The Institution and the Nation
War Memorialization as Tool

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Interdisciplinary Honors Thesis

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Intro

I give my deepest thanks to those who put up with bad drafts and kept me company during their late night study sessions. This project was a learning experience that I could never have had if it was not shared with you, Ann, Atif, Jeremy, Alex, Paul, Greg, Julie.

This project grew out of a fear I had with the disconnect between America's foreign engagements and its citizenry. As a nation, in our foreign engagements following 9/11, we didn't feel a draft, rationing, or a war tax - but instead a tax cut. Awareness seemed to be dwindling, and I felt it was largely because our daily lives were not transformed, affected, or even relating to a homefront war effort. With it these engagements invisible invisible, they continued for years without the public scrutiny of the Vietnam War or the rally around World War 2. 10 years into the war, I didn't *feel* or *see* the war's costs and I didn't see how anyone else was.

I didn't want to address this political problem that would have me cast off into a category of partisan politics. It became apparent that this project could not be a paper, but some physical entity in public space that had to move the masses. Playing into *feeling* seemed like a taboo avenue to pursue in the world of academics which I always imagined as a non-partisan, or at least not overtly partisan, establishment. However, I believe that knowing the costs of war is necessary for informed citizenry, which I value highly. I decided the best way to present part of this cost would be through a war memorial that addressed a national situation with a local narrative. A physical entity in public space transcends the problems with digital interfaces so common today, but it needed an update. I decided to push the definition of a war memorial to not

only publicize its creation, but also broaden what the perceived costs of these conflict is. With these drives, a modern form of construction and materials was also needed.

As Vicki L. Ruiz would say in the spirit of Larry Bobo at the American Studies Association in 2008, it is not enough to teach and do research; "we must also do the groundwork to identify practical strategies for social change."[1]

So academics, your work won't affect the masses. Step outside your boundaries.

Artists, be more responsible and thorough with your work and its repercussions.

Internalizing the fact that we have a problem is the first step, and that's we need our communities to do.

Introduction

It seems reasonable that people want to be remembered. Many of us might even feel comforted by the idea that there will be some mark of us left in this world after we die. Being remembered with some sort of physical marker in a way shows value and seems to be part of the human condition. The communities that remember come in many sizes and with many goals as we see buildings, monuments, and education endowments with names attached. Whether it was someone deeply involved in the town's development, a firefighter that lost their life trying to save another, or a soldier who died abroad, there are certain expectations in who and how we remember.

Today, it seems to go without question that institutions and communities have an obligation to remember those lost in tragedies, for some benefit to the living. Why then were the 3,000 who died at Valley Forge during the 1777-1778 winter buried without a single grave marker. "Why should there be War Memorials when most people wish to forget the tragedies of war and turn to the more hopeful occupation of peace and prosperity?"[2] War memorials are a modern invention that have not gone without contest.

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[1] Vicki L. Ruiz, "Citizen Restaurant: American Imaginaries, American Communities." *American Quarterly*, 60, 1 (March 2008), 13

[2] Andrew M. Shanken, "Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States during World War II." *The Art Buletin*: College Art Association, 84, 1 (Mar. 2002), 140

You may feel war memorials are frivolous and perhaps are inclined to leave remembrance to the details of books. However, you cannot discount the desire for communities, local and national, to remember those who have died abroad in the wars of a nation. This unquestioned act of commemoration of the military dead was a major stepping stone for this project as I began to look at surrounding institutions, such as Rutgers which I knew very well. Why are institutions such as Rutgers University creating war memorials? For this, I a written historical analysis of the Rutgers war memorials and a memorial proposal to the university's Facilities department.

The written component of this project will describe the war memorials at the university from its start up through and around World War I. It will demonstrate how the war memorial became a tool that not only reflected the politics of the time, but was utilized by the Rutgers community leaders to further its own goals as an educational institution. The written proposal, with some reference to memorials through the university's history, will try and define the new war memorial as a modular, evolving, and temporary structure that looks to challenge the idea of sacrifice.

I believe this sort of interdisciplinary approach should be pursued more often and defined as engaged academics. By participating in the medium being studied, you gain insight that changes how you look at information and develop your claim in the scholarly work.

The College and the Nation

"The First Football Game" Monument

I've never been much of a sports fan, but football has given me opportunities to see fans emit amazing amounts of emotion, energy, and devotion as communities. The moment a penalty overturns the first down, a room divides and snide remarks begin to fly. But the live game and crowd is something else. One cannot abstain from the collective charge and energy at a university's homecoming game, even if one has no idea what the game is. You become frazzled with energy as you enter and leave the stadium, moving with hordes of other fans through city

streets. It's a memorable experience, one that few college students have the chance to experience. However, if you go to Rutgers, it's hard to ignore.

While moving with the hordes in and out of the stadium, it is very easy to miss "The First Football Game" monument. The statue seems ingrained in my head, but I can't recall having ever having taken the time to examine it closely or give it much attention at all. Maybe I've seen it during TV broadcasted games as a nice visual to show before cutting to commercial break. Perhaps, the only reason I care to remember it comes from repeatedly hearing "Rutgers, the Birthplace of College Football" broadcasted over the jumbotron or TV. Somehow, this modestly sized bronze statue became ingrained in my head.

I never gave it much thought, but as I passed memorials and monuments around campus I began to wonder if anyone cared about these statues, monuments, and memorials. From the college students who passed by these memorials everyday, the answer I seemed to keep getting was no. If that was true, I couldn't help but ask, why are we making monuments and memorials, and why did we commemorate the first football game when it was already being funneled into my ears?

With each memorial comes a price tag and with each price tag comes an interest, goal, or motive. Why was a game that took place in 1869 commemorated in 1997, rather than 1946 or 2006? Who raised $100,000 to construct one of the most expensive monuments at the university?[3] Was it truly intended to remember the birth of the game or was it a nice visual for national sports television to use before cutting to commercial break? With every memorial these questions are asked, but monuments and memorials at a college can't be understood in the same way as local municipalities or states. As a private organization, its priorities and communities must be understood differently.

Unlike towns or states, colleges have been autonomous institutions, in that they are free to pursuit their own goals. This independence means their institution's interests and goals do not have to align with or support the nation's goals or the nation itself. As a school, the educational experience and school's continuation have always been priority. We understand this from rhetoric the college shared with alumni, the general public, and the state at several functions and events throughout the school's history. However, the meaning of this rhetoric is amplified when the planning and unveiling of war memorials is examined. By understanding both memorials and rhetoric, we can understand when and how the college guided and exploited nationalistic feelings for its own gain. This is best exemplified from the beginning of the college up through World War I. Thereafter, the school's structure, national memorial practices, and goals of collegiate education change, making a further analysis more appropriate as a separate endeavour. What can be discussed now is how exactly the educational institution utilized nationalism through war memorials to gain legitimacy, money, and a secure state relationship.

Nationalism has evolved since the 18th century to have several understandings, many of which are still debated. This paper, which focuses on nationalism around and prior to World War I, finds legitimacy in Lionel Rubinoff's notion. Rubinoff believes the pursuit of "economic and political interests" comes from the need to be nationalistic.[4] This paper agrees in that there is a relationship between an institution's primary interests and the desire to be nationalistic since the founding of the college. Its goals and curriculum have continuously been adjusting to meet the needs of the nation, exemplified most powerfully around wars which have pushed the college

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[3] Rutgers University, Class of '42 Report at June 19, 2006 meeting. Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archives. World War II Planning Committee, R-MC 120, Folder 1

[4] Lionel Rubinoff. "Nationalism and Celebration: Reflections on the Sources of Canadian Identity." *Queens Quarterly* 82 (1975), 1-13

and its community to define their roles. With each of these wars, war memorials allow us to see how the college guided nationalistic ideals and exemplify its national participation, but how it utilized nationalism for its own gain.

Examining war memorials and nationalism at Rutgers helps us understand how and why memorials and monuments exist at institutions. This paper won't state why $100,000 was spent on a football monument, but it will exemplify how an educational institution used war commemoration in conjunction with rhetoric to feed off public feelings of nationalism. By understanding this relationship, we may begin to understand an institution's motives, its commitment to the nation, and how a statue to football built in 1997 satisfied both, one, or neither.

Creating Leaders to Sustain the New Nation

Many historians will tell you that war memorials began to appear after the battle of Gettysburg in the form of obelisks and other traditional sculptural forms,[5] but war memorials appear as early as 1800 if the notion of a memorial expands to other forms. Geographer James Mayo writes that a war memorial can be any war memory bound to a place or an artifact, utilized to remember the past or initiate building something new.[6] Ownership, accessibility, and medium are choices made when memorializing, but these characteristics along with the relationship between memorial and community have never been constant. In World War II, memorials take on the form of scholarship funds and highways. If memorialization practices have been changing since the founding of the nation, I believe the first war memorial for the college appeared decades earlier as a pamphlet that carried the words of Queens College's third president, Ira Condict. President Condict believed that the nation did not need a second prophet-like George Washington for the nation to move forward. What was needed, he said, were instruments for training men to become leaders in society. Men who carried on as "the chariot of *America* and the horsemen thereof"[7] had left. The funeral discourse on the death of Gen. George Washington presented an opportunity for President Condict to reaffirm their institution's values and align them with the needs of the nation after Washington's death.

"II. Kings, ii. 12." President Ira Condict began filling the hall of the New Brunswick Presbyterian Church with his solemn funeral discourse in honor of the recently departed Gen. George Washington. "And Elisha saw it and he cried, my father! my father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof. And he saw him no more: and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them into two pieces,"[8] Condict said to his New Brunswick congregation, the nation was lamenting over the loss of their leader and father. Ira Condict, besides being a Presbyterian pastor, was an educator, the President of Queens College and Queen's College Grammar School. These two institutions shared a charter stating their purpose was "the education of youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity, preparing them for the ministry and other good offices."[9]

"He was the chief instrument in the hand of God, of bringing us into existence, as free and independent people." Condict said. "Let us, therefore, fervently pray, that God ... would cause a double portion of that spirit of wisdom and integrity which dwelt in WASHINGTON, to rest on his successors in public offices -- that instead of a Moses he would give us a Joshua -- that instead of an Elijah, he would raise us up an Elisha,"[10] Condict declared. The immaculate figure of Washington had fulfilled his role by giving birth to the nation, and now it was time for others to carry on what he created. President Condict saw an opportunity to push for education which focused on these leadership positions at a time when Washington's will was printed in New Brunswick newspapers. Washington's will emphasized the need for university education in the United States. It pained him to see youth of the US go to other countries for education that was "inadequate for the principles of republican government." Washington requested a university to be made in the District of Columbia so "youths of fortune and talents from all parts

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[5] Kristen Ann Hass, *Carried to the Wall* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2006), 56

[6] James M. Mayo,"War Memorials as Political Memory." *Geographical Review* 78, 1 (Jan., 1988), 74

[7] Ira N. Condict, "A Funeral Discourse Delivered in the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick, on the 31st of December 1799; the day set apart by the citizens for paying solemn honors to the memory of General George Washington," 1800. 12

[8] Condict, 1

[9] Demarest, William. *A History of Rutgers College* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924), 75

[10] Condict, 22

thereof might be sent... in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government..."[11] This school's curriculum was given the mark of the nation's father but its goals were not new to Queen's College. President Condict was not the only one pushing the students to have an interest in public office and areas of commerce: these were goals of Queens College since its beginning.

Jacob R. Hardenberg's commencement address in 1774 was not intended for the college's first graduating student, Matthew Leydt; it was the opportunity to broadcast a direction for the future of the school and describe its pedagogy. "The ADVANTAGE OF EDUCATION," as Hardenberg defined it was "the improvement of the human mind for the proper discharge of our Several Duties towards God, ourselves and our Neighbours."[12] Working towards neighbors for Hardenbergh was partially about the improvement of the human mind through reading, writing, and the "principles of Religion," but skills in common arithmetic and mathematics were necessary for participating in the "commercial intercourse of society."[13] Studying lent itself to professions other than ministerial work, but in both cases he continued to emphasize participation in activities that benefitted society. "Society may be considered as a Machine with wheels and axes," he announced, "though in this Machinery God is the spring of all its motions, yet Men of Learning and Integrity are as the great or Centre wheels, which drives all the rest."[14] Education was not leading towards an end of ministerial work for President Hardenbergh. Education was what allowed for progress and development in the colonies and the nations. With the colonies having been delivered "from British tyranny,"[15] educational goals of the college were invigorated with patriotism to guide their new nation. With a relationship between the college's goals defined, by its presidents and the nation's needs, defined by its national leader Gen. Washington, this pamphlet's discourse becomes a memorial. It remembers their war hero, that delivered the nation and the college, while also solidifying a connection between local and national interests.

At the time of Washington's death, people remembered the role New Brunswick played in the war. Besides being one of the first cities to read out the Declaration of Independence in the colonies,[16] New Brunswick had endured the war throughout the occupation of Americans and British forces on several occasions. Despite the war, college classes continued in two Somerset County communities: North Branch, and Millstone.[17]

Most of those connected with the college were connected to the war, but the patriotic spirit is best exemplified by the second tutor, John Taylor. While remaining a tutor at the college, Taylor crossed the Delaware River with Gen. Washington, fought in battles throughout New Jersey, and worked to disrupt the British in and around New Brunswick. On September 25, 1779, Taylor wrote an apology to Governor William Livingston for his delay in reporting because he

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[11] Printed by Abraham Blauvelt, *Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser*, Num. 18, vol. VIII. Tuesday, February 22, 1800.

[12] Jacob R. Hardenberg, "Commencement Address" (speech, New Brunswick, 1774.), First Commencement Address & Sermons. Rutgers University, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University 1

[13] Hardenberg, 3

[14] Ibid

[15] Condict, 18

[16] Eunice Lee, "Statue of New Brunswick Revolutionary War figure planned," *The Star-Ledger*, Sunday, July 31, 2011. Accessed February 28, 2013. http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2011/07/statue_of_new_brunswick_revolu.html.

[17] John Taylor, "Teacher-Soldier" in *Aloud to Alma Mater*, edited by George J. Lukac. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 9

had to attend the examination of his students of Queen's College.[18] Others involved include Simeon DeWitt, a 1776 graduate who became George Washington's geographer[19] and Frederick Frelinghuysen, the other college's tutor, a general in the Revolutionary army.[20] It cannot be expected that every community had such a direct experience with the revolution, because the war was not seen in each town. However, every community did have a connection to the formation of the nation. Gen. George Washington brought all communities and institutions under the banner of the United States through war. His army's physical presence was not needed for communities to recognize his role in their existence.

Condict's funeral discourse publicly commemorates the accomplishments and then laments the death of Gen. George Washington as a leader and embodiment of the nation's ideals. Although the discourse had to be purchased, it was accessible for public consumption like war memorials are intended. For several months, the discourse was advertised in the weekly *Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser*. The discourse was advertised alongside articles and news that kept the memory of Washington's death alive, not the section of business advertisements. At its root, Condict's discourse commemorated the leader of the nation and explained how the college's mission met Washington's ideals and was prepared to lead the nation into a new era.

This pamphlet works as a war memorial in three ways. First, nearly each time Washington is discussed, he is introduced as "General Washington." Others who had been officers in the Revolution also keep their military titles. Second, George Washington's political career could not have occurred without first defeating the British attempts to prevent independence through successful military campaigns. In essence, the political system was drafted but it only came to fruition from a successful war, which Washington led. The third component arises when looking for memorials of those who fought or died in the Revolution. In Valley Forge, where 3,000 soldiers died from disease and poor conditions, not a single grave marker was placed.[21] This allows us to say the generational method for memorializing during the Revolution was a written and oral one.

President Condict did not know if there would be a second Washington, but he did believe there was no need for one. The country was formed and now it was the responsibility of many leaders to carry it forward. As a reverend and the college's president, Condict used this memorial discourse to reaffirm the college's interest in creating leaders for ministry, but more as an opportunity for creating leaders to lead the nation forward. This public discourse represented the college's goals after the death of Gen. Washington, its own community member who led the nation through the Revolutionary War and its founding is the college's first war memorial.

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[18] Ibid, 10

[19] "Biography of Simeon De Witt," New York State Museum, accessed March 3, 2013, http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/bios/d/sdewitt.html.

[20] Printed by Abraham Blauvelt, *Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser*. Num. 17, vol. VIII. Tuesday, February 18, 1800

[21] Barry Schwartz and Todd Bayma. "Commemoration and the Politics of Recognition: The Korean War Veterans Memorial." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42 (1999), 960

Committing to the Needs of Education

Commemoration at the college for the next few decades existed primarily in portraits, recognizing the individuals who led the college as professors, trustees, presidents, or who were significant to the college's history. Until the Civil War, there was no memorial that framed or espoused the college's responsibility to the country. Unlike the rest of the country and even the city of New Brunswick, a Civil War memorial did not appear until 1916, 51 years after the war's end. The delay, which goes against national trends in war commemoration, suggests that certain conditions at the college had to be met if war memorialization was to take place.

There are three conditions that were required before public sculptural war memorialization could occur at the college. First, a culture of public sculptural commemoration had to rise. In the decades following the Civil War up until the 1930s, public commemoration boomed as sculptors looked to past Italian High Renaissance artists.[22] This national trend in sculptural commemoration was seen in New Brunswick as early as 1884, when a statue and fountain was created after its centennial gala celebration.[23] Although the college remained memorial-less for several decades, the college and its community must have been aware of the memorial trends permeating American culture. Countless American cities and towns desired statues, which as symbolic markers, helped reimagine Benedict Anderson's "affective bonds of nationalism."[24] The statues were ways in which communities could connect to a larger national community. Second, the college community needed to establish a space appropriate for war commemoration. This process involved a series of organic and informal evolutions of already constructed and utilized spaces at the college. Beginning with the construction of Kirkpatrick Chapel, the space defined for daily service became the portrait hall for the college's leaders. Once given the role of tracing the college's history, it became an appropriate place for tracing the college's involvements abroad, with wars being one facet. Finally, as the college community imagined itself as part of the nation's trajectory, it had to decide its role and obligations to the nation's progress. Legislation passed by the states and nation, such as the land grant act of 1864, became immensely important for guiding the conversations of this relationship, especially as the college's Dutch Reformed roots became less important for the college's trustees and presidents who over time increasingly had backgrounds in industry and politics. Although the first condition is necessary and important for memorialization to occur, literature has extensively covered the topic. I will be focusing on the second and third points because of their significance to the tablet and institution.

The space where war memorialization occurs at Rutgers is significant because a space was never designated for such activity. What was first required from the college was a space that evoked a sense of history or legacy. The Kirkpatrick Chapel, constructed in 1873 from the estate of Sophia Astley Kirkpatrick, informally became the appropriate space for war memorialization by the turn of the century. Intended for housing daily service, classes, and the college's library, the chapel was the centerpiece of student life. Over several years, the culmination of opinions and efforts by students, alumni, and administration evolved the space's meaning, most significantly by returning graduate Edward Sullivan Vail.

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[22] Harriet F. Senie, *Contemporary Public Sculpture: Tradition, Transformation, and Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 7

[23] Public Committee Records on "Civil War Monument" Free Library, New Brunswick. Folder *Memorials*

[24] Erika Lee Doss. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 20

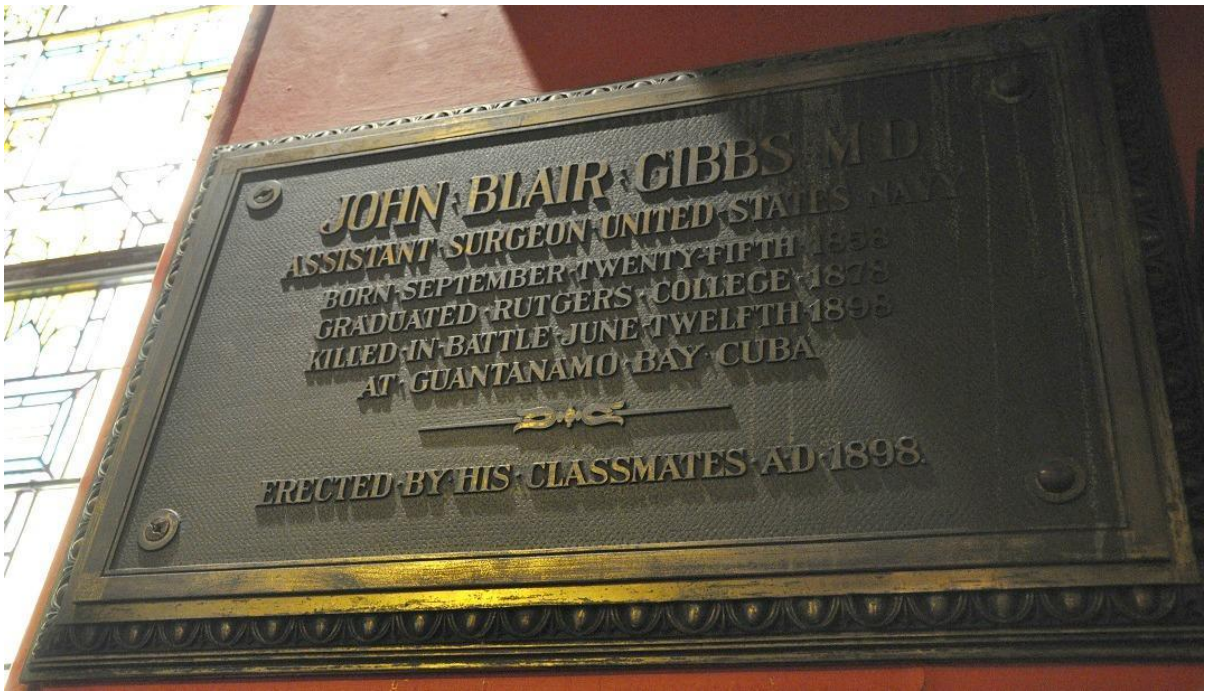
Late 19th century Portrait Layout of Kirkpatrick Chapel[25]

Vail, who graduated from Rutgers College in 1839, helped convert Kirkpatrick Chapel into a space for commemorating the legacy of individuals who significantly contributed to the college since its beginnings. According to an unattributed remark, Vail conceived the idea of collecting portraits of the former Presidents, Trustees and Professors of the institution to hang as mementos in Kirkpatrick Chapel in the 1890s.[26] Although not being an act to memorialize war, it expands the purpose of the space beyond daily religious ceremonies. It now establishes a non-religious sense of sacred in the chapel, because it shows a history of how the college has grown. In time, successes and contributions were not the criteria for remembrance, but sacrifice in preserving the college from threat. Dr. John Blair Gibbs, M.D. became the first military member to be remembered in such a way with a tablet erected on Charter Day in 1898.[27]

[25] "Kirkpatrick Chapel c. 1875-1904" Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, R-Photo, Buildings & Grounds, Kirkpatrick Chapel, Box 2, Pt. 1

[26] Hand-Book of The Grounds and Buildings and the Memorials, Portraits, and Busts of Rutgers College. *Rutgers College Publications*, No. 11 (1904), 57

[27] "Rutgers College Board of Trustees Minutes, October 25, 1898" Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Minutes (Bound Volumes), RG 03/A0/01 (Location:Vault), 132



Class of 1878 memorial tablet to classmate John Blair Gibbs, M.D. - Erected 1898

Rutgers College now had a confirmed space for war commemoration, chosen by its alumni community and authorized by the administration. Each student after having a class, studying in the library, or attending a service in the chapel saw the memorial wall as they exited Kirkpatrick Chapel. Like the other colleges, commemoration was occurring at a place where college life for students was vibrant. The chapel, which already held energy and importance among the student body, gave the plaques significance and conversely provided the space with a greater sense of sacredness.

Kirkpatrick Chapel continuing to be utilized by students in 1952

The tablets of Gibb's and a professor who had died in 1899 during the Philippine-American war signal the significance of Kirkpatrick Chapel and show us a new bond developing between college and nation. Gibb's tablet erected by classmates signifies the student community's awareness of commemorative trends throughout the nation. Its placement also suggests that Kirkpatrick Chapel was significant in their college experience. The tablet dedicated to the professor, which has no donor marked, leads me to believe that it was erected by the college. This gesture signifies that the college in one sense sought to establish a connection with the nation and also with its placement in Kirkpatrick Chapel, sought to reinforce the legacy students witnessed on a daily basis. The college which utilized Kirkpatrick Chapel to recognize its supporters through portraiture now accepted the space to recognize those who sacrificed for the college and the nation. To understand why the Civil War Memorial Tablet was not constructed at a time when commemoration was supported by students and administrators, requires understanding the college's goals and its experiences with the Civil War.

On Saturday April 20, 1861, news of the Union naval assault at Fort Sumter had reached New Brunswick. By Monday April 22, 1861, the town was being stirred by the President's call for troops, gathering for the "greatest popular demonstration" ever held in New Brunswick by the First Reformed Church. Four men, all connected to the Rutgers College faculty, led the crowd.[28] Only four days after this gathering, New Brunswick's local militia company was called

[28] Richard P. McCormick "Rutgers and the Civil War." *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries,* Vol 24, No. 2 (1961), 55

to Virginia.[29] Although on the surface the Civil War provided the college community an opportunity to show its support and exemplify its patriotism, the college during the Civil War and through the late 19th century shifted its educational focus to support the state and national causes in new ways. This shift did not allow for the college to memorialize the Civil War.

By the start of the Civil War, the Trustees of Rutgers College had made the college's secular goals clear and were distancing themselves from the Dutch Reformed Church and the seminary. As an attempt to build national recognition, Abraham B. Hasbrouck was appointed as president in 1840. President Hasbrouck was the first president, appointed by the college's board of trustees, without a background in theology. He did instead, however, have experience as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. His background in public governance emphasized the desire to link the college to the state and nation. This direction of the trustees was solidified by his 1850 successor, Theodore Frelinghuysen. President Frelinghuysen was a New Jersey Senator and previously a vice-presidential nominee.[30] With the college's leader taking the school's affairs in a strong secular direction and having been a public servant to a union state, it is no surprise that Frelinghuysen facilitated the college's patriotic outbreak when war erupted.

The patriotic enthusiasm for the Rutgers College reached it's climax on May 13, 1861, as citizens gathered in front of the Old Queens Building to witness the raising of a large flag made by the "ladies of New Brunswick" and dedicated to the students who were scheduled to depart for war.[31] Hundreds came from the surrounding city and college to witness this auspicious event. Historians later compared this gathering to a modern day football pep rally.[32] First, Professor Marshall Henshaw's pledge to never lower the banner "before the assaults of traitors" signifies the college's view of the Confederacy, but also the city's as onlookers felt "patriotic ardor."[33] With the intensity of the event rising, President Frelinghuysen came forward to escalate the crowd to yells and cheers, "From all I can see and hear and feel at present, I think I can inform Governor Olden...that he can have one hundred able-bodied and able-throated men from Rutgers College on one day's notice." The college was a hot spot for Union support, but Rutgers College had many students who did not call all New Brunswick home. Three students were made so uncomfortable by the political discussions and the talk of enlistment, they left the college.[34] Although the Civil War dramatically change the country and the school's enrollment, Rutgers College saw far more change through its president and trustees than from the war. Through their leadership, the college's steps towards scientific education led it to become entwined with the state and nation.

President Frelinghuysen, who had during his term fired all but Professor George H. Cook, advocated for focus on the classics as a way of "instilling a sense of individual autonomy" in students who were to "assume leadership roles in a democratic society."[35] His other goal was to support the Rutgers Scientific School, established in 1862, which led the church to sever its final

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[29] Ibid, 56

30 Andrea Meyer. "Guide to the Queen's and Rutgers College Presidents' Collection, 1774-1983," Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archives. July 2010. Accessed March, 2013. http://www2.scc.rutgers.edu/ead/uarchives/queensrutgerspresidentsf.html

[31] McCormick, 41

[32] Ibid, 57

[33] Ibid

[34] Ibid, 56

[35] Thomas J. Frusciano, "From "Seminary of Learning" to Public Research University: A Historical Sketch of Rutgers University. Section 2." Accessed March 9, 2013. http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/rul/libs/scua/university_archives/ru_historical_sketch-p2.shtml.

tie to the college. Upon Frelinghuysen's death, William Henry Campbell succeeded and built upon his goals for Rutgers College in two substantial ways. First, his support of the Scientific School and work with Professor Cook led Rutgers to become the land-grant college of New Jersey in 1864 through the Morrill Act. This legislation expanded the school's involvement in the state's agricultural industry, making it not only an institution interested in creating the nation's leaders, but a participant in state industry.[36] Second, as stated in his 1863 inaugural address, education in the nation was no longer about leadership in commerce and governance, education was "the cheap defense of nations."[37] This statement most clearly was a product of the Civil War, but it exemplifies the evolving role of education and its necessity for the nation's preservation. By the end of the Civil War, the college had reimagined its obligations and saw itself as an entity capable and obligated to fulfill the needs of the state and nation. Although national memorialization trends did not significantly catch on until a decade later, the college chose not to commemorate as its resources were strained to push the college's educational opportunities forward. Commemoration, for Rutgers College, was not the answer to the national needs of educated leaders.

After the Civil War, fund raising efforts headed by President Campbell began to be successful just as the college's prepared to celebrate its centennial. The celebration in 1870 presented an opportunity for the president and trustees to emphasize the interests of the college,[38] and to garner large donations for its planned developments. These interests were further defined with four concrete goals: full endowment of the Collegiate Church Professorship of Rhetoric; endowment of the Professorship of Mining and Metallurgy; an erection of a Chapel; the erection of Geological Hall. Of the four large goals, there were Civil War memorial at Rutgers College and no plans set out for constructing one.[39] Justice Joseph P. Bradley, the keynote speaker at the event, took the audience through the college's development emphasizing the work of Presidents Hardenberg, Frelinghuysen, and the role of graduate Simeon DeWitt in the nation's founding moments without ever mentioning the Civil War. The war was also not discussed at the concluding alumni association dinner and discussion, despite the appointment of a Civil War general as the new alumni association president.[40]

The lacking discussion of Civil War commemoration during its centennial celebration occurred because the college wished to articulate its duties to the nation. Memorialization wasted resources that could be spent expanding the school's educational capacity, limiting possibilities for prominence and hindering the country's "cheapest defense." It wanted to supply the state with leaders for defense, commerce, and governance. The college, restraining itself from the national trends of memorialization, however established the conditions for war memorialization to boom at the college around World War I.

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[36] Thomas J. Frusciano, "William Henry Campbell." Accessed March, 2013. http://www.rutgers.edu/about-rutgers/william-henry-campbell.

[37] "Addresses Delivered at the Inauguration of Rev. William H. Campbell, D.D., LL.D, as President of Rutgers College, New-Brunswick, N.J., June 16th, 1863 by Hon. Peter D. Vroom, LL.D., and the President Elect. Also, the Annual Oration before the Alumni Association of the College, June 16th, 1863. by Rev. William J. R. Taylor, D.D." (New York: John A. Gray & Green, Printers and Stereotypers. 1863), 16

[38] *The centennial celebration of Rutgers College, Delivered by Hon. Joseph P. Bradley*, (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870), 3 http://archive.org/details/centennialcelebr00rutg.

[39] Ibid, 4

[40] Ibid, 98

Celebrating a Role in the Nation

With conditions at the college ready for memorialization, only external pressure was needed for the school to its interest in educational goals and look to be recognized as important player in the nation's existence and history. The pressure became the ambiguous relationship between the nation and college as state funding entered the college's programs simultaneously with the increasing possibility of European War. The college significantly benefited from state legislature that created the Scientific School, the State Agricultural Experiment Station, and a scholarship act that helped the State Agricultural College under President Merrill Gates. Although Gates pushed the college in this scientific direction, his succeeding leader, President William H. S. Demarest, restructured the curriculum in 1907 and again in 1916 to address the changing needs of the state and nation.[41] But this was not a direction solely defined by the president, other college leaders were looking to adjust the school to prepare the nation's defense.

Members of the Student Army Training Corps marching on Neilson Field, ca. 1917.[42]

In 1915, military training was required for the scientific students and the trustees were discussing whether or not the classical students should take part. It was decided that the training is excellent discipline for the mind and body, and that "the present world situation and present national and patriotic considerations urge upon our college a sense of large responsibility and opportunity..."[43] Although the "... division by State College lines is not clearly defined...", the college prepared to defend the nation whether or not it was obligated to by law. Rutgers College however used its 150th anniversary as a tool for evoking patriotic zeal and pushing recruitment. The 1916 event built up to the unveiling of the Civil War Memorial Tablet by Class of 1880

[41] Thomas J. Frusciano, "From "Seminary of Learning" to Public Research University: A Historical Sketch of Rutgers University. Section 3." Accessed March 11, 2013. http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/rul/libs/scua/university_archives/ru_historical_sketch-p3.shtml.

[42] Ibid

[43] "Rutgers College Board of Trustees Minutes, Oct. 8, 1915" Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Minutes (Bound Volumes), RG 03/A0/01 (Location:Vault)

representative, Bevier H. B. Sleght, M.D. The tablet unveiling contained a reimagined history of the college in a way that valorized the military and the call to duty. The tablet warped memory to become a recruitment tool at the height of the weekend's events for a community of students, alumni, and representatives from around the country.

The massive 150th celebration ran four-days for alumni, locales involved with the college, New Jersey Governor Fielder, and representatives from nearly every college in the United States. To emphasize the far-reaching history of the college, representatives from the Reformed Church and a representative for Queen of the Netherland spoke after President Demarest's keynote address. Though there were many speakers and events, two sets of events must be focused when thinking about what war commemoration at the college and how that reflected its identity within the nation; the anniversary pageant and the revealing of two tablets dedicated to the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. 700 alumni and graduates[44] in addition to anyone affiliated with the college witnessed a grand production of the college's history known as the anniversary pageant.[45] The pageant's scale can only begin to be grasped in its pictures and it requiring several hundred volunteers to run on the college farm.[46]The pageant's six episodes signified developments in the city and college beginning with the settlement by the English and Dutch, the charter signing.[47] The third episode titled "Patriotism of City and College" had an actor as Colonel Neilson reading out the Declaration of Independence to citizens and soldiers of the city militia.[48] After the laying of the first cornerstone of Old Queens and a demonstration of the city and college's social life, the final episode is played, titled "Patriotism Reaffirmed - 1861 - The Raising of May 13, 1861."[49] Like the episode III which featured the reading of the Declaration of Independence, there was a presence of military soldiers but there was no explicit verbal reference to the war in which the college participated in. Instead of representing fighting or the wars, these episodes emphasized the college and city's moments of allegiance.

(previous page) Episode III: The Reading of the Declaration of Independence[50] (below) Episode VI: The Flag Raising, 1861[51]

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[44] No writer attributed, "Rutger's 150th Anniversary." *Springfield Republican*, October 14, 1916.

[45] Lewis J. Volney, *Rutgers College; the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding as Queen's college, 1766-1916* (New Brunswick: Rutgers College, May 1917), 56 http://archive.org/details/cu31924032553244

[46] Ibid

[47] Ibid, 63-66

[48] Ibid, 71

[49] Ibid, 77

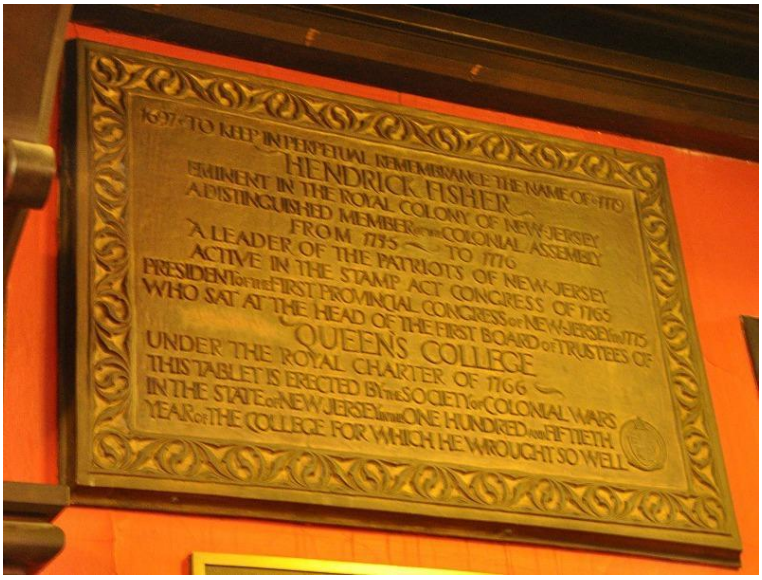
[50] Ibid, 85

The concept of patriotism cannot be reduced to a common denominator. The Revolutionary War and the Civil War demanded different roles from the college and its students. However, the reenactments simplified this. In both reenactments, patriotism simply meant the unquestioned military support for the nation. While both wars were dealing with the unification of states, it is interesting that president's speech during the pageant's reenactment of the 1861 flag raising emphasized, "If a foreign foe had attempted this the nation would have risen up as one man to hurl down the aggressor and how much worse was it when the foe came from within our own bosom.... We must fight! There is no alternative. Rebellion must be crushed, and then we shall become once more a happy and united people."[52] For the entire anniversary celebration, the Great War was nowhere to be found but within Bevier H'B Sleght, M.D.'s presentation of the Civil War Memorial Tablet to the Rutgers men who "went into the Civil War in defense of their country."[53] With the Lusitania having been sunk a year earlier by a German U-boat, Sleght believed that the college and its community had to reaffirm its patriotism if they were to defend

[51] Ibid, 97
[52] Ibid, 79
[53] Ibid, 174

the country. I believe the anniversary celebration was an exercise to reimagine the college in the history of the nation and stir patriotic sentiment, in part for his unveiling.

Over four days of events and speeches, four commemorative works were unveiled: a portrait of President Demarest presented by the alumni association; a tablet by the Society of Colonial Wars dedicated to Hendrick Fisher; a tablet by the Sons of the American Revolution dedicated to those of the college who fought in the revolution; a memorial tablet by the Class of 1880 dedicated to those who fought to preserve the Union during the Civil War. The Society of Colonial Wars, founded in 1892, has the purpose of furthering the interest in and the study of America's colonial history up until the battle of Lexington in 1775.[54] Their academic approach to America's origins clearly had political motivations, especially as they participated in public sphere with memorials. Fisher's contributions are listed to such an extent that legibility suffers, but at the end of the list finally is his connection to the college, the head of the first trustees.



Hendrick Fisher Plaque at the back of Kirkpatrick Chapel - Erected for the 150th Celebration

John Leonard Merrill, who presented the plaque and exclaimed that God granted, every Rutgers man learn that "the essence of greatness is service and that he alone deserves the name of patriot who in loyal surrender lays down his best for his home and fatherland"![55] An inappropriate comment for a memorial dedicated to a political leader. The plaque, placed in the college's chapel with other commemorative works, extends the value of the entire memorial wall by making explicit the connection between college and country, not through death, but by participation. President Demarest follows Merrill's address by stating the wall was becoming a place of witnesses, giving students thrill and uplifting them through all the messages they tell.[56] The tablet commemorating those of the Rutgers community who fought in the Revolution was placed on the exterior of the chapel.

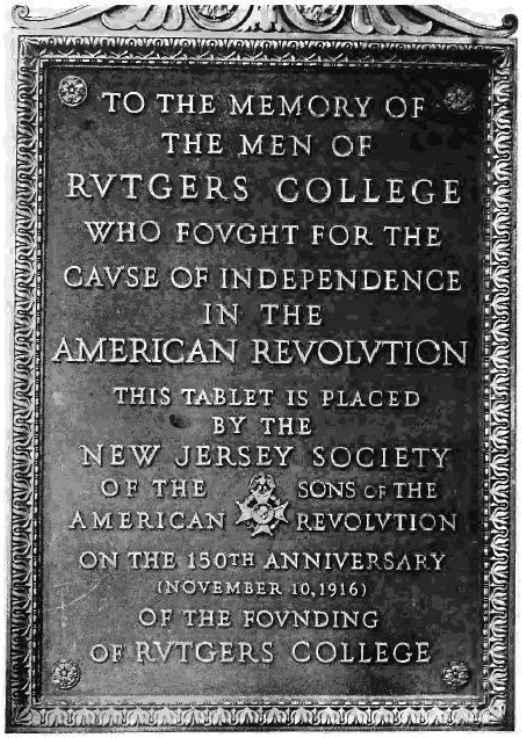
The tablet was revealed by the Sons of the American Revolution, founded in 1876, dedicated to all those who fought during the Revolutionary war. Although the tablet described

[54] "About the Society," Society of Colonial Wars, accessed March, 2013, http://www.gscw.org/Default.aspx?p=DynamicModule&pageid=340289&ssid=240251&vnf=1

[55] Volney, Rutgers Celebration, 200

[56] Ibid, 201

the events surrounding its donation more than those who fought, President Demarest's felt it instructed "generations of students entering these halls the lesson of fervent patriotism commanding youthful intellect and strength."[57] These moments of recognition were not for understanding a historical past in a way similar to books; they were explicitly trying to invigorate the college's youth. These plaques and the public ceremonies surrounding them reveal how the college wished to represent its community as selfless, patriotic, leaders serving the nation. This ideal, when brought to commemorating the Civil War however, did not support inclusion and unity.



Memorial Tablet for the American Revolution. Given by the Sons of the American Revolution[58]

With war raging in Europe and the celebration of the college's connection to the nation, dissent was contentious and inappropriate. Any representations of dissent was not only expunged from the retelling of the college's past during anniversary celebration, but the Civil War Memorial Tablet's list of names. After 51 years, the Civil War Memorial Tablet presented by the Class of 1880 left out at least five college's alumni who fought and died in the Civil War. The presentation of the plaque and the absence of five students, drew no words from the president who aided the class its list gathering information. His silence makes the words and opinions of class representative Bevier H. B. Sleght, M.D. all the stronger.

> "...All here know that in every city in the Union the Government is constantly urging the enlistment of men to fill the ranks of our small army and to man the

[57] Ibid, 136

[58] Ibid, 134

> ships of the navy. We compare the meagre success of these efforts unfavorably with the rush to enlist which occurred when these 102 men went eagerly to the front. We all further realize how unprepared is our army, after two years of warning, to deal successfully with even the ill organized squads of southern republic on our very border!"

Sleght exclaimed, following with a rousing set of imagery to support the command and call of the country. "The submarine has tunneled the Atlantic, the eye of its periscope has viewed our unprepared state."[59]

Although the United States did not formally declare war until the following year, the German U-boats were wearing at the morale of individuals like Sleght who felt the nation was unprepared to defend itself against the European threats. Rutgers College throughout the weekend had been recalling its legitimate role in the nation's defense and progress. It was time for the faculty, students, and community to call to arms and raise the flag.

For such a patriotic call to succeed however, the memorial had to simplify its relationship with the nation and its past. Like the pageant, the memorial only succeeded if it did not show the costs of war or the complexity of dissenting members, only celebrated a highly honored military unit. The success of the memorial tablet to support this patriotic call to action lies in three design decisions. Without these decisions, Sleght and President Demarest's call to action was jeopardized.

Civil War Memorial Tablet hanging on the back wall of Kirkpatrick Chapel

First, the power and meaning behind juxtaposing the college's seal and the great seal of the United States. With a weekend's worth of celebrations towards the college's participation in national developments, the equal size and placement of the seals establishes a relationship

[59] Ibid, 136

between the two institutions, granting equal value and importance. Their differences are not elaborated upon, so the similar representation of icons suggests even a level a co-dependence. The community could not have had Rutgers without the national ideals, but the nation could not have carried forward without the service of the Rutgers community.

Second, the act of commemorating all who had served rather than those who had died creates a long list of names that subdues the realities of war and its casualties. It alludes that the community widely supported the war. With Sleght's interest in preparation, increasing enlistment required avoiding the topic of death. For that reason, no distinction between those who did and did not die during the Civil War on the plaque was made. Honor came from defending the nation, but it was the choice that came with enlistment that distinguished you, not your fate with death or survival. With the appearance of strong community support and without a reference to death, the newly enlisted felt empowered and invincible by ignorance.

Ignorance also allows for the absence of five individuals on the Civil War Memorial Tablet, simplifying a heterogenous college community and its history. Records of Dr. Sleght's correspondence with President Demarest reveal that both had been working with Dr. Raven, who managed as registrar, to compile a list of names for the memorial.[60] In 1915, Dr. Sleght first wrote President Demarest, stating that the class wished to consider the tablet that included all enlistments in the U.S. Army and Navy.[61] Agreeing to the project, Demarest replied with a list of names compiled by from the general catalogs. The list included all the Union soldiers, Confederates, two chaplains, and others who participated by did not report their army record.[62] From the discussion, Demarest and Raven were unsure about how many joined the Confederate army, but believed there was five or six who enlisted. Demarest then wrote a peculiar sentence after stating the number of confederates enlistees, "We will need to consider very carefully I think what may be the best scope of the proposed memorial."[63] In the final approved version, they were all excluded. Without questions, the Board of Trustees, who had accepted and expedited previous memorial tablets threw their support behind President Demarest, allowing him to have the final word on the tablet's general design.[64]

Of those excluded were John G. McNeel '62, Pleasant D. McNeel '64, George W. McNeel '60, three brothers from Texas. Upon the Civil War breaking out, George joined the Confederate army while his two brothers were studying at Rutgers. Pleasant and John quickly felt so unsettled by the President's call for troops and the political environment at the college and town, that they returned to Texas and also enlisted in the Confederate Army.[65] The McNeels were not only one of the first 300 families to settle Texas[66], they were plantation owners at Pleasant Grove.[67] Although some say all three died,[68] other records state they died at their

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[60] Anonymous Correspondence. Unknown Date (I believe ~ July 15 or July 16, 1915). Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive. Office of the President - William H. S. Demarest, RG 04/A11, Box 25: Proposed Memorial, D. H. Slight, 1915.

[61] Ibid, Response to President by Sleght (July. 16, 1915)

[62] Ibid, Anonymous Correspondence (Most likely from the Registrar)

[63] Ibid, Dr. Sleght Correspondence (July 15, 1915)

[64] "Rutgers College Board of Trustees Minutes, April 14, 1916" Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Minutes (Bound Volumes), RG 03/A0/01 (Location:Vault)

[65] Volney, 175

[66] "MCNEEL, JOHN GREENVILLE," *Handbook of Texas Online*. Published by the Texas State Historical Association, accessed February 05, 2013, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmcac

[67] Work Projects Administration, "Slave Narratives." Volume XVI: Texas Narratives - Part 3. Feb. 23, 2011. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/35380/35380-h/35380-h.html

[68] McCormick, 40-45

plantations.[69] The other southerner excluded from the memorial is Andrew B. S. Mosley '61, who from tradition was said to have been given a special examination so he may graduate early. It is said that he was given his diploma at the train depot, as he left for Alabama to enlist.[70]

There was one other student that was not only left off the plaque, but was absent from correspondence between Dr. Sleght, President Demarest, and Dr. Raven. His name was John Woelfkin, a student born at Bremen, Germany in 1932 who came to Rutgers College from 1853 to 1857. He served in the Civil War from 1861 and died in war, January 15, 1865.[71] I believe Woelfkin had fought for in the Union navy, where he died in South Carolina. If he had fought in the Confederate army, it would have been noted like George W. McNeel in the same general catalog.[72] It is difficult to know why his name was left off the tablet and didn't enter discussions, but perhaps Dr. Raven or President Demarest decided when compiling names that he could not be included with the anti-German hysteria sweeping the country. Whatever the case, the judgements by Dr. Sleght towards, with his opinions on European immigrants, most likely would have challenged his inclusion. "A great European army has landed on our shores each year for years! Many of them have prospered here beyond their dreams, but their loyalty to the United States is much to be questioned,"[73] he exclaimed at the tablet's unveiling. The memorial tablet no longer became a call to arms with the patriotic spirit that reverberated in front of Old Queens in 1861, but an expulsion of any symbol of dissent or connection to a contemporary enemy.

The 51 year delay of Civil War Memorial Tablet informs us of the multiple conditions, pressures, and catalysts are required for war commemoration. It also demonstrating the effects of contemporary politics when restating the past. When Dr.Sleght looked to the past, he saw a college feverishly supporting the nation and felt it needed patriotic zeal once again to prepare the US against the European threat. The pageant gave legitimacy to the college's participation in the nation's trajectory. The tablet, gave legitimacy to participation being the highest honor, not death. For the college to effectively recruit for the nation, it had to simplify its history by expunging members of its community who were "traitors" of the Civil War and those whose heritage aligned with contemporary threats. The reclaiming and restating of this history touched an audience of representatives from around the nation, but more importantly, it touched the current classes of 1917, 1918, 1919, and 1920. Those classes upon their return from the trenches of Europe erected memorials in 1919 and 1920.

Inspiring Future Generations and Securing Investments

As the country debated intervention in Europe's War, the college and its students were eager to get involved. The prevailing notion among college men at this time was that they saw the ideals of America threatened by the aging and oppressive monarchies of Eastern Europe. In

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[69] "MCNEEL, JOHN GREENVILLE," *Handbook of Texas Online*(http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmcac), accessed February 05, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[70] McCormick, 41

[71] John H. Raven, *General Catalogue, Rutgers College 1766-1916*, 124

[72] Ibid, 129

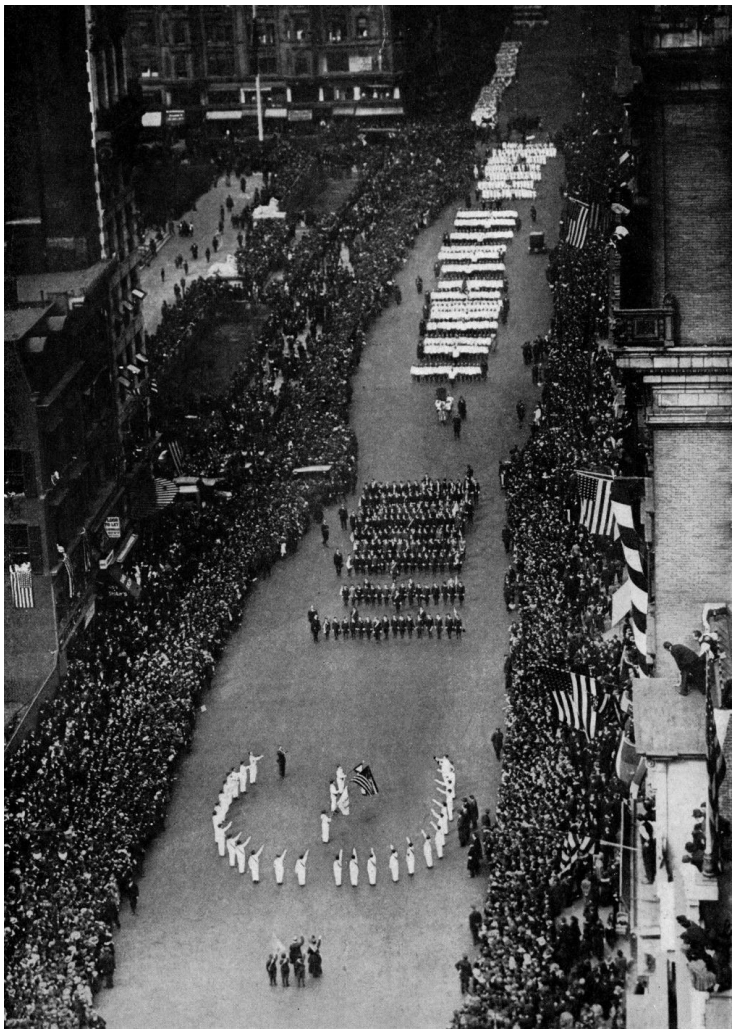
[73] Volney, 175

different ways, artists and writers captured this nationalistic fervour. A story compiled by graduate and the Rutgers War Services Bureau director Earl R. Silvers describes four graduates and two students that were so impatient to oppose the Eastern European powers that they enlisted in the French army rather than wait for the Americans to launch their own attack.[74] The rest of the Rutgers students waited for the declaration of war with no fear that participation affected their scholastic career. The college's support for the war and its students looking to participate was clear:

> Whereas the Congress of the United States has resolved, and the President has proclaimed that a State of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government, and Resolved, that we, the Faculty of Rutgers College, pledge our unqualified loyalty, and our fullest cooperation with the Government in all matters in which our time or our powers may be of use, or in which the educational of our college may be able to cooperate:[75]

Although military training was part of student life, enlisted students were allowed to advance through their studies faster and did not lose academic standing if they left for Europe. This administrative support for the war effort was seen with the 1915 appointment of Captain Shelby C. Leasure. His military education and discipline training was so noteworthy, Rutgers led the colleges Cadet Corps in the 1917 "Wake Up America" Day parade in New York City and was the only college in uniform.[76] Administrative and student support for the war resulted in Rutgers' maintaining one of the most respectable collegiate Cadet Corps in the country.

[74] Earl Reed Silvers, *The Story of the College During the War*, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Records of the Rutgers College War Service Bureau, RG 33 / C0, War History Files 1917-1919, Box 7, Folder 8.
[75] Ibid
[76] Ibid



Saluting of the Flag at the "Wake Up America" Parade[77]

As the war raged on, the solemn tone among students, community members, and faculty was not a signal of the college's waning support.[78] Students at the college stayed aware and were involved with the war in different ways. Throughout the war, the college ran a War Service Bureau to connect those abroad with campus and alumni news. On campus, a flag flew besides a national flag that contained a star for each of those involved, counting 425 when it first was flown in December 1917.[79] By the war's end, 1,199 students, alumni, and other Rutgers affiliates had been involved. Twenty one alumni died in battle, or by drowning, or disease.[80] Their deaths were interpreted differently between the students and administration who experienced the war differently, but several things came after victory; the American exceptionalism, increased state funding for the college's scientific facilities, and record breaking enrollment.

Memorialization, which was supported by alumni, was no longer needed as a tool by the administration to legitimize Rutgers College's existence or support a relationship with the nation.

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[77] Untitled series of images, *The National Geographic Magazine*, 31,4 (April 1917), 345–361

[78] Silvers

[79] Ibid

[80] Ibid

Memorials at Rutgers College following World War I utilized nationalism to add to the collegiate experience. However, memorials were to be used by the trustees to connect one of their investments to a national need. In 1919 and 1920, two memorials were proposed and constructed by the graduating classes. The Classes of 1919 and 1920 both placed a memorial tablet on the back wall of Kirkpatrick Chapel that deviated from previous memorials not only in design, but with who was remembered. Unlike previous tablets that exemplified service and the individual, the student classes of 1919 and 1920 highlighted death and the community. Simultaneously the administration initiated memorial projects for the first time, however, all three would fail to be constructed. In 1919, President Demarest solicited the United States Secretary of the Navy for an artillery gun from the battlefields of Europe. The President, trustees, and other college officials at the same time looked to construct a Memorial Hall for the students to fraternize in. After the two projects' failures, the administration received a cold-call proposal in 1920. No memorial at Rutgers College came from it, perhaps allowing two Rutgers Trustees the ability to create the first war memorials at the New Jersey College for Women in 1923 and 1928. The intent of these three moments in memorialization, the class gifts, administrative efforts, and NJC war memorials, are very different, not only because of their experiences with the war but because of the organizational foresight, financial capabilities, and primary interests of those leading memorialization efforts.

In the post-war era of Rutgers, students and administrators reflected and appreciated the soldiers and community's involvement. This is best conveyed in Paul Robeson's valedictorian address in 1919, titled "The New Idealism", in which he asserts the underlying spirit that unites the country and campus with the conclusion of the war.

> "Through the labors, sacrifices, and devotion, the nation has realized that its strength but reflects the strength and virtue of its members, and the value of each citizen is very closely related to the conception of the nation as a living unit...It is therefore a task of this new spirit to make national unity a reality, at whatever sacrifice..."[81]

With this address, Robeson claims that values, freedoms, and ideals were preserved by the "sons of America" who sacrificed their lives. He continues, unity and community needed to be legitimized at the college by identifying and honoring its patriots.

> "...the feeling or attitude peculiar to those who recognize a common lot must be strengthened; that fraternal spirit... Not only must underly the closer relations of family, but it must be extended to the broader and less personal relations of fellow-citizenship and fellow-humanity. A fraternity must be established in which success and achievement are recognized, and those deserving receive the respect, honor and dignity due to them."[82]

The administration and students took different approaches on how best to memorialize service during America's involvement in the war, but both supported each other's efforts to establish fraternity. Interestingly, the Class of 1919 tablet represented those who died in World War I as civic martyrs.

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[81] Paul Robeson. "The New Idealism." Rutgers College Valedictory Address, June 10, 1919. *The Targum*, vol. 50, 1918-19, 570-571

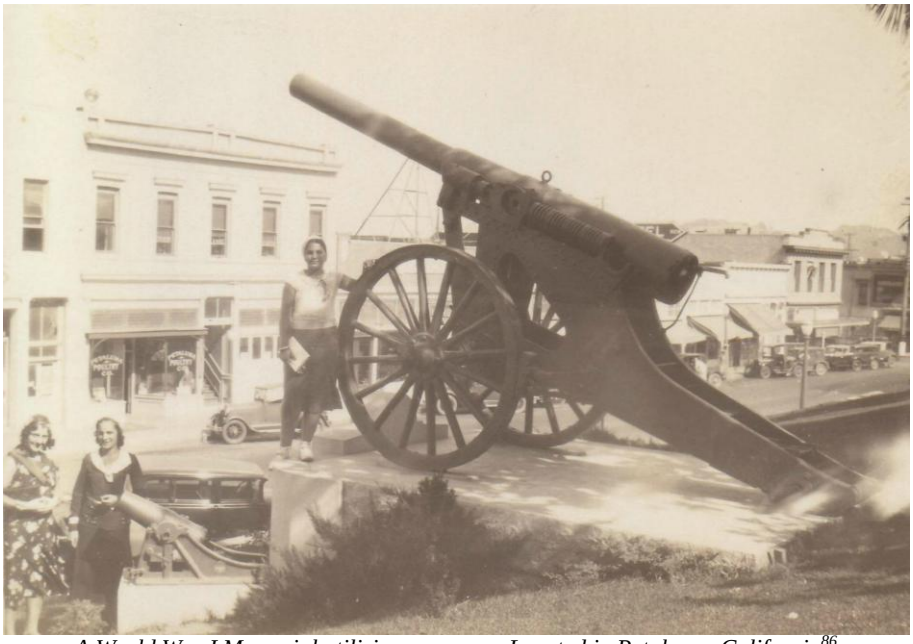
[82] Ibid

1919 World War I Tablet hanging on the back wall of Kirkpatrick Chapel

This martyr perspective explains the content and design decisions of the memorial tablet. In many ways, it is similar to the Civil War Memorial Tablet with its name layout, content, heading, and the placement of the university seal and the nationally symbolic eagle. However, there are three elements that make its purpose distinct. Unlike the Civil War plaque which sought to boost recruitment by listing all those who served without reference to death, all those listed on the 1919 tablet died in the war. The tablet does not mention those who served or returned back maimed, many of which now undergraduates or about to graduate from the college. The Civil War Memorial Tablet was created not by veterans of war but a generation that understood the war through their parents. The class of 1919 lived and fought through horrific trench warfare. The decision by the Class of 1919 to not include themselves, highlights the significance of selfless sacrifice for the benefit of the nation. Second, the decorative elements of the tablet represent church architecture. The bowed top gives the appearance of a stained glass window, with the two seals placed within tracery to fill the rectangular frame. This reference to church architecture gives a religious tone appropriate with the martyr concept, emphasized by its heading: "To the Glory of God and in the Memory of Those Rutgers Men, who gave their lives in the Great War 1914-1918." This statement, our third element, makes no textual reference to the country, but idolizes their death. At the memorial service, lengthy biographies of those lost in the war were read out in between hymns and the words of faculty and administrators.[83] The Class of 1919's memorial tablet was a solemn celebration of preservation through sacrifice, defining the transformational moment that allowed for communal and fraternal spirit to grow.

[83] Memorial Service and Obituaries of Alumni, 1919, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Records of the Rutgers College War Service Bureau, RG 33 / C0, War History Files 1917-1919, Box 7, Folder 3.

This new American spirit was supported by the college administration in two ways. First, a decision by President Demarest in 1919 required all students to move into on-campus housing.[84] This was so important to the president, that the decision was made despite not having enough campus housing, which required fraternities to accept students.[85] This decision signaled the motivation for a Memorial Hall, after the President Demarest failed to garner a cannon from the battlefields of Europe through the War Department.



A World War I Memorial utilizing a cannon. Located in Petaluma, California[86]

Architect Geo. B. Post's writing to President Demarest reveals the prevalent attitude of memorialization at the time. In his pitch, the Memorial Hall was defined as a place to exhibit spoils of war for the administration to bask in. The architect suggested that the Memorial Hall could exhibit war activities and be a place to hold medallions while functioning as an administrative building.[87] This proposition was clearly a sales pitch pumping up the college administration responsible for its construction. However, in a statement made to the trustees in April of 1919, President demonstrated that the architect's interests were far from his desires. The Memorial Hall was for the "literary, social, musical, and business life of students," and included a dining hall. Equally important was the students $5,000 pledge towards the hall's estimated $150,000 construction cost.[88] By 1920, the college's fund raising effort to raise $1,000,000 had been going for several months, but neither the hall nor another memorial proposal was

[84] Silvers

[85] Ibid

[86] World War I Memorial, Petaluma Historical Museum and Library, accessed March 2013, http://plazasparksandplaygrounds.com/?page_id=6

[87] Correspondence from Geo. B. Post & Sons to Demarest, Feb. 24, 1919. Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive. Office of the President - William H. S. Demarest, RG 04/A11, Box 25, Folder 7: Memorial Service.

[88] "Board of Trustees, President's Statement, April 11., 1919." Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Minutes (Bound Volumes), RG 03/A0/01 (Location:Vault)

constructed.[89] The hall's lacking financial support and prevalent interest in commemorating the community that served allowed the Class of 1920 to pursue their own memorial tablet.

1920 World War I Tablet hanging on the back wall of Kirkpatrick Chapel

Like the memorial hall which aimed to commemorate all who served, the Class of 1920's tablet recognized 1,200 Rutgers teachers, graduates, and students. Rather than commemorating the civic martyr again, the Class of 1920 commemorated the community's participation to uphold national values and ideals that were seen to carry across humanity. This community was commemorated through a nameless tally, emphasizing the collection contribution and strength, but also the need to recognize to what extent the college was involved in the war. With financial limitations becoming apparent in the commemoration of 1,200 names, death was not all that brought honor, but death is what permitted a name to be carried on.

Although the college was unable to fund construction of the memorial hall in 1919 or 1920, the president's adjustment to the architect's proposal is more important. President Demarest's step towards a student-centered space shows a commitment to the college's educational priorities and the lacking communal component of its collegiate experience. The college believed the Class of 1919 and 1920 memorial tablets satisfied this need, and with the financial stability and clear and secure relationship with the state and nation, the administration and its trustees did not feel a need to have a memorial when approached by another architect. However, the Rutgers' trustees still utilized the post-war nationalistic fevour to make sure one of their larger investments succeeded, the New Jersey College for Women.

Founded in 1918,[90] the New Jersey College for Women was be located near the Rutgers College agricultural and scientific facilities on the outskirts of New Brunswick. In its beginnings,

[89] Silvers

like any other organization, it had to establish its reputation and secure financial support. This required borrowing thousands of dollars in the name of the Rutgers College Trustees,[91] taking on a large number of Rutgers faculty,[92] and allowing organizational oversight from the Rutgers Trustees.[93] However, state funding contributed often more than what was raised by the devoted Rutgers community.[94] With such a deep commitment from the Rutgers College community, a state relationship for the NJC was vital for success and ensured their investments would not go to waste.

One of the most outspoken supporters for the college was Leonor F. Loree, a Rutgers Trustee who was the NJC's first chairperson. He is also responsible for the college's first two war memorials, despite the college being formed after the World War had ended. These World War Memorials were pivotal for providing the college an audience and publicity, as well as establishing a retrospective honor of the role women played in the nation's success in World War I.

For the college's 5th year, the school's athletic field was reworked and renamed Antilles Field. The field, largely a donation of Trustees James Neilson and Loree, was named after the ship Loree had chartered to take him and about 250 other Americans out of Europe at the outbreak of World War I.[95] The ship later was converted into a troop transport and was sunk by a U-boat. Although the field did not explicitly represent the college or its student's participation in the war, the dedication ceremony which featured an Army Cadet Battalion, Naval platoon, and the Gloria Trumpeters established a connection to the nation's military with pomp and circumstance. The athletic field prompted a chance for the NJC to publicly display its connection to the World War. This event and celebration brought value to the college by garnering an audience to see the Rutgers supported institution, but the memorial did not argue for women's education and the women's college as a national need.

[90] Frusciano, *Sketch of Rutgers University, Section 3*

[91] Resolution from the Meeting of the RC Board of Trustees, Nov. 21, 1919, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Minutes (Bound Volumes), RG 03/A0/01 (Location:Vault)

[92] Committee on the College for Women report, October, 10, 1919, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, Minutes (Bound Volumes), RG 03/A0/01 (Location:Vault)

[93] "History of Douglass Residential College," *Rutgers Undergraduate Education*, accessed March, 2013, http://douglass.rutgers.edu/content/history.

[94] Committee on the College for Women report

[95] "Antilles Field Photos" Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, R-Photo, Buildings & Grounds

Army Cadet Battalion, Naval Platoon on the field as people look over the dedication.
(top-right) N.J.C. students taking part in the ceremony

Loree's second World War I memorial was dedicated in 1928, the NJC's 10th year The "Red Cross Motor Corps Driver Statue" sat on Loree's previous memorial Antilles Field, creating the perception that the college and its students directly contributed to the Great War overseas.[96] On the stone base of the statue it stated "American motor corps drivers in the World War." This statement established a firm connection between the college and the nation's fight in World War I and began to unravel an argument for women's education. The retrospective honoring of the college's participation 10 years after the war's end was not too late for Loree to publicly celebrate. Like Antilles Field, the motor corps statue brought together a range of officials and communities.

In fund raising for the statue, Loree hosted special guests on Antilles Field, the City Commission, the Chamber of Commerce of New Brunswick, and delegates from the Red Cross. Again, his interesting in bringing an audience outside the college community was apparent. He put on an elaborate dedication ceremony that featured the Governor's Island Army Band, the Gloria Trumpeters, and the drum and bugle corps of N.J.C. undergraduates. But the grand dedication ceremony featuring these militaristic organizations was not only enjoyed by trustees or onlookers. Women workers from the World War also gathered on Antilles Field for its dedication.[97]

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[96] "Red Cross Motor Corps Driver Statue Photo Captions," Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, R-Photo, Buildings & Grounds

[97] Ibid

Gathering of N.J.C. students for the Unveiling of the Red Cross Motor Corps. Statue

This memorial tried fulfilling a need of the college by utilizing its 10th anniversary. The New Jersey College for Women needed to prove itself to be more than a women's college and fight a continuing stigma against women's education. For this reason, Loree plays into nationalism. Loree shows women's' participation in the war as a vital, arguing that lacking investment and support of women's education hinders the potential strength of the country. The statue presents Loree's argument that the women's college needed continued and increasing federal and state support, for it was as important to the nation's success. Loree's status as a Rutgers Trustee and prominent industrialist secured legitimacy for the college with his reputation

in a way that the NJC community could not have done if it had created a memorial and event themselves.

It is clear why Loree and other trustees funded memorial projects at the New Jersey College for Women. The Rutgers College community no longer was trying to gain financial support through a relationship with the state, nor was it trying to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the nation. It was interested to add to the collegiate experience by inspire its students with a legacy of sacrifice. With the wide effort of a Memorial Hall failing, Loree found opportunity elsewhere. He, Neilson, and other trustees secured the investments of the trustees by ensuring others understood the national need for women's education by establishing a history of national participation at the New Jersey College for Women.

Final Words

As long as we desire to remember, there will be war memorials. Over hundreds of years, the war memorial medium and content has adapted, proving itself to be a pivotal item for studying how communities form identity and achieve their goals. It has become a force deeply engrained with American culture, flourishing today in Washington D.C., but also in communities around the country. With such saturation in the country, comparative work can be done to examine war commemoration in many different locations and communications. From there we can begin to see how memory is used in line with the institution's goals.

As any institution does, the school has been evolving its relationship to the nation through its community, the state, and wars since its founding in 1766. Like individuals or municipalities, institutions have politicized motives and goals. While a town may not cease to exist because of its financial struggles, the required resources and facilities of the institution could not be sacrificed or strained for commemorative efforts. The checks and balances between the college community and administration ensured this sort of balance. Alumni and administrators since the college's beginning have worked to legitimize its actions both inside and outside its community. By hosting events and reaching out to community and state, the words used by the college's leaders are necessary for understanding the college's goals. However, words come free of charge, so to say. The memorial's cost is a critical factor, forcing collaboration and consensus and creating a money trail that shows support, protest, and motivation.

As nationalism changes, the utilization of memory will as well. Memorialization today is at a peak for many in all parts of the country, but we have yet to see if or how that applies to tomorrow's war memorials. As we redefine our perception of what the nation is in the world and how our institutions and our communities reflect it, war memorialization will continue to evolve. These evolutions occur at many points, but most significantly at the college with World War II. The relationship between the school and state, adjusting roles of higher education at Rutgers, and significantly higher enrollment affected how memorials were used as tools. With this, I leave you two supplementary sections. First, I will leave an overview of three periods worth investigating to understand memorials at the educational institution. Second will be a war memorial proposal using the memorial as a tool, and playing with values inherent in the nation, the human from a global perspective, and various professions. I aim for this memorial to itself contribute to this evolution of memorial making at the university and be the subject of further examination if it fails or succeeds.

Whether we are artists memorializing or academics looking back at memorials, we must keep working to understand what we believe in as a community of citizens in the United States. We must keep asking why we remember and who we forget.

Memorializing
Global Reach, Global Values

Assortment of Sketches on the Memorial Design

My Concern

The past few years I've had opportunities to observe and participate in protests throughout the United States and England. There have been various differences with every protest, depending on politics and culture, but it has given me the chance to understand how protests work, why they exist, and who they are for. I believe that at their root, protests state a concern, not necessarily with a solution in hand, but a desire to not have their issue overlooked or forgotten.

Even if the protestors don't form a consensus or affect policy, onlookers, news organizations, and others involved keep the discussion alive. However, protests in the United States do not carry the same value and following as in Europe. I won't say this is necessarily good or bad, but the protest's ability to keep a topic alive is an important one. However, at the university, a center for debate and discussion, it seemed this desire for protest was non-existent.

One significant way these discussions are maintained is through news outlets. However, when it came to the topic of foreign involvement, there seemed to be declining discussion. Since 2008, the news coverage of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars was falling to astonishingly lows.[98] However, these two countries were not the only the United States was involved in. Individuals from the United States have represented the country and its goals around the world as diplomats, aid workers, journalists, and various other professions.

In today's global society, we cannot ignore the discussions surrounding our participation with the world – just as we cannot ignore participating with the world. The nation has to be understood differently with the zeitgeist of global participation and collaboration. At Rutgers, the most recent motto "Jersey Roots. Global Reach" seems to highlight that interest.

I began looking for ways to push the discussions of the nation and university's global involvement at the university's community. First, I realized this discussion had to occur in physical space. Although cyberspace has shaped contemporary society, the internet's ability to influence has limitations. The internet cannot guide people to local issues effectively, because what you find search online cannot go beyond what you already know. When walking down a street, you may see banners, local newspapers, or bulletin boards in storefronts. With a student population capable of ignoring internet content with a click or swipe, the local won't only be difficult to reach, it will be easily pushed aside.

Why a Memorial?

To reach students and faculty, I decided upon constructing a war memorial, expanding the understanding of how to memorialize war. This idea came when I realized how citizens in the United States in the past were aware of the nation's wars, even participating in the effort by sacrificing wealth and comfort. In both World War I and II, rationing, drafts, and war taxes not only aided the war effort, they were powerful tools to keep the war in the minds of its citizens. For the World Wars, this sacrifice was a way to confirm nationalistic pride. Today there are no similar home-front efforts to support the war or keep military campaigns in the minds of citizens. I believe a war memorial created before a war's end may not instill the same fervour, but it will not go unnoticed.

When I first considered this item, I picked it partially because of how contentious it would be. I assumed it would raise debates and conflicts over commemoration in the U.S when I

[98] Sherry Ricchiardi. "What Happened to Iraq?" *American Journalism Review*. June/July 2008, accessed March 2013, http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=4515

included those from Afghanistan and Iraq who have died. Public sculptural memorials today seem to largely be a retrospective activity, not a simultaneous one. However, as I studied the college's memorials, I realized there was a history of simultaneous war memorialization that kept the community aware of its foreign engagements.

World War II Memorial Flag (1943) demonstrating that 2416 Rutgers members were abroad and 9 were known to have died[99]

These proactive war memorials can be seen at Rutgers in both World Wars. The flags were not only keeping the student body mindful of the war, they constantly updated to reflect the amount of individuals abroad and the amount of individuals who had died. This reminder can be done today, but with the complexities of 21st century conflicts, the definition of service must be expanded.

The war memorial is inappropriate for commemorating service and sacrifice in a globalized world, especially with conflicts taking on new forms and meaning. An appropriate commemorative object has to consider professions other than the military, which contribute to national and global communities in different ways. Diplomats, journalists, foreign aid workers, and countless other professions have for decades found themselves as targets for aggression and deserve to have their service, to both the nation and the larger global community recognized.

Expanding an Imagination

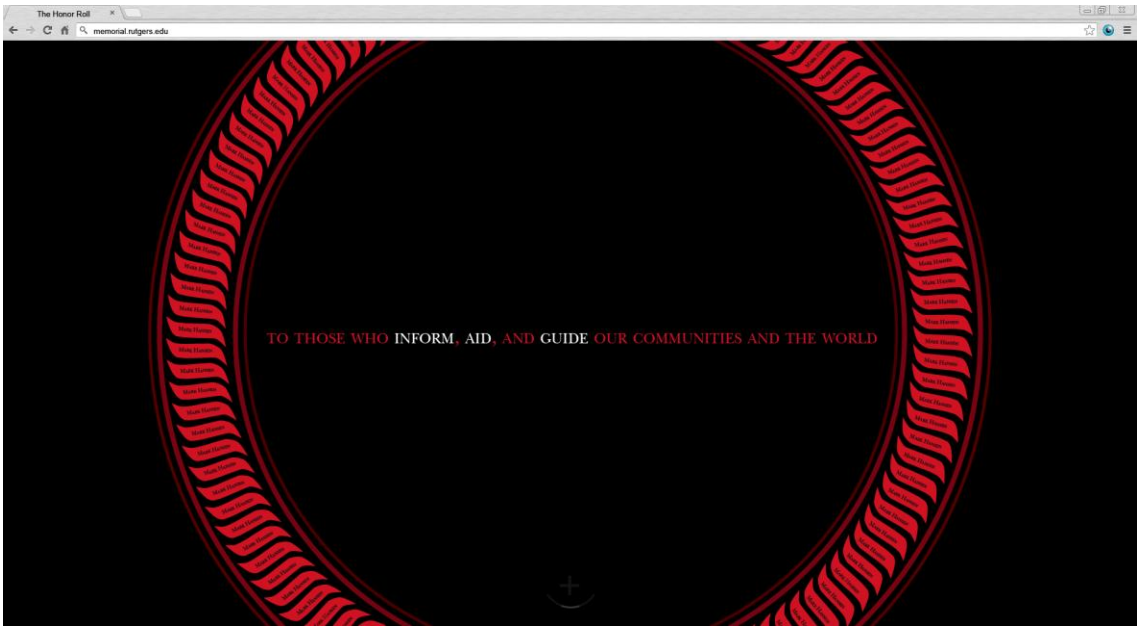
As a college looking to expand its global reach and inspire students to international aspirations, the memorial can be a tool. By inspiring students to imagine international reach, the memorial will not only raise awareness of foreign engagements, it is appropriate for fulfilling the contemporary goals of the college and nation. Using a memorial in this manner may seem taboo, but memorials have been used as tools for the college's interests since its beginnings. I propose using the memorial that encompasses not one war, but all acts of aggression that do not necessarily fall under the umbrella of a theater of war. This look towards global activity can exemplify a new set of criteria for honor and service by introducing and understanding values that align with both American culture and the values established by the international community.

[99] "Flag" Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive, R-Photo, Buildings & Grounds, Kirkpatrick Chapel, Box 2, Pt. 1

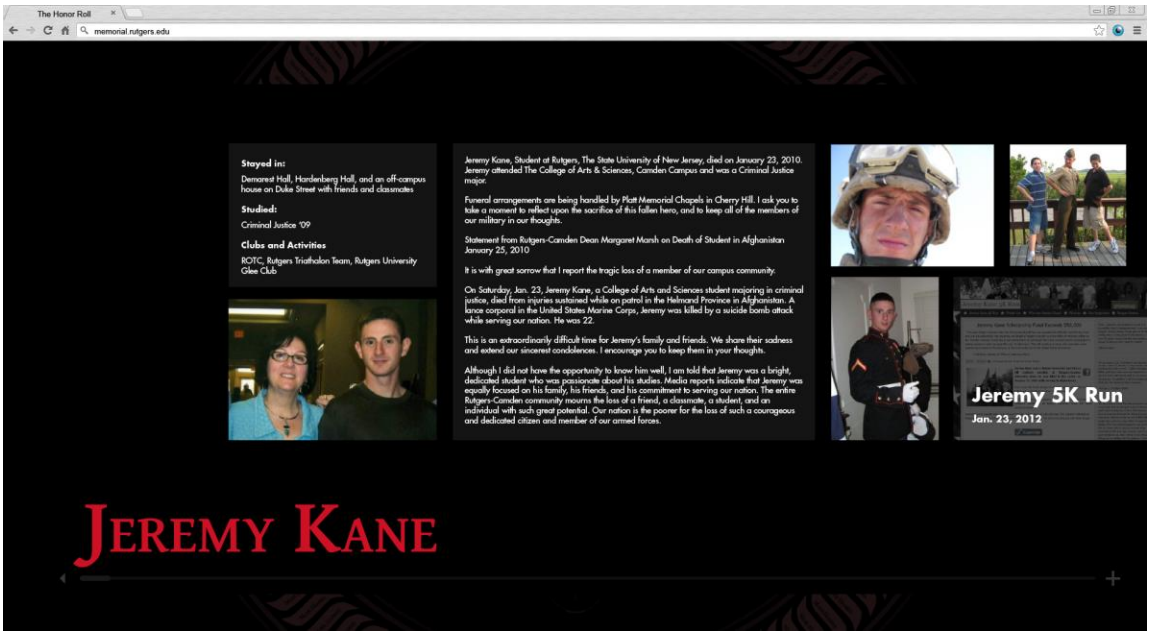
As memorialization tries to encompass the values of informing, aiding, and guiding, we allow for broad and diverse requests of individuals to be memorialized. Its statement doesn't necessarily talk of sacrifice, but it looks to recognize those whose significance comes from their contributions and actions. Death, nor service are guarantees for recognition unlike the past war memorials. One example is Rutgers dropout Myles Tierney, who at age 34 was shot by Sierra Leone rebels in 1999 while covering the wars, famines, and riots in West Africa for the Associated Press. Death was not the significant factor for memorializing Myles. Instead we have to look at the situation Myles was serving in, and his commitment to informing the world despite working in such a dangerous environment. If there has been other Rutgers journalists maimed or in constant peril, they may be recognized for commemoration. However, this example raises three significant problems that memorials have had. I will solve all of these issues by infusing the memorial with several technological innovations.

Crowd Sourced Memorialization

First, those that organize memorials along with committees and other advisors have limited awareness of how many or who fit into the community they wish to commemorate. This lack of information often results in corrections being made later, but is hindered by the financial and physical aspects of memorials. For this reason, the Rutgers community will with a crowd-source web platform, compile the list for who is worth commemorating. The broad definition of who can be commemorated will most likely lead a community to create an immensely diverse list. However, this immense list can be refined through an anonymous and private voting system, signifying who the Rutgers community should be commemorating.



(Above) Website Homepage (Below) Memorial Profile



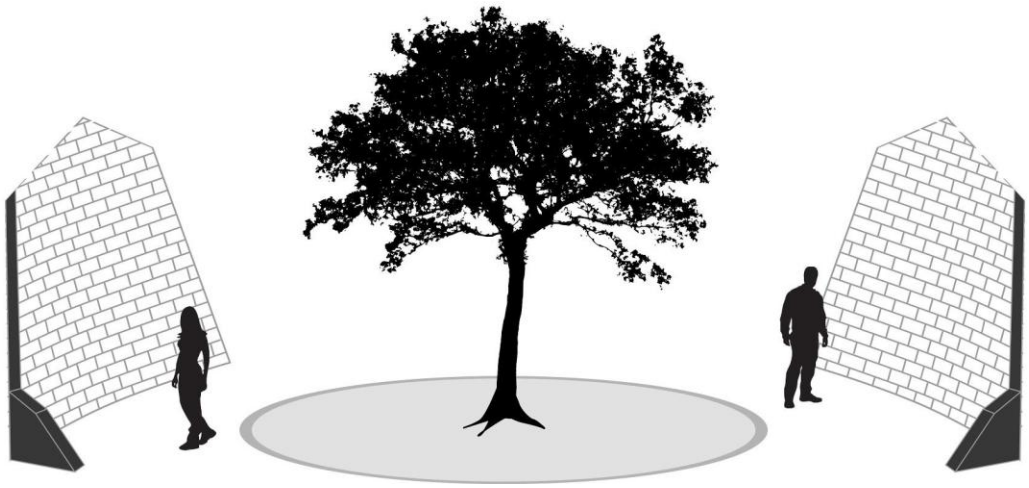
Second, relatives are not expected to contact the alma-mater of those who have died abroad in non-military professions. This lack of tradition has not only placed the military profession at a higher status, but it has not allowed colleges to develop commemorative practices around these other professions who serve the nation and world. As a result, we are unsure if or how many Rutgers graduates have died under this new definition of service. There also lacks a tradition of commemorating international students who may have died pursuing these three values in their home countries.

Third, the evolving list requires an evolving memorial. This can best be accomplished by utilizing 3D printers. Models can be set up with parameters on shape and size, so that they may be snapped together. The crowd-sourced memorial website will then be utilized by 3D printers, printing a new brick when the community approves a new individual.

3D Printed Prototype Brick (1/4 scale)

The Structure

Although the location, funding, and technological constraints will alter the final design, the bricks offer modularity that will let the design adapt to any location. On two sides of the brick are cut out edges to allow bricks to interlock horizontally. On the top and bottom of each brick are cylindrical holes that will allow for stacking and passing electrical wires through. This allows an evolving memorial to remain rigid and secure without requiring a large degree of materials. More importantly, the removal of professional masons allows friends, families, and communities to have the experience of building the memorial. This design is a guide to how initial block placement will be, but is not absolute. As blocks are placed by friends, families, and communities, the memorial will expand with the will of its participants as long as it somehow connects to the larger structure.



(Above) Proposed arrangement for College Ave. location (Below) Sketch of Possible Arrangement from Side View

If the location selected by the planning committee permits, a tree should be located in the memorial space's center. With a slight curvature in the bricks and the structure as a whole being slanted from its base, each brick will aim towards the upper half of the tree. With each brick acting as a shell for light, the negative space of each brick will act as a projector and beam light towards the tree. With a small bit of light coming from each brick, the center tree will be illuminated at night. As the wind blows its branches and leaves, the small lights will make the center tree appear to glisten.

(Above) Examples of the prototype block projecting light on individuals

Finally with stone will be written "To Those Who Inform, Aid, and Guide Communities and the World." Depending on the location, this will be embedded within a sidewalk or along the circumference of the central grass area.

A Memorial with a Time Limit

I agree with many that memorials are valuable reference points for understanding past society. However, I feel that in urban centers where communal public space is limited, there is only so much room for commemoration. I do not believe that memorials should be maintained if the memorial does not fulfill its original purpose or becomes irrelevant. Unlike museums, which act as repositories for information about the past, an educational institution's goals may change. The memorial which is created from plastic can be recycled if Rutgers or the United States withdraw from global involvement or don't find the memorial's values are worth exemplifying. The memorial may also be recycled when the community that predominantly utilized it for remembrance has passed on.

With the consideration of time, we also understand how memorials are used in phases. In the moments following a tragedy, the memorial becomes a place for mourning and remembrance by communities. As time passes, emotions fade and eventually those who grieved will pass, making memorials markers of history. The memorial can then be recorded in design and dismantled to make way for contemporary communities to fill their public spaces with memorials of their own in their time of grieving and emotional outpour.

Environmental Impact

The use of ABS plastics allows for recycled materials to be used in creating the memorial and for the recycling of the memorial to be used in other projects. It is assumed that this structure is a semi-permanent one so the use of plastic is appropriate for when the Rutgers community wants to create new commemorative pieces.

Locations

There are multiple locations that may suit this memorial, all of which were chosen because of the high pedestrian traffic and visibility and the possibility for vegetation. To ensure as many students experience the memorial as possible, all the locations selected are along main bus routes. With all locations satisfying this, pedestrian traffic became the ruling factor.

The most desired spot for this memorial is on the College Ave. campus, at the College Ave. entrance of the quad residential halls. This campus is best because of the amount of commemorative work that sits on the Old Queens administrative campus and Voorhees Mall. However, I consider both those locations to be fully saturated in how many commemorative pieces they have. The monuments and memorials in both locations are overlooked by students rushing or focused on their classes that are going on in the surrounding buildings. The entrance to the quads is empty, and has ample opportunity for pedestrian involvement without sacrificing precious open green space that is used by many for recreation and clubs on Voorhees Mall.

Views of College Avenue Campus Site

The second and third possible locations are on the Livingston campus. One location is the overhead walkway connecting the Livingston Student Center and the Livingston Dining Hall. Dining halls are central to student life, often acting as meeting points for groups and friends. While waiting, students will often observe their environment, especially if something is intriguing or unordinary. The other Livingston Campus location will be in a courtyard between two of the Livingston Apt. complexes. Although not as integrated with pedestrian traffic, its visibility will be very high by bus and by those looking to see movies in the Rutgers Cinema. This sort of high traffic will give it visibility comparable to the College Ave. location, but perhaps not as much direct interaction.

(Above) Livingston Dining Commons (Bottom-left) Plaza connecting all of Livingston's Buildings (Bottom-Right) Residence Hall

With these three locations, the most appropriate is on the College Ave. campus. However lighting conditions in each of these spaces may ruin the way the memorial plays with light as it tries to involve and evoke responses from passerbys.

Funding

This project will fund raise with the class of 2001 through to today because of how much 9/11 and its preceding events have influenced American society, leading it to become more aware of its involvement abroad. It will also target other classes who have lost classmates in Iraq and Afghanistan. As the project gains publicity and individuals are recommended for

commemoration, fundraising efforts will reach out to the networks that had relationships with the Rutgers community member.
LEDs and plastic materials for the memorial may range from $2,000- $4,000. An estimate still needs to be determined for the tree transplant, but for a fairly small tree that is moving a short distance, it may cost between $600-$2,000. When considering the preparation of the area that the tree is moving to, the cost of construction, and other factors, this project will expect $7,000. Although the labor for the 3D printed parts will not be excruciating, the electrical system that maintains the wall of light may become increasingly buggy with its expansion. In this regards, labor will become increasingly time intensive and expensive.

Summary

Rutgers, approaching its 250th year, is at point of significant change in terms of itself and the world around it. War memorials in the past have been utilized to inspire communities in fulfilling the national needs at Rutgers since its beginning. I believe that a war memorial must be created today with new parameters to give its community global aspirations and instill values that are held not just by the United States, but the international community. Even if this memorial does not come to fruition, the Rutgers community will have had an important dialogue about what its community is looking to aspire to and what values it looks to uphold.

Supplementary Materials

Where Next

After the memorialization of World War I, war memorials no longer serve the college as tools for securing legitimacy in the nation or for collegiate education. However, I have distinguished three periods when the college's memorials interact with the nation and college

community in interesting and new ways. What should be furthered study is how the memorial evolves from being a propaganda tool for the college and its community into something else.

The first moment of interest is the post-World War II Rutgers where three memorials were proposed as the college faced massive restructuring. To support the nation's war effort and the approaching Normandy invasion, the college with its strong relationship to the state and nation dramatically adjusted its departments, facilities, faculty and curriculum. However, with the war's end was another massive upheaval, as the college experienced the immense enrollment of returning G.I.s.

The first memorial came as a tablet in 1946 aimed to replicate the style of the Civil War Memorial Tablet while focusing on those who lost their lives in the war. It was not constructed, most likely because names of the deceased were still coming in.[100] A Memorial fund in 1946 was then created for students who excelled not only in their students, but also in physical conditioning.[101] From oral histories, it appears that nearly all of the scholarships given from this memorial went to football players.[102] It seems clear that the school, which had devastated sports programs from the war,[103] wanted to build a sense of community around its historical football program. Finally, in 1948, President Mason W. Gross on behalf of a city-wide memorial drive, approached faculty at Rutgers and several other institutions to raise money. The campaign at its end accumulated approximately $5,500 and suggested a "utilitarian" type memorial to the city's planning board,[104] but it is difficult to discern how much was donated by the faculty who at its start were facing two months without pay.[105] The failure of the memorial tablet and the success of the memorial scholarship fund and city wide utilitarian memorial clearly heeds to the post-war trend of "living memorials." Although leaders of the Rutgers community presided over city memorial unveilings, such as the World War I memorial,[106] this was the first time the college raised money for a memorial off their campus.

The second period to be considered is during the Vietnam War at Rutgers University, which to many was known as the "Berkley of the East" for its student riots in 1970 that lead to sit-ins within administrative buildings, protests, and firebombing of the ROTC building on campus.[107] What makes this period significant is the lack of Vietnam War memorialization. Throughout the war, three memorials were created. The first was a Revolutionary War Memorial Tablet in Kirkpatrick Chapel. Second, a World War I Memorial Flag Poles on the administrative campus. Third, a "Freedom Tree" planted in 1973 dedicated to "Universal Freedom" and those who were POW or MIA. On the tablet, it lists four individuals who all survived the Vietnam War as POWs and MIAs, but there was no mention of the war. There are no records of the tablet's construction, but it seems it clearly wanted to make a point with the administrators, by remaining

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[100] Rutgers University Interdepartment Communication to Robert C. Clothier from Bradford S. Abernethy (Nov. 27, 1946), Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive. Office of the President - Robert C. Clothier, RG 04/A14, Box 73: War Memorial Plaque, 1946.

[101] "Rutgers awards scholarships as memorials," *Targum*, April 17, 1946, 3.

[102] Interview with Shaun Illingworth, Director of the Rutgers University Oral History Archive. November 20, 2012.

[103] Richard P. McCormick "Rutgers In World War II." *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries,* Vol 58 (1997), 8

[104] Correspondence to Gross from Richard V. Mulligan, Chairman of the War Memorial Drive, Aug. 20, 1948, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive. Office of the President – Mason W. Gross, RG 04/A16, Box 124: War Memorial, New Brunswick, 1948.

[105] Correspondence to Stanley Shepard, Intrim Headmaster at Rutgers Prepartory School, Jun. 17, 1948, Ibid

[106] Program of World War unveiling, 1930, Free Public Library, Folder Memorials

[107] Interview with Professor Michael Aaron Rockland, Professor in American Studies. March 27, 2013.

far out of sight from students. A memorial to those who died in Vietnam did not appear until 1993.

I believe there was a breakdown and attempt to redefine nationalism in this era, which caused memorialization at the university to be in flux. The university, bound to the nation as a state-funded school, had students who saw the school as a representative of the national agenda. Having felt the nation has values were not worth upholding, the college's goals in curriculum fell into crisis as they became targets. Memorials in this period unavoidably spoke to national values and ideals, and now were potentially fueling student unrest. Thus, the administration kept its memorials hidden from student life by keeping all three on the administrative campus, far away from the heart of student life.

The final period to consider is the 1990s onward, when two sculptural memorials were constructed on Voorhees Mall to commemorate those who died in the Vietnam War and World War II. The complexity of memorialization is also apparent in this period, as different communities which identified with World War II defined themselves through multiple memorial projects that were spreading to other parts of the College Ave. campus. Memorialization seemed to follow student life. As student life shifted off the Old Queen's campus with the construction of new residential halls and classroom buildings around College Avenue and Voorhees Mall, classes donations too moved around the avenue and mall. These two spaces were also the centers for the collegiate student experience.

Today the university's planning committees played a heavy roll in their construction, often requiring professional consultancy while not involving the president or trustees. Memorialization is no longer a tool for satisfying a national need, but a question about university grounds planning. In addition to the changing procedures for memorialization, each memorial had significant issues arising from their sculptural commemoration. The Vietnam War Memorial was vandalized the first night of its dedication by students who spray-painted "U.S. Out of Somalia Now."[108] The memorial later had to accommodate the addition of Edward W. Kissam[109] while the memorial's representatives debated interests of adding John Paul Vann, who had not died in the war but was the subject of a Pulitzer Prize winning book.[110] The World War II memorial, created in 2008, did not face the same public struggles. Unlike the Vietnam War Memorial which was created approximately 15 years after the war's end, the class of 1948 was pressed by the limited time they and their classmates had to live. It's most interesting component however is its sculptural centerpiece, "In Side Out," given as a gift to the school by the Berman family in 1982. The closest we get to understanding the sculpture's meaning from the planning committee's records is when the Class of 1948 has permission from the artist Bucky Schwartz and the Berman Foundation for its repurposing. Nowhere is it mentioned what the sculpture's original intent was, as an emotive sculpture by an Israeli artist created in 1982. However, one line was found in the facilities records that states it was "meant as a memorial for Israeli war heroes."[111] The incorporation and transformation of the World War II memorial on the Voorhees Mall should be considered, but the amount of World War II memorials that begin to appear in

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[108] "Rutgers' Vietnam War memorial vandalized," *The Home News (October 27, 1993)* Frontpage

[109] Correspondence from Nelson Kissam, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive. Records of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Committee, 1989-1995, R-MC 110, Box 4, Folder 8: Addition of Names to the Memorial.

[110] Correspondence, Mr. Graglia, November 10, 1995, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archive. Records of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Committee, 1989-1995, R-MC 110, Box 4, Folder 8: Addition of Names to the Memorial.

[111] "Rutgers University - Encyclopedia of Buildings and Grounds: Douglass Entries and Index," *Rutgers University Grounds - Master Guide,* Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archives.

this era is staggering. No longer is the memorial a tool for the college or community, but a marker for the donating class's own sacrifice.

Further study in these three periods can provide interesting insights in how memorialization trends at the college reflect the interests of the institution, its community, and the nation. From this broad overview, I hope further research can be guided.

Rutgers Lost Database

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