly 2,000 applicants and a class size of 650 students.⁹¹ Dissatisfaction rose among families of Dartmouth alumni when their sons, whom they expected to carry on their Dartmouth legacies, were denied admission in favor of military veterans.⁹² Dartmouth again aligned with national trends when its GI students outperformed its traditional students. When the GI Bill was enacted, many predicted that veterans would take a more practical approach to education and would eschew the liberal arts. Veterans, though, pursued both practical programs and the liberal arts in the same numbers as other students.⁹³ Their interest in the liberal arts is partially credited to the veterans' interest in learning more about the people and cultures they had encountered during the war as well as the national importance placed on "area studies" at the start of the Cold War era.⁹⁴ In 1946, the College publication *The Dartmouth Pictorial* praised the performance of veteran students. "The veteran has

⁸⁹ Office of Admissions, Dartmouth College, Memorandum to Principals, Headmasters, and Guidance Officers, Admissions 1950 folder, Dartmouth College Directories 1946-51, Admissions III Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ John W. Hubbell to Alumni Club Secretaries, November 1936, Council of the Alumni Committee on Admissions and Schools, Dartmouth College Directories 1935/36-1939/40, Admissions II Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁹² Widmayer, *John Sloan Dickey*, 30-31.

⁹³ Altschuler and Blumin, *The GI Bill*, 92.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 93.

returned to Hanover with purpose and ambition, as shown by his better grades. Married vets lead the field with a 3.06 average for the fall semester, which betters the College average of 2.3.” Additionally, veterans were credited with adding “post-war maturity” to campus.⁹⁵ College, for them, was not serving as a suspension of adolescence before “real life” began. Veterans largely took their educations seriously; they brought intellectual rigor to classroom discussions and prioritized their studies over the social aspects of college life.

President Hopkins’s defense of “proportionate selection” cast a shadow over Dartmouth in 1945. Alexander Laing, who became a major force of change in Dartmouth’s post-war years, recalled a sense of shame on campus at the acknowledgement of a Jewish quota in Dartmouth’s admissions.⁹⁶ Laing, Dartmouth class of 1925, spent his career at the College as an assistant librarian, an English professor, and an administrator in the Great Issues Course on international affairs. Laing was known as “a man of passionate conviction”⁹⁷ and “an ardent defender of civil liberties.”⁹⁸ Evidence of Laing’s convictions is found in his family’s 1951 New Year’s card containing his “Declaration of the Free Mind,” in which he states seven rights he has “as a member of mankind, and as a citizen of the United States of America,” including

⁹⁵ Arthur L. Livermore, “Dartmouth Veteran Returns,” *Dartmouth Pictorial*, Summer, 1946. Sachem Village Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁹⁶ Alexander Laing to Ken Cramer, February 3, 1976, Alexander Kinnan Laing papers, 1925-1966 ML-53, Box 1, Folder 14, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁹⁷ Obituary, *Valley News*, April 30, 1976. Alexander Kinnan Laing papers, 1925-1966, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

⁹⁸ Dartmouth College News Service Biographical Information on Alexander Laing, August 20, 1964, Alexander Kinnan Laing papers, 1925-1966, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

the right “to consider all questions and issues,” “to test tentative opinions in fair discussion,” and “to persuade others to accept my views.”⁹⁹ After his death in 1976, Laing’s local newspaper remembered him as a man of “vigorous opinions, vigorously defended,” and, further, as an “early warning system, particularly in the field of civil liberties, to which he brought his seaman’s special sense of impending bad weather.”¹⁰⁰

Hopkins’s admissions policies ignited Laing’s passions and he, along with faculty colleague Vernon Hall, decided to take action on the issue, agreeing that Laing would bring a resolution to the next faculty meeting recommending the abolition of the previously-hidden Jewish quota. Hall pledged to second the recommendation.¹⁰¹ In advance of the November 1945 faculty meeting, which was newly-inaugurated President Dickey’s first, Laing wrote up and distributed to the faculty a resolution that contained three key points: first, a reaffirmation by the faculty for the section of the College’s charter that forbids exclusion based on “religious denomination;” second, in order to address faculty discontent with their small role in the admissions process, a statement specifying that the faculty’s opinion be factored into any future changes in the admissions policy;¹⁰² and, lastly, that the stated resolutions should not interfere with the preferential treatment of “categories of applicants” such as alumni sons or with other efforts to diversify the student body “provided that applicants within any such category shall be

⁹⁹ Laing, Alexander Kinnan, New Year’s Card, Alexander Kinnan Laing, 1925, Affiliates File, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹⁰⁰ Obituary, *Valley News*.

¹⁰¹ Alexander Laing to Ken Cramer.

¹⁰² Alexander Laing, Interviewed by Wilson, November 4 and 8, 1974, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

given preference solely upon evidence of character and aptitude for scholarship without regard to race, nationality, or color.”¹⁰³

Years later, Laing recalled his sense of urgency to resolve the discriminatory admissions practices in order that Dickey not start his presidency with this issue “hanging over him.”¹⁰⁴ Laing sensed in a private meeting with Dickey that the new president did not support the resolution, although he told Laing, “You’ve got to do what you’ve got to do.”¹⁰⁵ Dickey, in his own oral history interview conducted in the 1970s, similarly recalls his dislike of the resolution. Although he opposed the use of quotas, Dickey believed the faculty should have been satisfied with his assurance that he would “be his own man” in reviewing admissions procedures and addressing problems he identified. Further, he explained, he “disliked the thought of being put in a position of being publicly identified with criticism of my predecessor for whom I had a very very great regard.”¹⁰⁶ Despite Laing’s observation that the faculty collectively were ashamed at Hopkins’ revelation that secret quotas were used in admissions, several faculty members expressed their dismay at the resolution Laing presented. According to Laing, one of his colleagues expressed sorrow at his decision to bring the resolution forward, explaining that his Jewish friends had implored him not to “get too many of us into that college. It’ll spoil

¹⁰³ “Resolution to be put before the faculty of Dartmouth College 26 November 1945,” Alexander Kinnan Laing papers, 1925-1966 ML-53, Box 1, Folder 14, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹⁰⁴ Laing interviewed by Wilson.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ John Sloan Dickey, Interviewed by Jere Daniell, 1975, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

everything.”¹⁰⁷ The sentiment reportedly expressed by Laing’s unhappy colleague echoed Hopkins’s argument in his letter, earlier that year, in which he defended Dartmouth’s quota system and his refusal to support the creation of the National Fair Education Practice Committee. Hopkins wrote that in order to preserve racial compatibility and avoid prejudice, he “should not be willing to see the proportion of Jews in the College so greatly increased as to arouse widespread resentment and develop widespread prejudice in our own family.” He went on to claim that allowing Jews unrestricted access to Dartmouth would result in the same conditions that created the “conflagration of anti-Jewish feeling in Germany.”¹⁰⁸

While Laing and Dickey shared the desire to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in admissions while maintaining a representatively diverse student body, their preferred means for achieving this goal differed greatly. Laing’s dismay at the fact that Hopkins had not offered a “forthright public denial that a ‘Jewish quota’ was a factor in our admissions procedure”¹⁰⁹ moved him to take action in the form of the faculty resolution. By taking immediate and public steps towards addressing the College’s discriminatory practices, he hoped to free Dartmouth’s new president from the shame of the anti-Semitism controversy. Conversely, Dickey explained his preferred approach—both quieter and less oppositional than Laing’s—to admissions director Bob Strong, “I am prepared to go forward with the proposition that there are no quotas, on the

¹⁰⁷ Laing interviewed by Wilson.

¹⁰⁸ Widmayer, *Hopkins of Dartmouth*, 288-289.

¹⁰⁹ Alexander Laing to Ken Cramer.

assumption that there have been no quotas.”¹¹⁰ Dickey’s words should not be misread—he was aware that Jewish students were being denied access to the College, and he had proof beyond Hopkins’s defense of proportionate selection. In the 1930-1931 academic year, Charles R. Lingley served as acting dean of admissions. Dickey was aware that “the number of Jewish students that came in during Lingley’s year, when apparently nothing was said to him about there being any restrictions, jumped up in a way that disturbed Mr. Hopkins as far as I know.”¹¹¹ This revelation, more than Laing’s resolution, “confirmed [Dickey’s] feeling that there clearly had been more of a restrictive policy than [he] was prepared to live with in the postwar period.”¹¹²

Dickey preferred to deal with secret quotas secretly, without speaking against his predecessor’s words and practices and with the implicit trust of the faculty. (Though he did vow to use restrictive measures in admissions should he deem it necessary to protect the “representative character of the student body.”¹¹³) But Laing’s actions left Dickey no other choice than to deal publicly with the College’s admissions policy, and, after several conversations and revisions of the resolution, Dickey ultimately made a public statement promising “no such quota would be actively used in the future.”¹¹⁴ Laing’s efforts quite possibly led to other reforms in Dartmouth’s admissions processes. In a 1946 memorandum to Dickey, Laing and Hall cite evidence from the U.S. Army that

¹¹⁰ Dickey Interviewed by Daniell.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Laing interviewed by Wilson.

“uncontrolled personal interview by a variety of volunteers, is the least reliable of several methods, when tried out in statistically significant ways during the war.” They suggest the method which is used in Selective System, including the interview and ranking of applicants by alumni, “ought to be sharply reexamined.”¹¹⁵ Two years later, the Special Committee on Alumni Interviewing developed the “Manual for Alumni Interviewing.” The manual guided alumni interviewers in methods to provide the Committee on Admissions with useful and fair assessments of prospective students. The evaluation form completed by the interviewers included assessments of candidates’ personalities, intellectual curiosity, and maturity. Some assessments were open-ended with space for interviewers’ free responses, whereas other traits were assessed on a highly subjective scale; for example, personality could be scored as “impressive, pleasing, average, colorless,” or “displeasing.”¹¹⁶ The manual requests interviewers, when defending extremely favorable or extremely unfavorable rankings, to “take particular pains to say why.”¹¹⁷ The instructions further detail the importance of clearly explaining unfavorable rankings by going beyond vague statements such as claiming the student is “not the Dartmouth type.” The manual even asserted, “If there is a ‘Dartmouth type,’ an

¹¹⁵ Alexander Laing and Vernon Hall to John Sloan Dickey, “Reconsideration of the policy on Admission to Dartmouth College, A Tentative Draft,” October 4, 1946, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹¹⁶ Dartmouth College, *Alumni Participation in the Selective Process of Admission; Manual for Chairman of Interviewing Committees* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1948).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

admissions system which for a quarter of a century has been aiming at diversity in the student body might as well be junked!”¹¹⁸

Dickey’s disavowal of quotas and efforts to eliminate discriminatory practices in admissions certainly contributed to the increased Jewish presence in Dartmouth’s student body. The College’s Jewish student population rose from approximately 2.8 percent,¹¹⁹ 31 students, in 1918 to approximately 15 percent, 425 students, in 1952.¹²⁰ In a confidential memorandum to the Board of Trustees in 1954, Dickey explains that, despite concerns from members of the Board that “there are too many Jewish students at the College,”¹²¹ Dartmouth, notwithstanding the population’s growth, still had one of the lowest Jewish enrollments among Ivy League colleges. Dickey’s attempts to balance demands from liberals for increased diversity with pressures from conservatives for maintaining Dartmouth’s racial exclusivity resulted in progress that, while significant, was racially tinged and, therefore, limited.

In September of 1946, ten months after Laing first brought his resolution to the faculty, the White House published a letter by President Harry S. Truman in which he stressed the important role played by his newly established National Commission on Higher Education. He had charged this commission, broadly, with “an examination of the functions of higher education in our democracy and of the means by which they can best

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese, *The Social History of American Education*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 316.

¹²⁰ “Confidential Memorandum,” October 15, 1954, Jews Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH. “Annual Enrollment—Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH,” Enrollment Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹²¹ “Confidential Memorandum,” Jews Vertical File.

be performed,”¹²² and, specifically, with addressing broad-ranging questions from “educational opportunities for all able young people” to “the desirability of establishing a series of intermediate technical institutes.”¹²³ Truman’s letter was written in response to one he received from Charles G. Bolte, chairman of the American Veterans Committee, who had written with concerns about quotas in college admissions. Truman’s response was unequivocal, “Discrimination, like a disease, must be attacked wherever it appears.”¹²⁴ Truman assures Bolte that he is fully aware of the problem of discrimination in education and of “the broader problem of intolerance which this discrimination symbolizes.”¹²⁵ As Dickey had a year earlier, Truman references World War II and expresses dismay at the fact that the same “intolerance and prejudice” we fought overseas was present in our own country.

Laing forced Dickey’s hand by bringing his resolution to the faculty in the immediate wake of the controversy surrounding Hopkins’s remarks which were perceived not only as anti-Semitic but also as condoning anti-Semitic admissions policies at Dartmouth. Laing forced Dartmouth and its administration to acknowledge and respond to the reality revealed in Hopkins’s letter—that Dartmouth refused admissions to some prospective students solely because they were Jewish. The nationwide effects of the GI Bill, which diversified student bodies, and of the post-war backlash against

¹²² Harry S. Truman, "Letter Appointing Members to the National Commission on Higher Education," July 13, 1946, *The American Presidency Project*. accessed May 6, 2017, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=12452>.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ "Truman Assails Discrimination in Education," *New York Herald Tribune*, September 5, 1946, 16A. ProQuest.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

discrimination, notably in response to anti-Semitism, shaped Laing's actions and limited the responses available to Dickey lest he risk being labeled a Nazi sympathizer, as was his predecessor.

Faculty were not the only members of Dartmouth's community working to eliminate long-accepted discriminatory practices on campus. Dartmouth students made concerted efforts in the post-war period that ultimately resulted in numerous Dartmouth fraternities breaking ties with their national organizations to employ more inclusive membership practices—commonly referred to as “going local.” This anti-discrimination movement, which peaked in the 1950s, was led largely by fraternity members themselves. As was the case with Laing and the admissions policy, the change in the fraternities was led by insiders—men whose religion and race had worked in their favor—whose eyes were opened to the problems of discrimination and who took action to defeat it. Although this movement begins several years after Laing's faculty resolution, we can see hints of what was to come in a letter written by a Dartmouth alumnus shortly after Hopkins's now-infamous letter was made public. The unidentified man encourages the College to take leadership to “eradicate the disease” “deep in the human mind” that creates dangerous symptoms such as anti-Semitism. The writer aims to disprove Hopkins's claim that by limiting Jewish enrollments he was furthering “racial tolerance” on campus. The alumnus correspondent writes, “surely [President Hopkins] is aware that the fraternities, my own, Psi Upsilon, among them, are incorrigibly anti-Semitic. . . . This

fact alone is sufficient to demonstrate the fallacy of his appeal to the quota system in excusing the anti-Semitic practices of the college.”¹²⁶

Dartmouth fraternities’ eventual disavowal of national membership clauses, some of which limited membership to Caucasians and others which explicitly excluded “Negroes,” “Orientals,” and “Semitics,”¹²⁷ has been well-documented in the Dartmouth Alumni Magazine and in several undergraduate theses.¹²⁸ Of relevance here is the role played by Frank Gilroy, Dartmouth class of 1950, an Army veteran who had served 30 months in the Army, 18 of which he spent in the European Theater.¹²⁹ Gilroy, who went on to become a Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright, used his writing talents as a Dartmouth undergraduate to bring attention to racial discrimination in Dartmouth’s fraternities. Gilroy was a member of the Theta Chi fraternity, and he used his role as editor of the fraternity’s newsletter, *The Scroll of Theta Chi at Dartmouth*, to broadcast his ideas. Gilroy devoted several articles in the May 1949 edition of *The Scroll* to the issue of discrimination, the most compelling of which is a letter he wrote to his Theta Chi brothers. Just as Laing used the College’s own charter in his case against discriminatory

¹²⁶ Carbon copy letter, unsigned. To Sirs [1945]. Located in Jews Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹²⁷ Newspaper clipping, “Letter Book 1955-1958,” TriKap records, Box 6443, folder 2. Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹²⁸ For further reading see: *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, March 1960 and June 1959 (Hanover, NH).; Edwin H. Fowler, “Fraternity discrimination at Dartmouth: A Case Study of Theta Chi” (Senior honors thesis, Dartmouth College, 1935).; Robin Levine, “The Emergence of Jewish Student Life at Dartmouth, 1945-1997” (Senior honors thesis, Dartmouth College, 2001).; Martin H. Potter, “The Question of Anti-Semitism in Admissions at Dartmouth” (Senior honors thesis, Dartmouth College, 1964).

¹²⁹ “Meet Your 27 New Brothers,” *The Scroll of Theta Chi at Dartmouth*, May 1948, 3. Dartmouth College History, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

admissions practices, Gilroy used the Theta Chi motto, “Alma mater first, and Theta Chi for alma mater,” as the foundation for his argument. He contended that the fraternity’s national charter contained a clause that prevented the Dartmouth Theta Chi brothers from giving more than “lip service” to the motto which required that loyalty to Dartmouth “is to transcend loyalty to the fraternity.”¹³⁰ The problematic clause specified that Theta Chi membership is limited to “any male belonging to the Caucasian race.”¹³¹ Gilroy argued that this exclusionary clause which “bars admittance to Negroes, Orientals, Indians, and all members of races other than White” was completely at odds with Dartmouth’s values, and he pledged to push for removal of the discriminatory clause at the fraternity’s next National Convention. Gilroy opposed breaking ties with the national fraternity, believing that “Theta Chi is big enough to stand such a rule change and keep right on growing.”¹³² Gilroy uses the words of President John Sloan Dickey as evidence that Dartmouth College does not espouse discrimination of any type. “This college neither teaches nor practices religious or racial prejudice and I do not believe it can for long permit certain national fraternities through their chapter provisions or national policies to impose prejudice on Dartmouth men in the free selection of their fraternal associates.”¹³³

Gilroy’s cause found its footing, and a November 1949 poll conducted by a group of student organizations revealed that three-quarters of the Dartmouth student body supported the elimination of discriminatory membership clauses in the College’s

¹³⁰ *The Scroll of Theta Chi at Dartmouth*, May, 1949, 2. Dartmouth College History, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

fraternities. While the work to make this a reality took over a decade, the student-led anti-discrimination initiative took root in those post-war years. A decade after Gilroy graduated, the then student chairman of the Undergraduate Council Discrimination Committee, Thomas E. Green Dartmouth, credited World War II veterans such as Gilroy with bringing “to the campuses a broad cosmopolitan outlook which could not be reconciled with the snobbery and prejudice long prevalent among many national fraternities.”¹³⁴

The elimination of the hidden Jewish quota in Dartmouth’s admissions practices and the subsequent elimination of restrictive membership clauses in Dartmouth’s fraternities both came about in the immediate post-war years. The horrors of anti-Semitism and genocide in Nazi Germany shocked Americans and opened their eyes to previously-accepted discriminatory practices at home. On college campuses, such as Dartmouth, this new awareness was compounded by the presence of military veterans, many of whom had seen firsthand the victims of German concentration camps, and by the increased number of students from underrepresented groups seeking admission to previously out-of-reach colleges. Discriminatory practices, both implicit and explicit, were being stressed to the point of breaking. At Dartmouth, the significant shifts towards inclusivity came not only from these external forces, but also from insiders whose experiences, consciences, and values led them to take action. Alexander Laing and Frank Gilroy, by publicizing and speaking against discrimination at Dartmouth, forced change to come to campus more rapidly than it otherwise would have and paved the way for even more disruptive change in the years that followed.

¹³⁴ Thomas E. Green, “Fraternity Discrimination Faces a Deadline,” *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, March, 1960, 21.

Destroying Their Dartmouth

The changes instigated by Dartmouth community members in the 1940s and 1950s allowed a wider swath of men to enroll in and gain access to the College. Although a larger number and broader diversity of people were incorporated into the campus community, their cultures were not; Dartmouth still embodied the cultural ideals of the privileged white male elite. In the 1970s, the societal changes of the prior decade finally permeated the “Dartmouth bubble” and cracked the College’s foundation, disrupting what it meant to be a “Dartmouth man” and putting traditional and progressive students, and cultures, in conflict with one another.

The phrase “work hard, play hard,” is often used to describe student life at Dartmouth, where many students approach their studies and their parties with equal dedication. Furthering the “play hard” side of its reputation, the College has long been notorious for its fraternities. Articles in widely read magazines such as *Esquire* and *Rolling Stone* have detailed the dark sides of its Greek life, including sexual assault and degrading and dangerous hazing rituals.¹³⁵ The 1978 film *Animal House* was famously written by a Dartmouth alumnus based on his experiences in the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity. The College is known, too, for its historically conservative political leanings and for the conservative influence of its strong alumni network. In the 1960s, a decade known for student radicalism when many American college campuses such as Kent State, U.C. Berkeley, and Columbia were scenes of major political protests, Dartmouth was relatively quiet.

¹³⁵ Andy Merton, "Hanging on (by a Jockstrap) to Tradition at Dartmouth," *Esquire*, June 19, 1979, 57. Janet Reitman, "Confessions of an Ivy League Frat Boy: Inside Dartmouth's Hazing Abuses," *Rolling Stone*, April 12, 2012, 45.

What did eventually stir Dartmouth students into furious protest was the College administration and board of trustees' decision to start admitting women in 1972, just over two centuries after the College was founded. The 178 women who matriculated that year, comprising 11% of the incoming class,¹³⁶ were subjected to harassment and alienation by many of Dartmouth's male students, most notably by those in fraternities. In one of the most egregious examples, in April 1973, a group of fraternity men wrote a hostile letter addressed to "CUNTS" and put copies in a women's dormitory. It started, "Your status as a "co-hog"¹³⁷ compels our organization to treat you as an enemy. Your mere presence at this institution is a direct confrontation to the goals we consider sacred." The letter goes on to state four misogynistic demands for the women's behavior and dress including that their "services must be made available at all times," and that "one of you must give the mad Hungarian [Dartmouth's president Kemeny] a blowjob. Then maybe he will lose is fag tendencies."¹³⁸ The presence of female Dartmouth students disrupted the hundreds of years old male centrality of the campus. In response, the authors of the letter were using threatening, intimidating, and degrading language to establish their authority over the women and claim their place as the rightful "sons of old Dartmouth."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Bill Platt, "Forty Years On: The Changing Face of Dartmouth," *Dartmouth Now*, June 17, 2013, accessed March 11, 2015, <http://now.dartmouth.edu/2013/06/forty-years-on-the-changing-face-of-dartmouth/>.

¹³⁷ An offensive term referring to female genitals; a combination of the terms "coed" and "quahog," a species of clam native to New England.

¹³⁸ Nicholas L. Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 245.

¹³⁹ The lyrics to Dartmouth's long time alma mater, "The Men of Dartmouth," contain the phrase, "the sons of old Dartmouth." The admittance of women caused some the question the appropriateness of this song as the alma mater. "It's Still 'Men of Dartmouth,'" *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, November, 1972, 21.

In addition to admitting women, the College also actively began recruiting and prioritizing “categories of students in which the college has a special interest,” including African Americans, Native Americans, Spanish speakers, international students, and others.¹⁴⁰ Together, the broader societal changes of the time and the College administration’s growing focus on inclusivity and diversity threatened the “work hard, play hard” mentality. Much of Dartmouth’s hard playing took place in homogenous groups of predominantly white men who now had to adjust to playing hard in a heterogeneous community—either through inclusion or by practicing more active and blatant exclusion. Also, the men were now subject to scrutiny from these new members of their community, many of whom held vastly different views on acceptable behavior. Further, these new members of the student body had worked hard to get into Dartmouth, and their academic priorities destabilized the “work hard, play hard” balance.

While much of the intra-campus conflicts and cultural tensions arose between “old Dartmouth” and “new Dartmouth” students, it would be overly-simplistic, and inaccurate, to classify the campus’s conflicts and contradictions entirely as insider-outsider friction. There were pockets of socially progressive, politically radical students who worked from within the College to affect change. In fact, Dartmouth was home to a fraternity that proved itself an anomaly among the College’s notoriously hedonistic Greek system. The members of Delta Upsilon, later renamed Foley House, pushed back against Dartmouth’s dominant culture and long-established traditions, even when their efforts to move Dartmouth in new directions were met with forceful, sometimes violent, resistance. Foley House, which has been described as “more Greenwich Village

¹⁴⁰ E.T. Chamberlain, Jr., “Presentation to the Trustees,” June 8, 1974, in Admissions Vertical File IV. Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

coffeehouse than *Animal House*,¹⁴¹ challenged the “play hard” mentality of Dartmouth life and promoted the “work hard” mentality by engaging in intellectual growth and political activism beyond the classroom. The students that comprised this subculture were anomalous not only at Dartmouth but also in the broader world of student activism; while their beliefs and methods were comparable to student movements of the 1960s, these Dartmouth students forged their own way guided by a complex interplay of rebellion against and loyalty to the College.

Dartmouth's Delta Upsilon chapter was established in 1926. In 1952, fourteen Delta Upsilon college chapters, including Dartmouth's, met to discuss race blackballing,¹⁴² which was endorsed by the national organization and had led to the Bowdoin College chapter being suspended for pledging “Theophilus E. McKinney, a Negro.”¹⁴³ Blackballing remained an issue, and in 1966 Dartmouth's chapter went local over the issue and renamed itself Foley House in honor of History Professor Al Foley. Foley House remained a fraternity, though it was unaffiliated with a national organization.¹⁴⁴

Foley House went coed three full years before Dartmouth did. In 1969, the members of Foley House admitted two female “brothers,” Virginia Feingold and Barbara

¹⁴¹ Merton, "Hanging on (by a Jockstrap) to Tradition at Dartmouth," *Esquire*.

¹⁴² Men were denied membership in the fraternity based on race. The term “blackballing” stems from the anonymous voting process used by fraternity members when considering new pledges. Each member placed either a white ball, indicating approval, or a black ball, indicating rejection, of a new pledge into the ballot box. Just one black ball could be sufficient to deny membership.

¹⁴³ Delta Upsilon Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, N.H.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Wood. Dartmouth's fraternity rules stipulated that members had to be Dartmouth students, a rule that then Foley House president George B. Stauffer used to support the house's decision. The women had attended Dartmouth during one of the College's regular coeducational weeks, making them Dartmouth students, Stauffer explained. He further explained that he wasn't "pushing for a confrontation" with the College by admitting the women, though he does not mask his criticism of the administration. "If they reject the coeds as members they will close their eyes to the other half of the world as they have always done."¹⁴⁵ While the administration did not push back strongly on the admittance of Foley House's new members, the decision was met with resistance from other students as evidenced in this student comment, "Another sacred bastion of the Dartmouth male has succumbed to the coeducational movement."¹⁴⁶

Although Foley House led the way with coeducation, its members decided to disband once it became clear that Dartmouth would admit female students. In January of 1971, Foley House members voted to dissolve the fraternity and turn the house and property over to the College to be used for "integration of academic, social, and residential life," which they felt would benefit "all members of the College community."¹⁴⁷ They published a resolution to this effect, and in it stated, "the brothers and sisters of Foley House believe that the fraternities should not and can not play a

¹⁴⁵ Robert Jaffe, "Coeds Sink Foley, Gain 'Equal Status'," *The Dartmouth*, April 23, 1969, 1.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ "Foley Disbands, Criticizes Frats," *The Dartmouth*, January 21, 1971, 1.

significant role in Dartmouth College's future as a coeducational institution."¹⁴⁸ Despite their convictions, they did not follow through on their resolution and Foley House remained intact.

Foley House goes unmentioned in *The Dartmouth*, the College's student-run newspaper, for the next four years. A 1975 front-page article gives clues to what was going on at Foley House in those years. The article, which focuses on some upgrades the house was about to receive, mentions the House's "lack of organization," disheveled appearance, and "less than unsavory" reputation as a drug center.¹⁴⁹ Foley House was accused of functioning as a boarding house rather than as an intentional community—fraternity or otherwise.

Two years later, in spring of 1977, the Epsilon Kappa Phi Corporation, which owned the house, was displeased with the state of affairs at Foley House and considered selling the building and land to the College. This threat, which was not realized, seems to have inspired the House to adhere even more strongly to its socially-conscious mission. Its then president, Jim Silverstein, committed to more rigorous screening of potential Foley House residents in order to admit only those who wanted to live in and contribute to the frat row alternative to loud music and drunken parties that Foley House offered. In arguing for the house's continuation, Silverstein argued, "Foley House has blacks and whites, males and females—something that all of Dartmouth can profit from... for a College that has some interesting social problems, we don't think it would be smart to

¹⁴⁸ "A Foley House New Year's Resolution," *Rauner Library Blog*, Rauner Special Collections Library, accessed February 1, 2015, <http://raunerlibrary.blogspot.com/2010/12/foley-house-new-years-resolution.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Anne Bagamery, "Foley House to be Given a New Look," *The Dartmouth*, February 28, 1975, 1.

eliminate one place that seems socially healthy.”¹⁵⁰ Silverstein’s measured response does not present the full picture of the odds Foley House faced as a socially progressive institution on a socially rigid campus and, more importantly, on that campus’s “frat row.” Foley House and its members were met with verbal abuse and violence; these unsuccessful intimidation tactics aimed to get Foley House to assimilate to Dartmouth’s dominant and long-established culture.

Jim Schley entered Dartmouth as a freshman in the fall of 1975 as a member of the class of 1979, unaware of the contentious climate resulting from the College’s recent admittance of women. He expected a campus that was fully coeducational but instead found himself living and studying in a deeply divided community. Schley, who had close female friends in high school, found himself at the end of his sophomore year at Dartmouth “socially disconnected,” without any female friends, and on the verge of leaving the College.¹⁵¹ In 1976 shortly before his “Sophomore Summer,” the summer after one’s sophomore year when all Dartmouth students are required to enroll in summer term classes, a friend recommended Foley House as a great place to live, and Schley moved in shortly thereafter. Alan Berolzheimer, also a member of the class of 1979, similarly was surprised and dismayed at Dartmouth’s social climate, wondering why a female cousin of his and one of the first women to attend Dartmouth never mentioned the contentiousness before he enrolled. Berolzheimer’s political interests led him to Foley House. One day he stopped by a table staffed by Dartmouth students and community members who wanted Dartmouth to divest the College’s endowment from companies that

¹⁵⁰ “Corporation Asks College to Buy Foley House,” *The Dartmouth*, May 6, 1977, 1.

¹⁵¹ Alan Berolzheimer and Jim Schley (Dartmouth alumni), in discussion with the author, February 27, 2015.

operated in South Africa and, therefore, were complicit with apartheid. Foley House members were well represented on the group, and Berolzheimer moved into the house his junior year in the spring of 1978. Both men lived in the house through their graduation from Dartmouth in June of 1979. They shared a room their senior year, and their friendship has lasted the over thirty-five years since.

In reminiscing on their years at Foley House, which was the defining element of their Dartmouth experiences, the men highlight both the sense of community and shared values—personal and political—that made them feel at home, as well as remembering the aggressive resistance they faced from their fraternity neighbors. They remember Foley House as an intellectually stimulating community, a progressive and welcoming social setting, and a place bursting with positivity and hopefulness. Foley House was an experiment in communal living on a college campus; decisions were made by consensus, and the students used a job wheel to assign housekeeping responsibilities. The twenty or so residents prepared meals for one another and their guests on a regular schedule working in pairs—more experienced cooks paired with less experienced. The members of Foley House literally broke bread together, creating and sustaining community through food. In Foley House, Schley found the female friendships he had missed his first two years at Dartmouth.

Foley House's "fraternity-alternative" social scene featured the Rabbit's Luck Coffee House, fundraising dinners, and faculty-student dialogues. One year during Winter Carnival, an annual party weekend, Foley House hosted a square dance and another year they had a fiddler perform. The House was listed in an Appalachian Trail Guide as a spot to rest or stay. The Appalachian Trail runs through Dartmouth's campus,

and Foley House members set aside a room for as many hikers as could fit inside. They only decided, by consensus, to discontinue the practice when the house experienced a flea infestation brought on by the hikers.

Berolzheimer describes Foley House as being “the hub of radical politics, artists, musicians, and writers.” Schley similarly recalls Foley House as socially progressive and politically active, “There was so much positive energy. Such an effervescence of idealism and activism, and we had a lot of fun together. We socialized we played . . . I think there was a shared sense of being embattled and trying to do good work and that just created a lot of coherence.”¹⁵² In addition to providing social alternatives and shared political interests, Foley House members developed allegiances with other social and political groups outside of Dartmouth’s mainstream.

One cause they rallied behind was the Campaign for Equal Admissions (CEA). When women first were admitted to the College, the Board of Trustees, largely in response to alumni pressures, wanted to avoid decreasing the number of male students. Additionally, the Trustees and President Kemeny both felt that a significant increase in the study body size would change Dartmouth into “a different kind of institution and a less good one.” Kemeny, in a 1984 interview, explained the “impossible dilemma” he and the Trustees faced, “How one could add a significant number of women, not reduce the

¹⁵² In an editorial in the April 27, 1978 issue of *The Dartmouth*, Schley shared the meaning the Foley House community had for him at the time in words remarkably similar to those he used when interviewed in 2015. “My own excitement about the people I’ve known there has been the result of their positiveness, their devotion to political involvement, and their artistic vigor. These have been people who have managed to make creative, energetic adaptations to the homogenizing influence of so much of Dartmouth.”

number of men by any sizable amount, and yet not increase the size of the college.”¹⁵³

Their solutions to this dilemma included two major components. First, they implemented the “Dartmouth Plan” which entailed a new scheduling system and a year-round academic calendar that accommodated a modest increase in the student body size and avoided the need to admit fewer men than before. Second, they introduced a gender ratio, or reverse quota, that limited how many women could enroll in the College. While this limit was set at 25% of the freshmen class, initially even fewer women than that were admitted.¹⁵⁴

The CEA was working to eliminate that ratio. The students were aware that more qualified women applicants were being turned down, and that less qualified men were being admitted. Schley remembers his classmate Paula Sharp speaking up during a listening session on the topic of admissions held by the board of trustees. She said, “I did not come here an activist, I did not even come here a feminist, and these policies have turned me into a feminist.”¹⁵⁵

The Dartmouth community was dealing with another issue that also had serious implications for the College’s identity and traditions. In 1972 the Board of Trustees attempted to discontinue the use of the Indian symbol as Dartmouth’s unofficial mascot by declaring it “in any form to be inconsistent with present institutional and academic

¹⁵³ John G. Kemeny, Interviewed by A. Alexander Fanelli, 1984, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH.

¹⁵⁴ Kemeny interviewed by Fanelli.

¹⁵⁵ Berolzheimer and Schley, 2015.

objectives of the College in advancing Native American education.”¹⁵⁶ Around that time, President Kemeny had recommitted Dartmouth to its original mission of serving Native American students; Native students enrolled in Dartmouth in increasing numbers throughout the decade, many of them vocalizing their objection to the much-used Indian symbol. Dartmouth students did not let go of tradition so readily, and in the late-1970s the symbol’s use was still being fiercely debated on campus. The issue drew national attention, and in 1979 Calvin Trillin visited campus and published an in-depth article in *The New Yorker* about the debate.¹⁵⁷ Although there were no Native American students living in Foley House at the time, there was an affinity between the groups, and Foley House members actively supported the discontinued use of the Indian symbol. Schley was a student in the newly created Native American Studies program and so had a special interest in the topic, though non-Native himself he was careful not to speak for a community of which he was not a part. He felt his role, instead, was to share his support for the cause and explain how he “came awake to the issue.”¹⁵⁸ This sensitivity around communication was a value shared by the Foley House community. Schley explains that when the house members were having discussions they sometimes used a technique to ensure equitable participation; if an individual had already spoken, he or she waited to speak for a second time until everyone else had a chance to speak. This technique particularly helped the men, who were more accustomed to speaking openly and being

¹⁵⁶ Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2010), accessed March 8, 2015, 161. MyLibrary.

¹⁵⁷ Calvin Trillin, "U.S. Journal: Hanover, N.H.: The Symbol is a Symbol," *The New Yorker*, May 7, 1979, 132.

¹⁵⁸ Berolzheimer and Schley, 2015.

heard, to raise their awareness and heighten their sensitivity to the subtleties of gender dynamics.

Foley House members built social alliances, too, such as with the African American society. The groups shared a sense of “being embattled with frat row”¹⁵⁹ and theirs was a noteworthy alliance on a historically white campus. Their joint basketball team won the intramural championship, a victory that helped demonstrate Foley House’s validity at a time when some campus administrators still suspected it of being anti-intellectual and populated by disengaged drug users.

Colin Calloway, current Dartmouth faculty member and Native American studies scholar, refers to the winter of 1979 as the “Winter of Discontent.” It began with two students demonstrating in favor of the Indian symbol by skating onto the ice at a Dartmouth hockey game dressed in stereotypical Indian costumes. That winter also saw sexually and racially charged acts of aggression against female and African American members of the student body.¹⁶⁰ The winter culminated with the defacement of the Winter Carnival snow sculpture by members of Dartmouth’s disenfranchised groups. President Kemeny called for a teach-in, a day when classes were canceled and lectures and discussions took place in Webster Hall. At the trustees meeting that spring the gender ratio was eliminated, a decision that Berolzheimer calls an “amazing affirmation” of the rising tensions and activism on campus around issues of equality.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Calloway, *Indian History*, 166.

¹⁶¹ Berolzheimer and Schley, 2015.

Schley and Berolzheimer were intellectually engaged by their Dartmouth courses and found the curriculum exciting and stimulating, though both men cite their extra-curricular activities as providing the fuel that most shaped their politics and ideals. The students in Foley House pursued intellectual interests outside of the classroom and sometimes even assigned one another readings. One of the men's housemates, whom they describe as quite political, did not want to graduate without having read Proust and so set himself to the task of reading the entire seven-volume *Remembrance of Things Past* as an extra-curricular project. Another housemate, Paula Sharp, was prolific with languages and was translating German, Spanish, and Portuguese poetry into English. She would insist that Schley read poets such as Pablo Neruda, and that he read only the best translations—hers. “We weren't feeling only educated by our teachers,” Schley explains.¹⁶²

Berolzheimer, Schley, and their housemates were also immersing themselves in the writings of anarchists, feminists, Marxists, radical social theorists, and cultural critics. They read Murray Bookchin, Walter Benjamin, Karl Marx, Marcel Proust, Theodor Adorno, Paulo Freire, Susan Griffin, Robin Morgan, and Herbert Marcuse, among others. Several faculty in the Education Department and others, such as Donella Meadows in Environmental Studies and Joan Smith in Sociology, served as “radical mentors” to interested students. Some of these faculty members facilitated the creation of “multiversities,” or extra-curricular study groups, with the students where they explored some of the above-mentioned readings. The men stressed that the faculty were equal participants in, not authoritarian leaders of, the study groups, and that Foley House was a

¹⁶² Ibid.

natural ally for that type of activity. For Schley and Berolzheimer, radicalism was an important part of their intellectual and social lives at Dartmouth. They comprised two-thirds of the membership of the Dartmouth Radical Union student group, and they speculate that they were probably considered “throwbacks” by their peers.

As alluded to earlier, Foley House’s intellectually stimulating environment, progressive ideals, and political activism were frequently met with resistance, particularly from neighboring fraternities. Many the women living in and affiliated with Foley House were outspoken feminists, a few of whom had made a widely-viewed film about the experience of being women at Dartmouth.¹⁶³ Schley describes an incident in which a student from the fraternity next door smashed the bedroom window of a female Foley House resident, sending shards of glass down on her while she lay in bed. In an interesting addition to the story, the College administration discouraged Foley House from officially reporting the attack as the culprit was from the well-known Bonanno crime family.¹⁶⁴ Gender discrimination was evident in the classroom, too. Schley remembers some male faculty saying, “Men, don’t take notes. One of the coeds will give you hers.” All this despite the fact that starting in 1975, when Berolzheimer and Schley entered Dartmouth, all four years were coed; every student at Dartmouth had applied to and enrolled in a coeducational institution.

Further violence is detailed in articles from the time in *The Dartmouth* student newspaper. Foley House member Kevin Koloff wrote an editorial in which he expressed his frustrations and anger at the campus’s backlash against Foley House’s efforts to live

¹⁶³ Elizabeth Epstein, *You Laugh*, directed by Paula Selis (1975; Dartmouth College), DVD.

¹⁶⁴ Berolzheimer and Schley, 2015.

out its values. "Try to form an organization for social alternatives, and the student body spits on you because there are homosexuals in your ranks. Try to argue that sex discrimination is wrong, and you get tradition and the importance of keeping the football team strong thrown in your face."¹⁶⁵ In Koloff's piece we see the first mention in *The Dartmouth* of the disturbing side of the fraternities' objection to Foley House in the form of harassment and violence. "Other fraternities never seemed to like Foley House, as I recall. They would yell over loudspeakers at four in the morning, 'Hey Foley weak—s! come out and get ---faced like real men!' They would throw lit firecrackers through windows. They would pull down trees, and blowtorch paintings off the front door."¹⁶⁶ Others tell of golf balls chipped through the House's front windows in what the fraternity brothers called the "Foley Open."¹⁶⁷ Foley House's attackers were acting out, in real and violent ways, an ideological battle that was taking place on college campuses at the time. In the late 1960s, the conservative group Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) shifted their activism from national engagement to local action opposing radicalism on college campuses by disrupting and countering protests by growing leftist student groups.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, though in less organized ways than those used by YAF, Dartmouth's advocates of progressive change, including Foley House's residents, faced opposition from traditionalists who interpreted multiculturalism and inclusivity as evidence of a liberal

¹⁶⁵ Kevin Koloff, "Preserving Foley House," *The Dartmouth*, May 9, 1977, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Jim Schley, "We'll Keep Foley," *The Dartmouth*, April 27, 1978, 4.

¹⁶⁸ Gregory Lee Schneider, "The Other Sixties: The Young Americans for Freedom and the Politics of Conservatism" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1996), 66-97.

orthodoxy that undermined educational access and experiences of those most entitled to them.¹⁶⁹

When asked what about Foley House most inspired the antagonism from the fraternities, Schley and Berolzheimer laugh and reply “everything.” Berolzheimer explains, “We were making a lot of trouble on a lot of fronts. We were aiming to destroy their Dartmouth.”¹⁷⁰ Foley House members’ political views and socially progressive leanings threatened the foundation upon which Dartmouth’s fraternities thrived, on large and small scales. To add fuel to the fire, Foley House was agitating for Dartmouth to eliminate fraternities altogether just as their predecessors had in 1971.

Schley felt vindicated when he was selected as the class of 1979’s class orator, an honor that entailed giving a speech on class day, the day before graduation. At his talk at the College’s outdoor amphitheater, the Bema, Schley spoke about his first experience committing civil disobedience, and he thanked his parents for raising him “with a certain kind of outlook on what it means to be a citizen.”¹⁷¹ He felt that this honor was an acknowledgement of his and his colleague’s activism and ideals; as if the College was saying, “This is important. They’re not just rabble-rousers and malcontents.”

Schley and Berolzheimer’s Foley House affiliation has had life-long implications for each of them, in addition to their still-close friendship. Schley and his wife founded a cooperative housing community in Strafford, VT in the 1980s where they still live. They

¹⁶⁹ Leigh Patel, “Desiring Diversity and Backlash: White Property Rights in Higher Education,” *The Urban Review* 47, no. 4 (2015): 665, accessed May 1, 2017. doi: 10.1007/s11256-015-0328-7.

¹⁷⁰ Berolzheimer and Schley, 2015.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

consulted with Dartmouth faculty member Donella Meadows in the process. The structure they developed, the “Blue Moon model,” is used around the country. The co-op members make every decision by consensus, just as Schley and his housemates did at Foley House. Both men agree that they hold the same worldviews and values today that they did as students in the 1970s, the only difference being that the level of intensity with which they engage those ideas has diminished since they were in their early twenties. Berolzheimer states that Foley House was “completely formative to the person that I am now. I definitely date the beginning of the rest of my life as that point when I connected with these people.”¹⁷² Both men still maintain some connection to Dartmouth students, particularly those who face similar issues to those they faced years ago, though those connections are made somewhat indirectly. Schley’s wife is employed at the College, and he connects with students with whom she works, and Berolzheimer’s wife owns an independent bookstore in Hanover where he connects with student employees and customers. Both wish they had more contact with students, remembering the value they found in being connected to community members in their Dartmouth days.

Both men remember the positivity of their time in Foley House, even among their activism and protests they felt a strong sense of belonging to Dartmouth and optimism about the College’s potential. Berolzheimer still has the feeling that “Dartmouth is an important place and plays an important role in the Upper Valley and that it is important to make it a better place and make the experience for students inclusive, less stressful, less destructive.”¹⁷³

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

Just as Foley House does not fit neatly into Dartmouth's dominant narrative, neither can its members' experiences be easily explained by overarching trends in youth and campus culture in the sixties or the seventies. While Schley, Berolzheimer, and their housemates certainly embodied much of 1960's activism and rejected much of 1970's individualism, they cannot be categorized simply as "throwbacks" to the previous decade. Their approach to politics, activism, and social progressivism borrowed from sixties methods and ideals but in nuanced ways that intricately combined both affirmation of and defiance to the world in which they functioned.

College students in the 1970s are generally portrayed in stark contrast to those of the 1960s, particularly in their lack of interest and participation in political concerns. A study of college students repeated in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s shows that students in the seventies had more in common with those from two decades earlier than with their immediate predecessors in that they had returned to "privatism" and "were committed to family, leisure, and career."¹⁷⁴ Though, in contrast to students from either the 1950s or 1960s, they were "oblivious to broader social or ideological interests."¹⁷⁵ The students of Foley House do not fit this characterization of their contemporaries, though neither do they represent the entirety of sixties activism. Many students in the 1960s were not working to ensure their campuses lived up to their potentials, as were Foley House students, but were instead "challenging the legitimacy of the institution itself," unsure if

¹⁷⁴ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1987), 251.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

there was anything in it worth saving.¹⁷⁶ Many are tempted to describe student protestors as feeling alienated from their environments. This description could be applied to Foley House residents only if the importance of their intellectual engagement with Dartmouth and with other student subcultures was dismissed. They were not solely responding to feelings of alienation, but instead were acting out of deep commitment to the College and a desire to immerse themselves in its betterment.¹⁷⁷ The students of Foley House were neither separatists nor assimilationists, but were member/agitators simultaneously committed *to* Dartmouth and committed *to changing* Dartmouth.

Despite these distinctions, the Foley House experience does share some strong connections to depictions and ideals of 1960s student activism. Sixties activists tended to come from middle and upper class families with liberal ideals, as did Schley and Berolzheimer. Additionally, more selective schools tended to produce more student activism.¹⁷⁸ Though this does not accurately describe Dartmouth as a whole, it does apply to the progressive subcultures within it such as Foley House. Additionally, Foley House members' values are notably similar to the early values of the 1960s activist group Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). These include, “*romanticism* (the search for self-expression and a free life), *antiauthoritarianism* (opposition to arbitrary, centralized

¹⁷⁶ David Mark Chalmers, *And the Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 74.

¹⁷⁷ Mary H. Lystad, *As They See It*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1973), 17.

¹⁷⁸ Chalmers, *Crooked Places Made Straight*, 75.

rule-making), *egalitarianism* (belief in popular participation and rejection of elitism),” and “*community* (breakdown of interpersonal barriers, a desire for relationships).”¹⁷⁹

The faculty members who served as “radical mentors” to Foley House and other students on campus were performing a role more common in the 1960s, too; perhaps a decade earlier they, some then students themselves, had benefitted from similar mentorship and brought the practice into their own careers. These faculty, like many in the 1960s, chose not to be authoritarian figures perpetuating traditional hierarchies and elitism, but rather used their positions to engage students in critical questioning of the campus and the world. In her examination of the growth of student radicalism on college campuses in the 1960s, Helen Horowitz describes “certain professors” who, like those at Dartmouth a decade or more later, chose to challenge rather than to perpetuate the dominant culture. “They introduced the new critical works to students, and they encouraged iconoclasm both within and outside the classroom.”¹⁸⁰ This radical mentorship was not entirely faculty-led, but was affiliated with students’ changing attitudes towards higher education in the 1960s and 1970s. The growth of college enrollment in the post World War II years brought a greater diversity of students to campuses, and these students brought unconventional attitudes that challenged the 1950’s corporate educational model.¹⁸¹ Student activism emerged in the 1960s with the rise of radical left students who agitated for the transformation of American culture by pushing

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 224.

¹⁸¹ Gerald L. Gutek, *Education in the United States: An Historical Perspective*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 302.

for colleges and universities to achieve civil rights, become agents of social change, and create equity for minorities and the economically disadvantaged.¹⁸² In addition to these and other political and economic changes, the radical left students wanted higher education itself to become more student-centered by valuing the learning process over content mastery and shifting the curricular focus away from academic disciplines towards issues of personal, political, and social relevance to daily life.¹⁸³

Perhaps the reason that students in Foley House, in some ways, “experienced ‘the sixties’ in the seventies”¹⁸⁴ is because Dartmouth College itself was behind the times. Dartmouth’s dominant culture, one built on and celebrating white male elitism and family legacy, was not only slow to adjust to social and cultural changes it also actively and often angrily resisted those changes. As Paula Sharp articulated so well, this resistance to change may not only have inadvertently encouraged dissent by students like Schley and Berolzheimer, it may in fact have produced it.¹⁸⁵

While Dartmouth is not known for its political activism, but instead for its hedonism, academic intensity, and allegiance to the values of white male privilege, there were pockets of socially progressive, politically radical students who worked from within the College to affect change. In many ways, these 1970’s students were living out ideals and behaviors of the 1960s, but still their actions cannot be summed up neatly by the descriptions of either sixties activism or seventies narcissism. Instead, as exemplified by

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Stephen P. Miller, *The Seventies Now: Culture as Surveillance*, (Durham: Duke University Press. 1999), 34.

¹⁸⁵ Chalmers, *Crooked Places Made Straight*, 81.

the men and women of Foley House, they pushed back against parts of their campus while simultaneously embracing others. They worked to create change from within in both subtle and radical ways. And somehow, the whole time, despite harassment, firecrackers, and golf balls chipped through windows, they remained remarkably positive, believing in the potential of Dartmouth College to become the place they envisioned.

Take Back the Night, Take Back Dartmouth

Each spring, Dartmouth College hosts Dimensions weekends, opportunities for admitted yet still-undecided students to experience life at Dartmouth by attending classes, learning about student activities, experiencing dormitory life, and socializing with current students. The purpose of the weekends is recruitment, and the Dimensions website puts forth this “hypothesis:” “If you experience being part of Dartmouth for a day or two, you will choose to be a part of Dartmouth for life. (Editorial axiom: It's the greatest place there is.)”¹⁸⁶ On April 19, 2013, hundreds of admitted prospective students awaited the start of the Dimensions welcome performance when a small group of current Dartmouth students entered and staged a protest. The protestors shouted choruses of, “Dartmouth has a problem!” interspersed with examples of homophobia, sexual assault, and racism on campus. Some protestors carried signs with statements including, “I was called fag in my freshman dorm.”¹⁸⁷

The protestors also took their cause online under the name “#REALTALK Dartmouth.”¹⁸⁸ On the #REALTALK Dartmouth WordPress site, the authors describe themselves as “a group of current Dartmouth students who want to break this culture of apathy and silence. We want to stimulate #REALTALK. We are not associated with any

¹⁸⁶ “Admissions Visits & Programs: Dimensions,” Trustees of Dartmouth College, accessed February 27, 2017, <https://admissions.dartmouth.edu/visits-programs/come-campus/special-visit-days/dimensions>.

¹⁸⁷ Jasmine Sachar, “Students Protest Annual Dimensions Show,” *The Dartmouth*, April 20, 2013, accessed February 27, 2017, <http://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2013/04/students-protest-annual-dimensions-show>.

¹⁸⁸ #REALTALK Dartmouth, accessed February 27, 2017, <https://realtalkdartmouth.wordpress.com>.

official group on campus.”¹⁸⁹ While the protestors had supporters on campus, their actions were met largely with anger, hatred, and threats made through online forums such as Facebook and the anonymous Bored@Baker Dartmouth community discussion board. The protestors captured and posted screenshots of many of these critical comments on the #REALTALK at Dartmouth site: “Why do we even admit minorities if they’re just going to whine? Seriously, why are you here?”¹⁹⁰ “. . .they said idiotic things like ‘Dartmouth supports racism/sexism/homophobia.’ Only in American could people so eagerly bite the hand that feeds them.”¹⁹¹ “To all the deniers out there, THIS IS BLACK PRIVILEGE!!!!. . . How about this end Affirmative action [sic] and these angry protestors will go to schools they are capable of. . .”¹⁹² In addition to posting screenshots of those comments and others, the #REALTALK group used the site, which was active for the week of April 21 through April 26, 2013, to post copies of messages from Dartmouth’s administration, their own thoughts on Dartmouth’s problems, and responses to criticisms and threats. One Dartmouth student, who was an undergraduate at the time of the incident, seemed resigned about the tone her peers took on the Bored@Baker forum, “People are rude, people are outrageous, people are completely inappropriate —

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ “Responding to Anonymous,” #REALTALK Dartmouth, April 21, 2013, <https://realtalkdartmouth.wordpress.com/2013/04/21/responding-to-anonymous/>.

¹⁹¹ “B@B Real Talk,” #REALTALK Dartmouth, April 21, 2013, <https://realtalkdartmouth.wordpress.com/2013/04/21/bb-real-talk/>.

¹⁹² “Big Green Micro Aggressions Coverage,” #REALTALK Dartmouth, April 21, 2013, <https://realtalkdartmouth.wordpress.com/2013/04/21/big-green-micro-aggressions-coverage/>.

but that's the Internet."¹⁹³ #REALTALK's final post from April 26, 2013 is titled "Cornel West Stands with #REALTALK Dartmouth" and contains only a photo of a group of Dartmouth students posing with philosopher and activist Cornel West.¹⁹⁴

The Dartmouth College administration also responded. Then Dean of the College Charlotte Johnson said, "The demonstration last night displayed. . . that Dartmouth is a place of many voices, and that students here feel they have the freedom to express themselves. Hopefully that is a selling point, not a point of deterrence."¹⁹⁵ More noteworthy, though, was the April 24 message to the campus community from a group of eight top administrators,¹⁹⁶ including Interim President Carol Folt, announcing that the following day's classes would be canceled and "replaced by alternative programming designed to bring students, faculty, and staff together to discuss Dartmouth's commitment to fostering debate that promotes respect for individuals, civil and engaged discourse, and the value of diverse opinions."¹⁹⁷ The letter goes on to say that this

¹⁹³ Tiantian, "Anonymous Online Forums: A Firsthand Perspective of Bored@Baker at Dartmouth College," *Center for Digital Strategies Blog*, May 8, 2014, <http://digitalstrategies.tuck.dartmouth.edu/anonymous-online-forums-a-firsthand-perspective-of-boredbaker-at-dartmouth-college/>.

¹⁹⁴ "Cornel West Stands with #REALTALK Dartmouth," *#REALTALK Dartmouth*, April 26, 2013, <https://realtalkdartmouth.wordpress.com/2013/04/26/cornel-west-stands-with-realtalk-dartmouth/>.

¹⁹⁵ Sachar, "Students Protest Annual Dimensions Show."

¹⁹⁶ Carol Folt, Interim President; Michael Mastanduno, Dean of the Faculty of Arts & Sciences; Charlotte Johnson, Dean of the College; Joseph Helble, Dean of Thayer School of Engineering; Lindsay Whaley, Interim Vice Provost; Maria Laskaris, Dean of Admissions and Financial Aid; Harry Sheehy, Director of Athletics; Harry Kinne, Director of Safety & Security

¹⁹⁷ "Press Releases," Trustees of Dartmouth College, accessed May 7, 2017, <http://www.dartmouth.edu/press-releases/classchange042313.html>.

“unusual action” is in response to “ a series of threatening and abusive online posts used to target particular students in the wake of the protest that disrupted the Dimensions Welcome Show on Friday evening. We feel it is necessary for the community as a whole to have the opportunity to learn about all that has transpired and to discuss further action that will help us live up to our mission.”¹⁹⁸ The following day’s programming included a community lunch, a talk by a “social justice and diversity consultant,” and small-group “teach in” discussions. The cancellation of classes caused significant disruption on campus. *The Dartmouth* student newspaper featured numerous articles and opinion pieces on April 24 and 25 critiquing the administration’s decision and its perceived ineffectiveness.¹⁹⁹

While the suspension of classes in favor of teach ins and community building was unusual, it was not unprecedented. This response to student unrest resulting from gender and racial discrimination is notably like the teach-in day President Kemeny called for in Dartmouth’s 1979 “Winter of Discontent.”²⁰⁰ This 2013 episode, the incidents leading up to it, and its aftermath provide an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of rape culture on college campuses and of student activism particularly in regard to college governance. Of interest are the ways in which these issues are manifesting themselves at Dartmouth in ways particular to Dartmouth’s history.

In compliance with the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (the Clery Act), Dartmouth annually publishes a security

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Jessica Avitabile, “Many Criticize College’s Response to Dimensions Backlash,” *The Dartmouth*, April 25, 2013, 1.

²⁰⁰ See “Destroying Their Dartmouth,” page 58.

report that documents statistics from a three-year period detailing campus crime statistics including sex offenses, liquor law violations, hate crimes, and Violence Against Women Act violations.²⁰¹ Data from 2011 through 2015 shows that in 2013 most of these offenses spiked and some peaked. Forcible sex offenses, including rape and fondling, more than doubled from 15 incidents in 2011 to 35 in 2013 and peaked at 55 in 2014. While relatively low in 2013, both stalking (17 incidents) and dating violence (12 incidents) peaked in 2014. Liquor law violations spiked dramatically in 2013 with 100 arrests, up from 16 in 2012, and 283 violations referred for disciplinary action, up from 83 in 2012; these incidents continued to rise into the 300s in 2014 and 2015. Hate crimes also peaked in 2013 with ten incidents, five times more than the previous year.²⁰² Given that many campus crimes, especially rape, are notoriously underreported,²⁰³ it is logical to assume that actual incidents of these crimes were higher than indicated in the Clery Act report. Dartmouth students, the Dimensions protestors included, were immersed in a

²⁰¹ Sex offenses are defined as, “Any sexual act directed against another person, forcibly and/or against that person’s will; or not forcibly or against the person’s will where the victim is incapable of giving consent. Including: forcible rape, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, forcible fondling.” Liquor law violations include both arrests and violations referred for disciplinary action. A hate crime is defined as “a criminal offense committed against a person or property which is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender’s bias. Bias is a preformed negative opinion or attitude toward a group of persons based on their race, gender, gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or national origin.” Violence Against Women Act violations include dating violence, domestic violence and stalking. Dartmouth College Department of Safety and Security, “2014 Annual Security and Fire Safety Report,” accessed February 28, 2017, http://www.dartmouth.edu/sexualrespect/pdfs/2014_final_dartmouth_annual_security_report.pdf.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ AAUW, “91 Percent of Colleges Reported Zero Incidents of Rape in 2014,” November 23, 2015, accessed May 7, 2017, <http://www.aauw.org/article/clery-act-data-analysis/>.

campus environment that was unsafe for many students, and in which conditions that can facilitate sexual assault, such as excessive alcohol consumption, were widespread. For the protestors, the weekend the College puts on its best face to attract new students was the ideal time to “give a holistic and realistic prospective to counterbalance the flawed advertising that takes place during Dimensions,” and to “get people involved with changing the campus climate.”²⁰⁴

While the Dimensions protestors’ actions were disruptive, they were not unprecedented. In fact, Dartmouth’s campus from the latter half of the 20th century to the present has seen consistent student activism, much of which has been aimed at the College administration. Dartmouth students regularly engage with national and international issues by raising awareness about and demanding change around the ways the issues manifest themselves in Dartmouth’s administration and culture. In 1969, amid national anti-Vietnam War sentiment, a group of approximately 40 students took over Dartmouth’s Parkhurst Administration building and demanded the elimination of the Dartmouth Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (ROTC) and of military recruiting on campus. In the 1985-1986 academic year, students from the Dartmouth Community for Divestment, the group Alan Berolzheimer encountered in the late 1970s (see “Destroying Their Dartmouth”), erected shanties on the Green in protest of the College’s investment in companies operating in South Africa. The investments totaled 15% of the College’s entire \$414 million endowment.²⁰⁵ The protestors challenged the College administration,

²⁰⁴ Sachar, “Students Protest Annual Dimensions Show.”

²⁰⁵ Carter Brace, “Activism at the College, a History in Many Parts,” *The Dartmouth*, February 12, 2016, accessed February 27, 2017, <http://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2016/02/activism-at-the-college-a-history-in-many-parts/>.

“How can you simultaneously educate black South African students and contribute to the success of the apartheid regime?”²⁰⁶ In the fall of 2011, Occupy Dartmouth formed as a local instance of Occupy Wall Street movement. While Occupy Dartmouth made no specific demands of the administration, they sought to bring attention to economic inequality and the ways it is created and perpetuated by Wall Street and the federal government. The protestors’ efforts were met with resistance by many at Dartmouth, a college that has a substantial number of alumni working in the finance industry. In fact, in June of 2012 Dartmouth’s four valedictorians all were headed to jobs on Wall Street.

A precursor to the 2013 Dimensions protest was the April 1979 “Take Back the Night” march.²⁰⁷ This was the first such march to take place on Dartmouth’s campus, and it was coordinated jointly by three student groups: Women at Dartmouth, Afro-American Society, and Native Americans at Dartmouth. The approximately 200 student participants congregated in front of the Collis student center at 10:00 p.m. and marched together down Webster Avenue, known as “fraternity row,” on “sink night”—the night that pledges make their commitment to their new fraternities. Sink night is rife with hazing practices, drunken behavior with potential danger for the pledges and, as the marchers asserted, for women in the vicinity. The protestors perceived fraternity row as a “danger zone” and Patty Blauner, a marcher and member of the Dartmouth class of 1980, explained that while the marchers’ motivations varied, “the one thing they were all marching for was a need for a change in attitudes toward women that are prevalent on

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Sue Hemeren, “Torch-bearing marchers hit frat row on sink night,” *The Dartmouth*, April 9, 1979, 1, 7.

fraternity row.”²⁰⁸ Another marcher, Judy Ornstein, Dartmouth class of 1979, expanded on Blauner’s comment, saying “An attitude which is not merely chauvinistic, but overtly abusive toward women is institutionalized” in Dartmouth’s fraternities.²⁰⁹ She described incidents in which women had their “shirts ripped off” by fraternity men while walking down the street, and of women “being purposely urinated on or vomited on while in fraternities.”²¹⁰ While the number of men committing such offenses was low, Ornstein explained the larger problem was that fraternities kept such incidents secret and that fraternity members “tolerate such abuse on the part of their brothers.”²¹¹ While the actions described were highly problematic, Ornstein was concerned with the institutional culture that allowed such acts to occur with no repercussions, tacitly condoning and even endorsing the behavior by refusing to condemn, or even acknowledge, it.

The protestors carried lit torches, displayed banners with feminist slogans, and sang “Harbor Me” by folk musician and activist Holly Near. The slow tempo song consists of ongoing repetitions of the phrase, “Won’t you harbor me?” Another of Near’s songs, the upbeat “Fight Back,” was commonly sung at Take Back the Night marches of the time and consisted of lyrics including, “By day I live in terror, By night I live in fright, For as long as I can remember, A lady don’t go out alone at night.” One protestor

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

explained that the marchers chose the more innocuous song “to minimize the chances of confrontation.”²¹²

In the same issue of *The Dartmouth* we learn about the community and fraternity responses to the march.²¹³ Some fraternity members joined the march, showing solidarity for the protestors’ cause. Victor Hodgkins, president of the Alpha Phi Alpha all-black fraternity, explained his and his brothers’ participation in the march, saying that they believed there was sexism at Dartmouth and that he and his brothers, like the women, “are being abused.”²¹⁴ Additionally, Hodgkins and his brothers wanted to distinguish themselves from other Dartmouth fraternities by aligning themselves with women’s rights activists.²¹⁵ Hodgkins, his brothers, and a handful of other fraternity members that joined the march represented a minority of the men on fraternity row that night. While there was little or no harassment of the marchers, the silence was not a respectful silence but, instead, a dismissive one. Numerous men interviewed for the article explained that they simply ignored the marchers. Brad Koenig, then president of Phi Delta Alpha, felt that the marchers were “really trying to agitate but the word was around to ignore them.”²¹⁶

A year later, the second Take Back the Night march took place, again on fraternity row on sink night. Quotes from students and faculty in an article in the student

²¹²Ibid.

²¹³ Rob Eashman, “Participants, Frat Presidents React to March,” *The Dartmouth*, April 9, 1979, 2, 5.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

newspaper *The Dartmouth* following the march give the impression that the campus atmosphere was no more supportive of the women's cause than a year earlier. A female student claims that "advisors and fraternity members" told women "not to go out on sink night, and if they did they were responsible should any harm befall them."²¹⁷ The reluctance of many in the Dartmouth community to tolerate agitators for women's rights, as demonstrated the previous year, is echoed again in a faculty member's response to the second annual march; Charles Stinson, associate professor of religion, said of the protestors, "I hope they are not trying to provoke anything."²¹⁸

Stinson's discomfort with activism aimed at provoking discussion about and changes in the campus culture is on par with the dismissive silence of some fraternity members at the 1979 march. Much stronger criticism of and disdain for the protestors is expressed in a student-authored op-ed piece published in *The Dartmouth* two days after the march. In "Campus Activism Ain't What It Used To Be,"²¹⁹ student Greg Fossedal²²⁰ expresses his contempt, labeling the marchers as "crybabies" and a "pitiful band of frat-haters."²²¹ He goes on to make the puzzling argument that the campus's "real activists" were spending the evening listening to lectures and attending music performances. His argument reaches the height of its illogic when he places at the top of the activist

²¹⁷ Dinesh D'Souza, "Marchers Protest Dangers to Women," *The Dartmouth*, April 14, 1980, 1, 4.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Greg Fossedal, "Campus Activism Ain't What it Used to Be," *The Dartmouth*, April 15, 1980, 6.

²²⁰ The following year, Fossedal founded *The Dartmouth Review*, a famously politically conservative independent newspaper.

²²¹ Fossedal, "Campus Activism."

hierarchy the fraternity pledgers whose activism was their participation “in a Dartmouth ritual which antedates Parkhurst Hall, President Kemeny, and the irrelevant reformers who would rather see the whole system done away with.”²²²

Opposite Fossedel’s op-ed is a full-page advertisement for “Students for a United Dartmouth,” that was paid for by Jack Herpel, a member of the Dartmouth class of 1928. Herpel and Fossedel both apparently long for “Old Dartmouth.” Herpel’s ad states that “we” came to Dartmouth to gain “what is perhaps the best liberal arts education in the world,” as well as to make friends, have fun, cheer for the sports teams, and to enjoy “perhaps the finest collegiate atmosphere in America.” It continues, without transition, stating, “We are not mad at anybody. Native Americans, Blacks, Hispanics, Wasps, Catholics, Jews, even Women’s Libbers. We ask only that their first loyalty be for the welfare of Dartmouth rather than their special interests. If you agree, please return the coupon below.” The “coupon” has blank lines for respondents to write their names and campus mail box number, and then the option to indicate one’s support for either or both of the following statements: “I want to cheer wa-hoo-wah again,” “I want to sing Eleazar Wheelock again.”

Herpel’s advertisement places relative newcomers to the College—women and religious and racial minorities—in direct opposition with the Dartmouth identity, culture, and experience. He frames them as interlopers who, by advocating for their “special interests,” are preventing traditional Dartmouth men (Herpel’s “we”) from enjoying their

²²² Ibid. Parkhurst Hall is the building that houses Dartmouth’s upper administration. During his eleven years as Dartmouth president, from 1970-1981, John Kemeny focused on increasing Dartmouth’s diversity by admitting women, recommitting the College to the education of Native Americans, and recruiting other minority students. See “Destroying Their Dartmouth.”

right to the simple joys of the Dartmouth experience. Despite his claim that “we are not mad at anybody,” Herpel’s choice of words indicates otherwise; the phrase “*even* [emphasis mine] Women’s Libbers,” speaks to the same intolerance and dismissive attitude the Take Back the Night protestors encountered on Webster Avenue. The expressed desire again to “sing Eleazar Wheelock,” a song whose lyrics tell a fictional and racist story of the College’s founders’ relationship with local Native Americans,²²³ and to use the “Indian” cheer “wa-hoo-wah” speak to Herpel’s, and many others’, dissatisfaction with the College’s discontinuation of the unofficial Indian mascot.

We see echoes of Fossedel’s and Herpel’s comments over 30 years later in the criticisms posted on Facebook and Bored@Baker. They all express the belief that students from minority and underrepresented groups should be appropriately grateful for the opportunity to attend Dartmouth and remain quiet about their “special interests” so as not to ruin the Dartmouth experience for those who have always belonged. Further, their loyalty should be to Dartmouth first and their own interests second, especially when those interests disrupt a long-held Dartmouth ideal.

The term “rape culture” is used to describe settings, including college campuses, that not only experience sexual assault but also allow it to be prevalent.²²⁴ Rape culture can be understood as “a set of beliefs that promote and are conducive to rape.”²²⁵ An

²²³ “Eleazar Wheelock,” All Poetry, accessed May 7, 2017, <https://allpoetry.com/Eleazar-Wheelock>.

²²⁴ Jake New, “Defining Rape Culture,” *Inside Higher Ed*, November 7, 2016, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/11/07/students-urge-colleges-define-rape-culture-their-sexual-assault-policies>.

²²⁵ A. Ayres Boswell and Joan Z. Spade, “Fraternities and Collegiate Rape Culture: Why Are Some Fraternities More Dangerous Places for Women?” *Gender & Society* 10, no.2, (April 1996): 133-147.

Inside Higher Ed article on the inclusion and exclusion of the term in campus sexual misconduct policies includes this explanation, “Rape culture is commonly associated with victim blaming, denial of widespread sexual assault, objectification of women and the trivialization of rape, such as in college party themes, stand-up comedy routines or films.”²²⁶ It was this culture that Judy Ornstein objected to back in 1979 when she marched to protest Dartmouth’s, in particular Dartmouth’s fraternities’, institutionalized misogyny. The fierce loyalty to Dartmouth expressed by Herpel and Fossedel is foundational to a culture that lauds tradition, protects insiders, and rejects “special interests.” On a historically all-male campus with a fraternity system embedded in its culture and traditions, this means valuing the rights of fraternity brothers to “have fun” over the rights of women to be treated with equity and respect.

A little less than two years after the Dimensions protest, a Dartmouth working group of faculty and administrators published the “Moving Dartmouth Forward” report containing recommendations addressing “the root causes of extreme student behavior in three critical areas: sexual assault, high-risk drinking, and lack of inclusivity on campus.”²²⁷ Shortly after the report was created, Dartmouth’s President Phil Hanlon announced the “Moving Dartmouth Forward” plan in an effort to:

Move Dartmouth Forward to a future where students are free of extreme behaviors and part of a safe and healthy environment; where we foster inclusivity through a variety of options for community building and social interaction; where students are 24/7/365-day-a-year learners; and where students continue the tradition of independently organizing and defining the social scene—but with

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ “Report of the Presidential Steering Committee for Moving Dartmouth Forward,” January 20, 2015, 1, https://forward.dartmouth.edu/sites/forward.dartmouth.edu/files/final-report-web_0.pdf.

greater accountability and engagement with the faculty.²²⁸

The five-part plan includes the development of a new community-focused campus housing model, sexual assault awareness programs, increased regulations for Greek houses, financial investment in experiential learning initiatives, and the use of campus climate surveys.²²⁹

This administrative response represents an effort to change campus culture by instituting structures, policies, and practices that attempt to deter “extreme behaviors” and to protect students vulnerable to the “lack of inclusivity on [Dartmouth’s] campus.”²³⁰ Student cultures on college campuses, particularly drinking cultures, have proven highly resistant to change. While campaigns to change social norms and limit students’ access to alcohol through policy changes have had some success, their impact has been limited.²³¹ For student cultures to change substantially, students must be the leaders of the change. Time will tell whether Moving Dartmouth Forward will create opportunities for student-led change on campus, or whether it will be more of a public relations tool than a change agent. As shown in “Destroying Their Dartmouth,” the administrative decision to admit women did not create a campus culture inclusive of

²²⁸ Philip J. Hanlon, “The President’s Plan,” January 29, 2015, <https://forward.dartmouth.edu/presidents-plan>.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Donald A. Misch, M.D., “Changing the Culture of Alcohol Abuse on Campus: Lessons Learned from Secondhand Smoke,” *Journal of American College Health* 59, no. 3 (November, 2010): 232-234. ProQuest.

women, in fact, it initially led to a backlash against the new female members of the student body. Over time, the women on campus and their male allies themselves worked to shift the campus culture.

Students today continue to take the lead, ahead of the administration, on raising awareness of and acting on issues at the heart of Dartmouth's problems. Students in the spring 2016 #blacklivesmatter course created an online project "Lest the Old Traditions Fail" that serves as "a critical exploration of the history and reality of structural racism at Dartmouth College."²³² The students' work is founded on the claim that, over its entire history, Dartmouth has "reproduced patterns of racial discrimination," and that, "white supremacy, colonialism, and slavery are enmeshed in the traditions and legacies that the College hold [sic] dear."²³³ By highlighting specific events and themes from Dartmouth's past and present, the students aim to, "reveal how a history of racism has shaped the current racial climate at Dartmouth College."²³⁴

The project is organized as a series of topical posts, each written on a specific aspect of racism in Dartmouth's past and present. In one post, the College administration's handling of the Hovey murals is critiqued. The murals, painted by alumnus Walter Beach Humphrey as an illustrated version of Hovey's "Eleazar Wheelock" song, portray a racist version of the story of Dartmouth's founding in which Native Americans are depicted as, "foolish followers of Wheelock as they demand more

²³² "Lest the Old Traditions Fail," accessed April 28, 2017, <http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/>.

²³³ "Lest the Old Traditions Fail, About the Project," accessed April 28, 2017, <http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/pair-2/>.

²³⁴ Ibid.

rum, read books upside down and walk around with giant green D's painted on their chests."²³⁵ The administration's decision to cover the murals is interpreted by the author as "oppressing its existence," and that of Native students, rather than "acknowledging its presence" and confronting Dartmouth's flawed history. Another post centers on the College's celebrated founder Eleazar Wheelock, specifically the fact that he was a slave owner. The author explores the implications of this fact for black students at Dartmouth today, highlighting student protests that aimed to counteract the campus's racist culture. "The College was built on the backs of Black bodies and the rewards received from involvement in the slave economy demonstrate Dartmouth's legacy of investing in the subjugation of black bodies."²³⁶ Another post contrasts Dartmouth's founding mission as an institution for the education of Native Americans with "horrific and disturbing racist incidences"²³⁷ aimed at Native students in 2006 and 2015. The students in the #blacklivesmatter course created this project in order not only to address specific incidents of racism at Dartmouth, but also to position these incidents as symptoms of the racism foundational to the College's existence. In their posts, they are urging the administration to take a deeper and more holistic look at the College's relationship with the increasingly diverse student body it has crafted. They aim to "disrupt the dichotomy between how this school is sold to prospective students and how it is experienced. We want to shed light on the disillusion of "the Dartmouth experience" and the

²³⁵ Kira Ferris, "Lest the Old Traditions Fail, Fill the Bowl Up with Settler Colonialism," May 30, 2016, <http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/2016/05/30/pair-11/>.

²³⁶ Kira Ferris, "Lest the Old Traditions Fail, Dear Old Dartmouth Built on the Back of Slaves," May 30, 2016, <http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/2016/05/30/dearolddartmouth/>.

²³⁷ Ibid.

unattainability of said experience for students and faculty of color.”²³⁸

In 2016, Baker Library underwent a renovation including a new copper roof and structural improvements to its bell tower. Baker Library, built in 1928, sits at the center of Dartmouth’s campus and its bell tower is used by many on campus and off as a symbol of the College and even of the town of Hanover. Atop the clock tower sits a weathervane that illustrates the College’s founding as told in Hovey’s infamous song. Eleazar Wheelock and a Native American sit under a pine tree. Wheelock sits atop a tree stump holding a book, educating—some say trading with—the Native man who sits on the ground at his feet, smoking a pipe, and wearing feathered headgear. Behind Wheelock sits a barrel presumably containing “500 gallons of New England rum.”²³⁹ The weathervane was removed during the renovation project, the first time it had been taken down in nearly 90 years since it was first put in place. As soon as the renovation project was complete, the weathervane was re-installed 200 feet high at the center of campus atop the College’s most iconic building. The administration missed its opportunity to remove the weathervane from its post—not to hide it but to make it available for viewing and critique by the Dartmouth community—and to acknowledge and start to dismantle the power of the story it symbolizes. While the administration makes grand public gestures, such as the implementation of Moving Dartmouth Forward, to combat the College’s lack of inclusivity, it simultaneously preserves pieces of Dartmouth’s history that perpetuate the same aspects of its structural racism that the #blacklivesmatter students confronted. The students, again, are putting cracks in the windows through

²³⁸ “Lest the Old Traditions Fail, About the Project.”

²³⁹ Trustees of Dartmouth College, “Baker Library Bell Tower,” last updated April 9, 2017, <https://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/bakerberry/general/bells.html>.

which Dartmouth views its past. While the administration is trying to change student culture from the top down, students are working at least as hard to change Dartmouth's culture from the ground up.

The issues raised by the Dimensions protestors in 2013 are the same as those at the hearts of the previous three periods of study: homophobia, racism, and sexism. While the College's community demographics have shifted dramatically since Harvie Zuckerman's arrival on campus a century ago, Dartmouth's history as an institution for white, upper-class, heterosexual men still actively shapes daily life on Dartmouth's campus today. While significant progress has been made in diversifying Dartmouth—the campus looks markedly different than it did a century ago and the present-day student experience likely would seem foreign to a student from the class of 1917—the College still is steeped in its history in ways that sometimes surprise, and frequently anger, members of Dartmouth's community who expect and demand more.

Bibliography

- "A Foley House New Year's Resolution." *Rauner Library Blog*. Rauner Special Collections Library. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://raunerlibrary.blogspot.com/2010/12/foley-house-new-years-resolution.html>.
- AAUW. "91 Percent of Colleges Reported Zero Incidents of Rape in 2014." November 23, 2015. Accessed May 7, 2017. <http://www.aauw.org/article/clery-act-data-analysis/>.
- Abrams, Nathan. "The Jew in the Gym: Judaism, Sports, and Athletics on Film." in *Jews in the Gym*, edited by Leonard J. Greenspoon, 53-64. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2012.
- Admissions II Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Alan Berolzheimer and Jim Schley. Interview by Laura C. Barrett, February 27, 2015.
- Alexander Kinnan Laing papers, 1925-1966 ML-53, Box 1, Folder 14, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Alexander Laing and Vernon Hall to John Sloan Dickey, "Reconsideration of the policy on Admission to Dartmouth College, A Tentative Draft," October 4, 1946, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Alexander Laing and Vernon Hall to John Sloan Dickey, October 4, 1946, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- "Annual Enrollment—Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH." Enrollment Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Avitabile, Jessica. "Many Criticize College's Response to Dimensions Backlash." *The Dartmouth*, April 25, 2013.
- Bagamery, Anne. "Foley House to be Given a New Look." *The Dartmouth*, February 28, 1975.
- Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Boswell, A. Ayres and Spade, Joan Z. "Fraternities and Collegiate Rape Culture: Why Are Some Fraternities More Dangerous Places for Women?" *Gender & Society* 10, no.2, (April 1996).
- Brace, Carter. "Activism at the College, a History in Many Parts." *The Dartmouth*. February 12, 2016. Accessed February 27, 2017. <http://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2016/02/activism-at-the-college-a-history-in-many-parts/>.

- Calloway, Colin G. *The Indian History of an American Institution*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2010. MyLibrary.
- Canaday, Margot. "Building a Straight State: Sexuality and Social Citizenship Under the 1944 G.I. Bill." *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 3 (2003): 935-57. Accessed May 3, 2017. doi:10.2307/3660882.
- Carbon copy letter, unsigned. To Sirs [1945]. Located in Jews Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Center for Digital Strategies Blog*. <http://digitalstrategies.tuck.dartmouth.edu/anonymous-online-forums-a-firsthand-perspective-of-boredbaker-at-dartmouth-college/>.
- Chalmers, David Mark. *And The Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013.
- Chamberlain, E.T., Jr., "Presentation to the Trustees." June 8, 1974. In Admissions Vertical File IV. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Chauncey, George. "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era." In *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, edited by Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, George Chauncey, 198-211. New York: NAL Books, 1989.
- Chauncey, George. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Clark, Daniel. *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010.
- Cole, Josh. "Cultural and Racial Stereotypes on the Midway." *Historia* 16 (2007): 12-32. Accessed April 22, 2017. <http://www.eiu.edu/historia/cole2.pdf>.
- "College Expands to Enrollment of 3,000 Men for Fall Term: Normal Exceeded by 600; Veterans Get First Choice." *The Dartmouth*, May 29, 1946.
- "Confidential Memorandum." October 15, 1954. Jews Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- "Corporation Asks College to Buy Foley House." *The Dartmouth*, May 6, 1977.
- Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, March 1960 and June 1959. Hanover, NH.
- Dartmouth College Department of Safety and Security. "2014 Annual Security and Fire Safety Report." Accessed February 28, 2017. http://www.dartmouth.edu/sexualrespect/pdfs/2014_final_dartmouth_annual_security_reporta.pdf.

- Dartmouth College. *Alumni Participation in the Selective Process of Admission; Manual for Chairman of Interviewing Committees*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1948.
- “Dartmouth Opens for 146th Year.” *Union*. Springfield, MA, September 25, 1914.
- Delta Upsilon Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, N.H.
- Dickey, John Sloan, Interviewed by Jere Daniell, 1975, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Dinesh D’Souza, “Marchers Protest Dangers to Women,” *The Dartmouth*, April 14, 1980, 1, 4.
- Dubow, Eric F. and Paul Boxer. "Long-Term Effects of Parents' Education on Children's Educational and Occupational Success: Mediation by Family Interactions, Child Aggression, and Teenage Aspirations." *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly: Journal of Developmental Psychology* 55, no. 3 (2009): 224-249.
- Eashman, Rob. “Participants, Frat Presidents React to March,” *The Dartmouth*, April 9, 1979.
- Editorial. *New Republic*. August 20, 1945. In Laing, Alexander file, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- “Eleazar Wheelock.” All Poetry. Accessed May 7, 2017. <https://allpoetry.com/Eleazar-Wheelock>.
- Epstein, Elizabeth. *You Laugh*. Directed by Paula Selis. 1975. Dartmouth College. DVD.
- Ferris, Kira. “Lest the Old Traditions Fail, Dear Old Dartmouth Built on the Back of Slaves.” May 30, 2016. <http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/2016/05/30/dearolddartmouth/>.
- Ferris, Kira. “Lest the Old Traditions Fail, Fill the Bowl Up with Settler Colonialism.” May 30, 2016. <http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/2016/05/30/pair-11/>.
- “Foley Disbands, Criticizes Frats.” *The Dartmouth*, January 21, 1971.
- “Forty-Five Men are chosen from trials for players.” *The Dartmouth*, November 17, 1920.
- Fossedal, Greg. “Campus Activism Ain’t What It Used to Be.” *The Dartmouth*. April 15, 1980.
- Fowler, Edwin H. “Fraternity discrimination at Dartmouth: A Case Study of Theta Chi.” Senior honors thesis, Dartmouth College, 1935.
- Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin. *The GI Bill: a new deal for veterans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Green, Thomas E. “Fraternity Discrimination Faces a Deadline.” *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, March, 1960.

- Guttek, Gerald L. *Education in the United States: An Historical Perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1986.
- Hanlon, Philip J. "The President's Plan." January 29, 2015.
<https://forward.dartmouth.edu/presidents-plan>.
- Helfand, Jessica. *Scrapbooks: An American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Hemerer, Sue. "Torch-bearing marchers hit frat row on sink night." *The Dartmouth*. April 9, 1979.
- Honan, William. "Dartmouth Reveals Anti-Semitic Past." *New York Times*, November 11, 1997. Accessed 1997. Accessed October 17, 2016,
<http://www.nytimes.com/1997/11/11/us/dartmouth-reveals-anti-semitic-past.html>
- Hopkins, Ernest M. *This Our Purpose*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Publications, 1950.
- Horowitz, Helen L. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1987.
- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1987.
- "It's Still 'Men of Dartmouth.'" *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, November, 1972.
- Jeffe, Robert. "Coeds Sink Foley, Gain 'Equal Status.'" *The Dartmouth*, April 23, 1969.
- John W. Hubbell to Alumni Club Secretaries, November 1936, Council of the Alumni Committee on Admissions and Schools, Dartmouth College Directories 1935/36-1939/40,
- Kemeny, John G., Interviewed by A. Alexander Fanelli, 1984, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Koloff, Kevin. "Preserving Foley House." *The Dartmouth*, May 9, 1977.
- Kraft, David P. "One Hundred Years of College Mental Health." *Journal of American College Health* 59, no. 6 (2011): 477-481. Accessed October 1, 2016. doi: 10.1080/07448481.2011.569964.
- Laing, Alexander, Interviewed by Wilson, 1974, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- "Lest the Old Traditions Fail." Accessed April 28, 2017.
<http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/>.
- "Lest the Old Traditions Fail, About the Project." Accessed April 28, 2017.
<http://sites.dartmouth.edu/lesttheoldtraditionsfail/pair-2/>.

- Letter from Charles P. Bancroft, M.D. to President Ernest M. Hopkins. April 4, 1921. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Letter from President Ernest M. Hopkins to Charles P. Bancroft, M.D. April 29, 1921. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Letter from President Hopkins to Doctor Bancroft. March 26, 1921. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Levine, Robin. "The Emergence of Jewish Student Life at Dartmouth, 1945-1997." Senior honors thesis, Dartmouth College, 2001.
- Livermore, Arthur L. "Dartmouth Veteran Returns," *Dartmouth Pictorial* Summer, 1946. Sachem Village Vertical File. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Lystad, Mary H. *As They See It*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1973.
- McClellan, B. Edward, and William J. Reese. *The Social History of American Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- "Meet Your 27 New Brothers." *The Scroll of Theta Chi at Dartmouth*, May 1948. Dartmouth College History, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Merton, Andy. "Hanging on (by a Jockstrap) to Tradition at Dartmouth." *Esquire*, June 19, 1979.
- Mettler, Suzanne. *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Miller, Stephen P. *The Seventies Now: Culture as Surveillance*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1999.
- Misch, Donald A., M.D. "Changing the Culture of Alcohol Abuse on Campus: Lessons Learned from Secondhand Smoke." *Journal of American College Health* 59, no. 3 (Nov, 2010): 232-234. ProQuest.
- New, Jake. "Defining Rape Culture." *Inside Higher Ed*. November 7, 2016. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/11/07/students-urge-colleges-define-rape-culture-their-sexual-assault-policies>.
- Newspaper clipping, "Letter Book 1955-1958," TriKap records, Box 6443, folder 2. Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Obituary. *Valley News*. April 30, 1976. Alexander Kinnan Laing papers, 1925-1966, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Office of Admissions, Dartmouth College, Memorandum to Principals, Headmasters, and Guidance Officers, Admissions 1950 folder, Dartmouth College Directories 1946-51, Admissions III Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.

- Parry, Manon. "From a Patient's Perspective: Clifford Whittingham Beers' Work to Reform Mental Health Services." *American Journal of Public Health* 100, no.12 (2010): 2356–2357. Accessed October 17, 2016. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2010.191411.
- Patel, Leigh. "Desiring Diversity and Backlash: White Property Rights in Higher Education." *The Urban Review* 47, no. 4 (2015): 657-675. Accessed May 1, 2017. doi: 10.1007/s11256-015-0328-7.
- Pember, John E. "Dartmouth, 'Mother of Men,' Is Turning Men Away." *The Sunday Herald*, September 25, 1921. Admissions II Vertical File, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- Platt, Bill. "Forty Years On: The Changing Face of Dartmouth." *Dartmouth Now*, June 2013. Accessed March 11, 2015. <http://now.dartmouth.edu/2013/06/forty-years-on-the-changing-face-of-dartmouth/>.
- Potter, Martin H. "The Question of Anti-Semitism in Admissions at Dartmouth." Senior honors thesis, Dartmouth College, 1964.
- Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- #REALTALK Dartmouth. <https://realtalkdartmouth.wordpress.com>.
- Reitman, Janet. "Confessions of an Ivy League Frat Boy: Inside Dartmouth's Hazing Abuses." *Rolling Stone*, April 12, 2012.
- "Report of the Presidential Steering Committee for Moving Dartmouth Forward." January 20, 2015. https://forward.dartmouth.edu/sites/forward.dartmouth.edu/files/final-report-web_0.pdf.
- Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: BasicBooks, 1993.
- Ruggles, Arthur H. *College Mental-Hygiene Problems*. New York City: National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Inc., 1932.
- Sachar, Jasmine. "Students Protest Annual Dimensions Show." *The Dartmouth*, April 20, 2013. Accessed February 27, 2017. http://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2013/04/students-protest-annual-dimensions-show_
- Schley, Jim. "We'll Keep Foley." *The Dartmouth*. April 27, 1978.
- Schley, Jim. Editorial. *The Dartmouth*. April 27, 1978.
- Schneider, Gregory Lee. "The Other Sixties: The Young Americans for Freedom and the Politics of Conservatism." Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1996.

- Schneider, Gregory Lee. *The Other Sixties: The Young Americans for Freedom and the Politics of Conservatism*, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1996, 66-97.
- Snyder, Thomas D., editor. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. National Center for Education Statistics, 1993. Accessed May 3, 2017, <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>.
- Synnott, Marcia G. "The Admission and Assimilation of Minority Students at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900-1970." In *The Social History of American Education*, edited by B. Edward McClellan, William J. Reese, 311-332. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Synnott, Marcia Graham. *The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1979.
- Syrett, Nicholas L. *The Company He Keeps :A History of White College Fraternities*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- The Scroll of Theta Chi at Dartmouth*, May, 1949. Dartmouth College History, Rauner Special Collections Library. Hanover, NH.
- "The Selective Process for Admission, 1923-1924." Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1923.
- "Theodore Roosevelt, 'The Strenuous Life' (10 April 1899)." *Voices of Democracy: The U.S. Oratory Project*. Accessed April 25, 2017. <http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/roosevelt-strenuous-life-1899-speech-text/>.
- Trillin, Calvin. "U.S. Journal: Hanover, N.H.: The Symbol is a Symbol." *The New Yorker*, May 7, 1979.
- "Truman Assails Discrimination in Education." *New York Herald Tribune*, September 5, 1946. ProQuest.
- Truman, Harry S. "Letter Appointing Members to the National Commission on Higher Education," July 13, 1946. *The American Presidency Project*. Accessed May 6, 2017, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=12452>.
- Trustees of Dartmouth College. "Admissions Visits & Programs: Dimensions." Accessed February 27, 2017. <https://admissions.dartmouth.edu/visits-programs/come-campus/special-visit-days/dimensions>.
- Trustees of Dartmouth College. "Baker Library Bell Tower." last updated April 9, 2017. <https://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/bakerberry/general/bells.html>.
- Trustees of Dartmouth College. "Press Releases." Accessed May 7, 2017. <http://www.dartmouth.edu/press-releases/classchange042313.html>.
- Tseng, Wen-Shing. *Handbook of Cultural Psychiatry*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2001.

U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. "History and Timeline." Accessed May 3, 2017.
<http://www.benefits.va.gov/gibill/history.asp>.

Widmayer, Charles E. *Hopkins of Dartmouth: The Story of Ernest Martin Hopkins and His Presidency of Dartmouth College*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1977.

Widmayer, Charles E. *John Sloan Dickey: A Chronicle of His Presidency of Dartmouth College*. Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College.