

GRIDIRON COURAGE:  
THE NAVY, PURDUE, AND WORLD WAR II

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## DEDICATION

To my husband for always supporting my crazy ideas

To my father, who participated in the Purdue ROTC program and is a war veteran

To all Americans who have and are currently serving in the Armed Forces

To all the Purdue service men who fought in World War II

To my Purdue hero, Marine Corporal Anthony J. Butkovich, the All-American fullback of the 1943 squad, who gave the ultimate sacrifice for his country

To all the fallen American service men, your sacrifices will never be forgotten

## FOREWORD

My passion to write this story did not spring forth from researching a topic that I pulled out of a hat. Conceived by two Boilermaker graduates, like getting my mother's eternal optimism and my father's nose, I inherited their old gold and black spirit. I had already felt antagonistic toward the Indiana University Hoosiers, Purdue's arch-rival, and my ever-growing Boilermaker spirit in combination with my obsession with football developed my identity of an overzealous Purdue football fan.

At age eleven, I began my love affair with football, at both the collegiate and professional levels. Like remembering your first kiss, I remember my first time watching the sport. My parents had dragged me to one of their friend's houses to watch the championship game. As we all crowded in the living room, my eyes transfixed themselves to the television screen. Some green and yellow team was playing a navy blue and orange team. These giants, or at least with the help of shoulder pads the men looked like giants, kept hitting one another, and then one guy threw the oblong-shaped ball halfway down the field. What was amazing was that the other guy running down the field caught the ball! After asking a million questions of my dad, even after he waved his hand at me trying to shut me up, I came to find out that this game was called Super Bowl XXXII, the National Football League's championship game between the Green Bay Packers and the Denver Broncos. I kept hearing the television commentators say the names Brett Favre and John Elway, only later figuring out that they were talking about the players who threw the oblong-shaped ball.

To put it simply, the game of football fascinated me. As an athlete, I knew that to play any sport well took a substantial amount of effort and skill. Playing soccer, I had experienced the agonizing hours of conditioning and practice drills; the sweat-soaked shin guards that not even my dog would smell without wrinkling his nose; and finally, the adrenaline pulsing through my veins on game day as my competitive spirit shined on the pitch. Watching John Elway come back to beat the Packers, the defending champions, opened my eyes to the beauty of football. Watching play after play with no gain or loss of yards was somewhat boring, but the anticipation of one moment of greatness kept my attention to the game. Watching the quarterback throw a bullet down the field and a wide receiver catch it in one hand for a touchdown or a defensive end sack the quarterback on third down was not only amazing but also inspirational. After that day, when I watched Purdue football, it not only cultivated my understanding of the game but also my Boilermaker spirit.

When I was fourteen, my mom, grandfather, and I attended a football game in the Big House, the University of Michigan's stadium, in Ann Arbor. Sitting in the lower half of the end zone behind Michigan fans, my fourteen-year-old self yelled "Go Purdue," in their ears. Being gracious, adult men, they did not reciprocate my immaturity but I felt their smug looks sear into my heart when Michigan toppled Purdue 24-10.

Then, as a college student at Purdue, I attended all the home games, remembering them as moments of pure, uninhibited joy. No pain, anger, or sadness could have dampened my spirit. I was physically part of the thousands of Boilermaker fans flooding the stadium with Purdue pride. We were one entity within the boundaries of the stadium and together we rallied for our team against our opponents. The roar of the crowd, the

cadence of the cheers, the thumps of the shoulder pads of lineman hitting one another, and the animal grunts of the players was like a sweet serenade. And watching the team slaughter IU in the Old Oaken Bucket game my sophomore year was priceless. I think we even cheered, “Ball State’s better,” because the Hoosier squad looked more like a kickball team with an identity crisis than a Division I football team. Irrational as it may be, I am proud to be an overzealous fan.

This story of Purdue football during World War II means so much to me. These sailors and marines who played football for the first time as Boilermakers since being transferred from a rival university to fighting overseas are my heroes. My American heroes, my Purdue heroes. As a historian, being objective is crucial as to not cloud an argument with biased opinions, thus, bending evidence. However, all historians cannot completely filter out their biases (they are human after all). Therefore, the acknowledgment of my Boilermaker spirit enabled me to set it aside so I could focus my attention on the evidence to arrive at a reasonable conclusion. Although I have tried not to let my spirit get the best of me, it is also what pushed me to finish this story.

Hail, hail to old Purdue.

## PREFACE: A NOTE ON THE SOURCES

While the sources that I utilized in my research were vast, they were not complete. Outside of the *Purdue Alumnus*, the alumni magazine, I did not find personal letters from servicemen. I also found no relevant oral history interviews with students who attended Purdue during World War II or private journals or papers of Purdue civilian or servicemen students. Therefore, I explained the wartime Purdue student culture from the perspective of student editors of the *Purdue Exponent* (newspaper) and *Debris* (yearbook). I also looked at the *Journal and Courier*, Lafayette, Indiana's newspaper for the coverage of Purdue sports. As for the servicemen, I found excerpts of their letters in issues of the *Purdue Alumnus* from the fall of 1943 until the fall of 1945 when the majority of the Purdue alumni were fighting.

Resources I found in the Archives and Special Collections at Purdue University included personal papers, and official records of university administrators. The personal papers of President Edward C. Elliott consisted of several boxes of material covering his life and career as president of Purdue University, including personal correspondence, reports, meeting minutes, printed material, biographical information, notes and transcripts of speeches. While this collection ranges from the 1920s to the 1960s, I only examined the materials pertaining to the World War II era. The Purdue board of trustees' meeting minutes published enrollment statistics which proved helpful in understanding the breakdown of gender, class rank, and military status. The minutes also explained the structure of the Engineering, Science, Management War Training (ESMWT) program and mentioned President Elliott's role in the War Manpower Commission. I also flipped

through a 1943-1944 class catalogue and a clipping file on Purdue in the war years, which provided an understanding of how the Elliott administration prepared for the university in wartime. In Hicks Repository at Purdue, I looked at the 1943 issue of *Colliers* magazine where I read articles by sport writer Grantland Rice.

Resources on wartime college football nationwide included the National Collegiate Athletic Association's annual yearbooks, proceedings, and football guides from 1942 until 1944. A collection of college football programs housed in the Department of Special Collections at the University of Norte Dame, contains the Purdue programs with roster information for each team and articles about Purdue's contributions to the war effort. I also examined issues of sport periodicals such as the *Athletic Journal*, *Football News: The American Collegiate Sports Weekly*, and *Street and Smith's Football Pictorial Yearbook* for further understanding the wartime culture of college football.

Other contemporary periodicals, such as the *New York Times*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Time*, *Stars and Stripes*, and the *Journal of Politics* offered varying perspectives of the impact of the war upon higher education, military training, and intercollegiate athletics, publishing the views of education officials, military officers, university presidents, athletic directors, and congressmen. I also contacted the Parlin-Ingersoll Public Library in Canton, Illinois, where Purdue fullback Tony Butkovich lived. A staff member sent me a copy of his obituary in the *Canton (Illinois) Daily Ledger*, in which stated that although Butkovich was killed on April 18, 1945, his funeral service was held in Canton at St. Mary's Catholic Church on Saturday June 11, 1949.

To understand the patriotic view of the American public after the attack on Pearl Harbor, I used [www.newspaperarchive.com](http://www.newspaperarchive.com), an online genealogical resource, providing subscribers with access to millions of newspapers worldwide. I searched for newspaper articles published the days after December 7, 1941, and found patriotic articles in newspapers such as the *Brownsville (Texas) Herald*, the *Coe College Cosmos* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa), the *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, Michigan), *Oakland* (California) *Tribune*, the *Lowell (Massachusetts) Sun and Citizen Leader*, and the *Delta Democrat Times* (Greenville, Mississippi).

All of these sources assisted in my understanding that the role of college football during World War II was significant. The onset of the war caused government officials, military officers and educators to decide how universities would contribute to the war effort. Those decisions also affected football. In return, football served the war effort in many ways, eventually becoming a hot topic on military bases around the world.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAF	Army Air Forces
ACE	American Council on Education
AGF	Army Ground Forces
AP	Associated Press
ASF	Army Service Forces
ASTD	Army Specialized Training Division
ASTP	Army Specialized Training Program
ERC	Enlisted Reserve Corps
ESMWT	Engineering, Science and Management War Training Program
IBM	International Business Machines Corporation
NCAA	National Collegiate Athletic Association
NCED	National Committee on Education and Defense
NEA	National Education Association
NROTC	Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps
OWI	Office of War Information
PGA	Professional Golfers' Association
RCA	Radio Corporation of America
ROTC	Reserve Officer Training Corps
SWC	Student War Council
USO	United Service Organization
WMC	War Manpower Commission

## Introduction

### College Football during World War II

When you think of World War II, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? I usually think of iconic events and people such as Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Adolf Hitler, Josef Stalin, Winston Churchill, General George Patton, Nazis, D-Day, Steven Spielberg's *Band of Brothers*, Rosie the Riveter, and the dropping of the atomic bomb. Not college football. Rationing and industrial training consumed civilian life as calisthenics and combat training consumed military life. Where did football fit into this wartime society? Did it even have a place?

After World War I, college football had become the largest spectator sport on college campuses. Historians noted "the changing attitudes of post-war collegians," as students enjoyed universities more for the extracurricular activities and organized sports than academic learning.<sup>1</sup> According to the biannual survey conducted by the Bureau of Education, there was an overall increase of more than 600,000 students nationwide from 1919 to 1930 (see Table 1).<sup>2</sup>

**Table 1**

Higher Education Enrollment in the United States, 1919-1930						
Year	1919-20	1921-2	1923-4	1925-6	1927-8	1929-30
Total # of Students	597,857	681,076	823,063	917,462	1,053,955	1,100,737

Source: David O. Levine, *The American College and Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 39.

This increased enrollment led to an ever-growing population of fans and alumni attending football games.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the 1920s became an age of stadium-building, as many universities around the country constructed stadiums with larger seating capacities. In

1927, the University of Michigan built a new stadium to hold 84,401 fans.<sup>4</sup> In California, Stanford University constructed a new 65,000-seat stadium.<sup>5</sup> Three universities in the Middle West built mid-size stadiums between 1924 and 1926 with seating between 40,000 and 50,000.<sup>6</sup>

University administrations relied on ticket revenue to pay for the stadiums and fund other university projects.<sup>7</sup> Attendance at football games doubled in the Middle West and total revenue in the Western Conference increased from \$1.32 million in 1923 to \$2.71 million in 1929.<sup>8</sup> By 1924, the Big Ten Conference boasted the highest numbers of game attendance compared to other intercollegiate conferences.<sup>9</sup> Although attendance fell during the Great Depression, universities could not deny the financial benefits of intercollegiate football.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to pecuniary assistance, football created “an air of prestige for the university that attract[ed] students, bolster[ed] morale and [kept] wealthy alumni close to the old school.”<sup>11</sup> Successful football programs “raised the visibility of an institution” and served as an easy advertising tool for prospective students.<sup>12</sup> Football provided students with entertainment as well as community identity. Students, faculty, alumni, and local residents all cheered for the home team. Collegiate life revolved around football; historian David O. Levine commented that most people believed:

the stadium was the most important building on campus, and the achievements of a school’s athletes there overshadowed the achievement of faculty and students in the laboratory or in the classroom.<sup>13</sup>

By December 1941, the business of and spectacle of college football were part of the American way of life.

Therefore, college football positioned itself to play a role during World War II. How significant was this role? How did college football fit into the American home front? Using Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana, as a case study, what role did football play in Purdue's wartime collegiate culture? Was college football important to the Purdue students and alumni who left to fight in the war? If so, then how?

To understand the role of college football during the war, one must first understand the role of higher education in the war. Through the perspectives of educators, military officers, and students, the first chapter discusses how higher education, intercollegiate athletics, and Purdue University went to war. While the war in Europe raged on in 1940, American higher education prepared for a wartime society in the United States. If America entered the war, then institutions of higher education would offer their facilities to the federal government to assist the training of men in the military and civilians in war industries. Also, if the federal government used institutions for training, then the institutions would continue to exist for the duration of the war. Thousands of young men would join the military; thus, college students would leave campuses to fight. Patriotism and the need to survive explain why university administrations offered the federal government the use of their facilities for the war effort. At the same time, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) argued that organized athletics were essential for training soldiers.

Purdue University embraced its role in the war effort. Purdue President Edward C. Elliott oversaw the implementation of industry training programs, federally-funded scientific research and military training programs, and also encouraged students and faculty to set aside their personal goals and carry out their patriotic duties. The campus

remained a center of learning, but the manner in which students utilized their skills changed.

The second chapter covers the first wartime season of college football, in the fall of 1942, acknowledging that it shared more similarities with peacetime seasons than the later wartime ones. At Purdue, students adapted to a wartime collegiate culture where football maintained the students' sense of normalcy and boosted the students' loyalty to Purdue and their wartime morale. Although Purdue focused all its energies on the war effort, the students kept its traditions alive. The *Purdue Exponent*, the student newspaper, published daily editorials during the football season with front-page coverage of the games and pep rallies, demonstrating how central football was to the Purdue student culture. Students, not completely frazzled by the burden of war, maintained a somewhat normal collegiate life: young men took the co-eds to the Sweet Shop or to the movie theatre to see the latest Hollywood film. Students attended football games at Ross-Ade Stadium, cheering for the Boilermaker gridders even when the team lacked victories.

The third chapter describes the designs of the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) and the Navy V-12 Program. Decisions made by the Army and Navy in their creation of college training programs had a monumental effect on the 1943 football season and subsequent wartime seasons. Although the 1944 and 1945 seasons are not discussed at length, the 1943 season marked a new era and subsequent wartime seasons continued along the same path.

In December 1942, both the Departments of War and Navy announced their intentions to implement college training programs for service men. These programs

encompassed learning specialized skills in the classroom and the lab, as well as physical and military training. Men transferred from universities all over the country to the chosen universities hosting these programs. Before and even after the servicemen boarded the buses to their new college campuses, congressmen, athletic directors, naval and army officers and even the Secretary of War debated whether these men would play intercollegiate athletics, namely football. The federal government chose Purdue as a host site for both Army and Navy programs, and West Lafayette welcomed thousands of new Boilermakers in the summer of 1943.

The fourth chapter follows Purdue's 1943 football season and the development of team camaraderie. Purdue football coach Elmer Burnham took veteran players, freshmen, and transfers under his wing for the 1943 season, and although the first few games were sloppy, the Boilermakers' speed and skill showed potential. Game after game, the Boilers proved victorious and boasted the highest number of wins (with no losses or ties) in the nation. Once the players left West Lafayette for war, these bonds of brotherhood remained strong as seen in their letters to the *Purdue Alumnus*, the alumni magazine, mentioning one another.

Their letters as well as the letters of their fellow Purdue servicemen alumni who did not play football showed that football not only lifted their morale but also strengthened their Boilermaker spirit. (Note: in my research, I found no record of letters written by Purdue faculty members during World War II. The *Purdue Alumnus* published letters written by female alumnae, but these women did not speak of sports.) The servicemen wrote of how they missed playing or watching football and could not wait to find the scores of the games in the *Purdue Exponent*, the *Alumnus*, and the *Purdue*

*Patrol*, the supplementary newspaper to the alumni magazine. Many of the Purdue men acknowledged how reading football news boosted their morale while overseas.

Furthermore, Purdue servicemen thanked the Alumni Association in their letters for remembering them; knowing that they had support at home strengthened their Boilermaker pride.

Few historians have examined college football during World War II; at best, scholars have included only brief mention of intercollegiate football within their larger narrative of higher education, military training programs, or organized athletics (see Bibliographic Essay which reviews the literature on this topic). This thesis integrates the topics of higher education's role in the war effort, military training programs, and organized athletics into one narrative as opposed to focusing on only one or two of these topics.

At Purdue, football fueled the spirit and morale of the students in the fall of 1942 and the servicemen alumni in 1943 until the end of the war, both players and non-players, while they served overseas. News of Purdue football provided a momentary distraction for the servicemen from the fall of 1943 until the end of the war. While this story adds to the larger narrative of higher education's role in the war effort, the account of these Purdue servicemen demonstrates that the spectacle of college football, a sport, was an integral part of American wartime society.

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- <sup>1</sup> Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 3.
- <sup>2</sup> David O. Levine, *The American College and Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 39.
- <sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 3.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 39, 45.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-54.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 254-255.
- <sup>11</sup> Francis Wallace, "This Football Business," *Saturday Evening Post*, September 28, 1929, 170.
- <sup>12</sup> Levine, *The American College and Culture of Aspiration*, 120.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter One

### America Goes to War: Higher Education Reports to Duty

I saw people standing on the sidewalks and gazing into the clouds toward Pearl Harbor. Following their gaze I could see huge black smoke from burning oil rising over the Naval Base. Then someone mentioned about enemy planes and a raid going on. I sure was scared then . . . that first night we couldn't sleep in peace. At the faintest sound of a plane we rushed outside to peer into the dark and wait in suspense as the sound faded away.<sup>1</sup>

Death and its entourage of Japanese pilots arrived at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii Territory, on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941. The Japanese struck at the heart of the harbor, destroying or heavily damaging 18 ships. The Americans had about 3,500 casualties: 2,403 fatalities and over 1,000 wounded.<sup>2</sup> As the black smoke enveloped the island, fear crept into the hearts of the island's residents.

The attack on Pearl Harbor brought almost all Americans to a standstill when radios broadcasted the shocking news. At Griffith Stadium in Washington, D.C., the spectators, coaches and professional football players knew nothing of the carnage that befell Pearl Harbor. A crowd of 27,102 people watched the Washington Redskins play the Philadelphia Eagles. The game started "at 2 p.m.—9 a.m. in Hawaii. Bombs had already fallen on the U.S. fleet, men had died, [and] war had come. In the stands, no one knew: The game was still everything."<sup>3</sup>

After the first drive of the game, the announcers paged three high-ranking military officers to report to their respective offices. Fans and players still concentrated their attention on the game. Although the announcers in the press box knew of what had happened at Pearl Harbor, Redskins President George Marshall prohibited them from announcing the news to the fans. It would distract them from the game.<sup>4</sup> While most

Americans realized their country was at war, the fans and players at Griffith Stadium had a few more hours of peace. When the game ended, their world had turned upside down. The next day in a joint session, Congress declared war on Japan, which caused the other two Axis powers, Germany and Italy, to declare war on the United States.

American newspapers all around the country supported Congress' decision to go to war with Japan. On the East Coast in New York City, hoards of people gathered around available radios to hear the president's declaration of war. Over five thousand people crowded in City Hall Park to listen to the radio station WNYC's sound truck speakers. After the president's statement, the "Star-Spangled Banner" played over the airwaves, everyone standing up and taking off their hats, showing an attitude "of quiet determination to see it through—no hysteria, no false enthusiasm, but a deep and abiding loyalty."<sup>5</sup> In Lowell, Massachusetts, the *Lowell Sun and Citizen Leader* published an editorial titled, "Crush the Axis!" that admitted to opposing President Roosevelt's foreign policy, but after Pearl Harbor, the editors favored it.<sup>6</sup>

In the Middle West, in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Coe College's student newspaper the *Coe College Cosmos* published several letters from patriotic citizens who expressed their devotion to fighting this war and assisting in the war effort.<sup>7</sup> In Michigan, the *News-Palladium* in Benton Harbor published a platform for the community to follow: "A United Country For A United, All-Out And Victorious War Against Japan And Germany."<sup>8</sup> According to the editors of *Journal and Courier* the citizens of Lafayette, Indiana, would give their undivided support to the war effort, "demonstrating [their] deep and abiding patriotism."<sup>9</sup>

In the South and West, American spirit was ignited. The *Brownsville Herald* reported that in many Texan communities, citizens supported the declaration of war and pledged to aid in the war effort in any way they could.<sup>10</sup> In Greenville, Mississippi, an editorial published in the *Delta Democrat Times* declared that “all personal and group interests will be pushed aside, and the spirit of a united nation will move forward in battle.”<sup>11</sup> An editor of the *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, California) proclaimed that “we are all united . . . America will rise to this criminal assault and our foes shall see what it means to challenge the military might and the moral principles of this Nation.”<sup>12</sup> Americans collectively backed the Roosevelt Administration’s decision to go to war; whether they were against the war or indifferent to it, in unison they cried for justice for the blood spilt by the Japanese.

Before the declaration of war, in September, 1940, the U.S. Congress had passed the Selective Training and Service Act (subsequently called the Selective Service Act) which required men ages twenty-one to thirty-six to register for the first peacetime draft and serve for at least twelve months.<sup>13</sup> The Selective Service Act affected all men attending the university, but the selective service administration handed out many deferments for college students until they graduated.<sup>14</sup> Congress believed that the country needed a supply of trained manpower in “professional and technical occupations, including chemistry, dentistry, engineering, medicine, physics, and teaching.”<sup>15</sup>

However, in the 1941 July and August sessions, congressmen debated whether or not to extend the service past 12 months.<sup>16</sup> The first draftees’ tours of duty would be up the following spring. If they left, then the Army’s numbers would dwindle, leaving a part of America’s defenses weak. Therefore, Congress amended the Selective Service Act

extending the service time of the draftees to however long President Franklin D. Roosevelt deemed necessary and increased the men's pay after their first year of service by ten dollars a month.<sup>17</sup> Many congressmen were against the extension because they had told their constituents that the men would only have to serve for twelve months. One representative reported that many farmers thought more than a year of service was unnecessary since the country was not at war.<sup>18</sup> The Senate passed the bill, 45 to 30, while the House of Representatives passed it a margin of only one vote, 203 to 202.<sup>19</sup> The Roosevelt Administration was creating a standing army, but since the United States was not actively engaged in war as of August, 1941, many congressmen could not accept the extension of service time. However, in December, 1941, Congress easily expanded the age range of draftees to twenty to forty-five, although men eighteen and older could still volunteer for service.<sup>20</sup>

The range of the draftees' ages included that of all collegiate upperclassmen, but not all were in favor of serving for one year or longer. In the 1930s and early 1940s, many college students across the country possessed anti-war or isolationist sentiments.<sup>21</sup> The rise of fascism in Western Europe, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and the "frightening economic situation at home" led to the creation of socialist student organizations who believed in radical ideologies, initiating an anti-war movement.<sup>22</sup> From 1935 until the U.S. entered World War II, students participated in peace rallies every April. Students even petitioned President Roosevelt to abstain from joining the war; and if the U.S. became involved, then the students would not fight.<sup>23</sup> A group of students at the University of Minnesota encouraged the Board of Regents to end compulsory Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) training for male students; their

efforts proved successful.<sup>24</sup> Students at other universities around the country also objected to compulsory military training, organizing strikes on their own campuses.<sup>25</sup> A poll taken at the Ohio State University in the early fall of 1941, found only 13 percent of students thought the U.S. should declare war on Germany.<sup>26</sup>

At Purdue University in 1940, a group of students planned a nonviolent demonstration to protest the Selective Service Act. They planned to wear black armbands, signifying a day of mourning for the first day of registration, October 16, 1940. Their demonstration never came to fruition as the “heavy hand of [President Edward C.] Elliott had fallen.”<sup>27</sup> Elliott, a firm believer in compulsory military training, disallowed the students’ demonstration. Backed by the Purdue board of trustees, Elliott also banned the students from meeting that evening.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, historian H. B. Knoll in *A Record of a University in the War Years, 1941-1945*, noted how the editors of the *Purdue Exponent* published an article in response to an isolationist organization’s request for support from the newspaper editors. The article “vigorously proclaimed that appeasement had no place at Purdue.”<sup>29</sup> President Elliott, the Board of Trustees and the editors of the *Exponent* refused to support those who dissented from their unwavering beliefs.

With Pearl Harbor and the official declaration of war, anti-war sentiment disappeared from college campuses.<sup>30</sup> Addressing the issue of isolationism, Dr. Myron L. Koenig, associate professor of history at Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, asserted that it “will now become perverted nationalism and fanaticism, if it dares to persist at all.”<sup>31</sup> Students who had earlier opposed America’s involvement in the war, “rallied to the flag to defend the United States against fascism and Japanese aggression.”<sup>32</sup>

### *Higher Education at Attention: Preparing for War*

Before America entered the war, higher education had prepared for a wartime society. University administrations cooperated with the federal government so that their institutions would be utilized in the war effort. Colleges and universities prepared men and women for military and civilian instruction, even using intercollegiate football for additional physical training.

After the declaration of war, confusion spread on college campuses as students' struggled to decide their futures: to join the military or stay in school.<sup>33</sup> University administrators and presidents urged students to continue their studies and wait for further instruction by the government.<sup>34</sup> LeRoy E. Cowles of the University of Utah told students to remain at the university and finish school unless called to active duty.<sup>35</sup> Like Cowles and many other university presidents, President Elliott of Purdue also advised students to hold off on entering the military. Elliott spoke at a special convocation challenging the student body to adhere to the "Bill of Responsibilities for Purdue Students." These responsibilities ranged from applying more serious study habits to maintaining health and physical fitness. He concluded by calling attention to the students' duty, "mean[ing] thumbs up, thoughts clear, tempers and tongues under strong brakes."<sup>36</sup> This message was the first of at least three that President Elliott gave to the Purdue student body; he made sure that Purdue students remained disciplined and diligent in their daily campus activities.<sup>37</sup>

The events at Pearl Harbor led to the transformation of college campuses into war-training centers. During World War I, the Department of War had seized complete control of college campuses.<sup>38</sup> Even before the United States declared war on Japan in

1941, university administrations, reluctant to relinquish their control once again, took action; they could work with the Department of War to organize how colleges and universities would contribute to the war effort.<sup>39</sup> In World War I, the Departments of War and Navy and college administrations never established firm curricula that balanced academic and military training. The military implemented training programs in September 1918; but, by November, the war was over.<sup>40</sup>

In August 1940, higher education began to prepare for war well before the U.S. entered the war. The American Council on Education (ACE), the national organization representing all of higher education, and the National Education Association (NEA), representing primary and secondary education, gathered to discuss the roles of education in the war effort. They created the National Committee on Education and Defense (NCED) to meet any potential “situation.”<sup>41</sup> In February and July 1941, the NCED held conferences in Washington, D.C. to discuss how higher education could prepare for war, offering lectures on civilian and military defense as well as industrial training.<sup>42</sup>

A month after the United States entered the war, the NCED and the U.S. Office of Education held a conference, attended by university and college presidents, education officials, and representatives of government agencies, to discuss the role of higher education in the war. Everyone agreed that institutions of higher education would serve the war effort to the best of their ability. They approved sixteen resolutions including the acceleration of academic programs, a study conducted by federal agencies to determine how higher education could best serve the war effort, permission for universities to allow academic credit for wartime service, and an increase in physical fitness training.<sup>43</sup>

While patriotic duty ignited colleges and universities to assist in the war effort, the fundamental need of survival also required institutions to take action. Thousands of young men would leave the campuses to fulfill their patriotic duty, thus depleting the attendance of colleges and universities. How to serve the war effort and survive as a learning center became priority for institutions of higher education in wartime.

On April 18, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the War Manpower Commission (WMC) composed of representatives of the War Department, Labor Production Division, Civilian Service Commission, and the ACE. The WMC discussed the utilization of American manpower for the military and industrial training. The WMC appointed President Elliott of Purdue and James Forrestal, the Undersecretary of the Navy and assistant to the Secretary of War, to co-chair the Special Committee on the Utilization of Colleges and Universities for the Purposes of the War. They met four times in August of 1942 and submitted their report to the WMC.<sup>44</sup>

The representatives of the Special Committee challenged all colleges and universities, professional and technical schools to adjust their educational programs to meet wartime needs. The committee recognized that the principal resources were trained faculties and the physical facilities for military and industrial training. The report resolved that, “all students, men and women, must be preparing themselves for active and competent participation in the war effort and supporting civilian activities [and] all able-bodied male students are destined for the armed forces.”<sup>45</sup> The WMC approved the report and forwarded it to the Roosevelt Administration. The Departments of War and the Navy and institutions of higher education had thus established a working relationship, in which the universities and colleges could retain their control while accommodating

military use of their campuses.<sup>46</sup> George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education, observed that the resolutions agreed upon by the War Manpower Commission confirmed that institutions of higher education “would become an indispensable part of the total man-power situation.”<sup>47</sup>

In the following months, the ACE produced bulletins and pamphlets to inform the public of the actions taken by colleges and universities to serve the war effort. The ACE expressed the goal of maintaining excellence of education and adding new technical and military training courses. The armed forces appointed officers and instructors to manage the organization and operation of the training programs for the Army, Army Air Corps, and Navy on selected college campuses. Enrollment in these military programs eventually swelled across 663 institutions, about one-third of colleges and universities. These schools educated and trained thousands of men to be leaders on the front lines of battle.<sup>48</sup> Part of their training included sports.

Since the National Collegiate Athletic Association’s (NCAA) inception in 1906, it had created and modified rules for the safety of athletes. Members of the NCAA included college presidents, professors, and athletic directors. The NCAA divided the country into eight districts, each of whose members reported on regional activities. The NCAA held its thirty-sixth convention in Detroit, Michigan, on December 29 to 31, 1941. Because the NCAA met three weeks after Pearl Harbor, members discussed how organized athletics could contribute to the war effort. According to the NCAA, during World War I intercollegiate athletic and physical education programs had contributed significantly to the fitness training and morale-boosting of American servicemen. Therefore, in the new war, these programs could be of assistance again. Asa Bushnell,

the commissioner for Eastern College Intercollegiate Athletics, the eastern conference, sent word to President Roosevelt, “in hopes that he would urge colleges to ‘maintain and . . . intensify their programs.’”<sup>49</sup> Each district reported that athletic programs would continue as before, but that universities would standardize and enlarge the intramural as well as the physical fitness programs.<sup>50</sup>

On Tuesday morning of the conference, Philip O. Badger, president of the NCAA, informed the members that he believed that the fundamental purpose of intercollegiate athletics was neither for public entertainment, nor physical training. Badger quoted Professor George E. Johnson of Harvard University who had delivered a paper at the NCAA annual convention in 1916. According to Johnson, intercollegiate athletics were an “expression of loyalty, an endeavor to maintain and to exalt the dignity and honor of the college in those things in which youth is most deeply interested.”<sup>51</sup> Athletics served all students as a social and spiritual expression. Through sports, athletes learned the values of self-sacrifice and self-reliance, as well as team-building and leadership skills. These qualities were also valuable in a crisis. Sports were not integral to the war effort, but the skills associated with them aided the soldiers, sailors, and marines who would fight in the war.<sup>52</sup> To use athletics as part of war training and morale-boosting was, perhaps, the finest way organized athletics could contribute to the war effort.<sup>53</sup>

Following Badger’s presentation, Asa Bushnell laid out further reasons why intercollegiate athletics should continue in wartime. Beyond the obvious—improving male physical fitness for combat—they offered American citizens a diversion from war news. For a few hours, the game diverted the fans’ attention. Bushnell concluded that university administrators, athletic directors, and college students “will not be content with

*athletics as usual*, but will make fuller use of [their] facilities and [their] opportunities, and will have, instead, *athletics as the emergency requires*. Let's keep 'em playing!"<sup>54</sup>

At the conference, Lieutenant Commander Thomas Hamilton, a pilot and former head football coach at the U.S. Naval Academy, announced that he needed sport instructors for athletic training in the upcoming Navy pre-flight training programs.<sup>55</sup>

Appointed by Captain Arthur Radford, the Bureau of Aeronautics Chief in charge of the Navy V-5 pre-flight training program, Hamilton was in charge of planning the syllabus on pilot training.<sup>56</sup> He stressed that at least nine sports would aid in combat training with football being the most crucial team-building and physically demanding one. Other sports included basketball for hand-eye coordination; track and field for speed and timing; boxing for self-reliance and courage; gymnastics for equilibrium development; soccer for dexterity; military track for versatility; swimming for regulation of breathing and endurance; and wrestling for simulation of hand-to-hand combat.<sup>57</sup>

Even non-military and athletic department personnel argued that athletics aided national defense. Samuel E. M. Crocker, associate executive director for the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation, asked the NCAA convention attendees, "how many of you would not give a good deal to lead a company of the Chicago Bears, after a course of military training . . . in a little hand-to-hand fighting?" The course of athletics, namely, football, and military training were not separate, but one and the same.<sup>58</sup>

Major John L. Griffith, the Big Ten commissioner and editor of the *Athletic Journal*, believed that America needed athletics programs to flourish when involved in a war. American higher education had grown a bit soft in Griffith's eyes.<sup>59</sup> He agreed with

Frank Knox, the secretary of the Navy, who stated that “educational institutions have tended to neglect the physical education of American youth for their intellectual development.”<sup>60</sup> Griffith believed that physical and academic education were intertwined yet “neither should be permitted to interfere with the progress of the other.”<sup>61</sup>

Like Hamilton, Crocker and Griffith, other athletic directors, coaches and army and naval officers believed that organized athletics were necessary if American youth were to lead the nation on the battlefields. According to E. G. Schroeder, director of athletics at the State University of Iowa, sports demanded “arduous discipline and training” of athletes.<sup>62</sup> Thurston J. Davies, president of Colorado College, agreed, saying that “the qualities of a good athlete and a good soldier pretty well parallel each other.”<sup>63</sup> Governor Dwight H. Green of Illinois, looking to the possibility of war, acknowledged that with “competitive athletics,” America could strengthen herself with “men who are fit to become leaders.”<sup>64</sup>

Furthermore, Alonzo A. Stagg, football coach at the College of the Pacific, stated that the courageous and loyal character of the athlete produced leaders on and off the football field.<sup>65</sup> E. A. Wolleson, a retired U.S. Navy captain instructing at the midshipmen’s school at Northwestern University, spoke of the “keystones of military and industrial morale developed by collegiate athletic departments” being “leadership, ability to work with and for others, poise, sportsmanship, and teamwork.”<sup>66</sup> To Army Lieutenant Sam Francis, soldiers who participated in sports benefited from the team-building skills learned in practice. They had a “co-operative spirit resultant from team competition, which ma[de] for the unity so vital in the army.”<sup>67</sup> The athlete-soldier

“remain[ed] cool under fire, [and had] complete command of his faculties.”<sup>68</sup> All of these qualities of an athlete produced the essential qualities of a great soldier.<sup>69</sup>

The Western Conference, or the Big Ten, endorsed this philosophy of football as military training.<sup>70</sup> While Purdue University, of the Big Ten, continued its varsity athletic and physical fitness programs during the war, it also contributed to the war effort in industrial and technical training for both civilians and servicemen and women.

### *Purdue University Goes to War: Blazing the Technological Trail*

An article in the *Chicago Herald American* in October, 1942 described Purdue as the “War College of the Middle West,” because its technical programs, training facilities and faculty made it a “vital war center.”<sup>71</sup> As of the fall semester of 1941, Purdue offered undergraduate and graduate courses in agriculture, forestry, pharmacy, science, home economics, and physical education. The School of Engineering, perhaps the reason why Purdue easily transformed into a “vital war center,” offered courses in freshman engineering, and engineering law, before courses for majors in chemical, mechanical, metallurgical, civil, electrical, and aeronautical engineering.<sup>72</sup> The determination of President Elliott, the university administration, faculty and students established the university as a leading example of how colleges and universities went to war.

Before the war, Purdue required all male students to take training in ROTC during their freshman and sophomore years. After the first two years, Purdue offered optional advanced training for juniors and seniors.<sup>73</sup> Purdue boasted one of the largest cadet field artillery units in the U.S. before the war; in 1940, about one-sixth of the Field Artillery Reserve Officers in the U.S. Army had trained at Purdue.<sup>74</sup> The Navy selected a group of

Purdue's Naval Aviation Cadets to create the first squadron of the Flying Boilermakers. Trainees in the Army ROTC traveled to Kentucky for war games. Cadets could have even taken a chemistry course on powder and explosives where they detonated explosives behind the Chemical and Metallurgical Engineering Building.<sup>75</sup>

On December 26, 1941, in response to the transformation from peacetime to wartime, Purdue University administrators determined that an accelerated teaching schedule would be necessary to speed up the process of training for war.<sup>76</sup> The curriculum consisted of three sixteen-week semesters and final exams, without summer vacation.<sup>77</sup> Beginning in 1942, the new school schedule ran from January 2, 1942 to May 2, 1942; May 6, 1942 to August 22, 1942; September 3, 1942 to December 23, 1942; December 30, 1942 to April 20, 1943; and April 28, 1943 to August 17, 1943.<sup>78</sup> In early September, 1943, Purdue aligned its civilian schedule with the newly arrived Navy college trainees whose 16 week-semester had begun on July 1. The Navy term would end October 27, 1943 for all Purdue students. When the next term started November 8, the rest of the school schedule also began. Therefore, Purdue introduced a semi-term, an 8-week term from September to October 27, 1943, where students took a half load of classes with 3-hour credits that met 6 days a week instead of the normal 3 times a week.<sup>79</sup>

President Elliott believed that the “great task of education and war” was for the “American youth involved [to] represent our chief hope of attaining peace in the world.”<sup>80</sup> Purdue transformed from “a rather quiet, almost pastoral, campus setting to something akin to a major military training base.”<sup>81</sup> Elliott, in his years as president from 1922 to 1945, elevated Purdue's status as a slightly above average institution of higher education to one of prestige.<sup>82</sup> He believed that democracy was the essential element in

the American way of life; and, if everyone cooperated and helped those willing to help themselves, then there would be “work for all, homes for all, health for all, hope for all . . . happiness for all.”<sup>83</sup> Therefore, higher education was vital to educate and train American youth in wartime because according to Elliott, democracy depended on the “trained competency of the youth of each oncoming generation.”<sup>84</sup> Elliott propelled Purdue into the forefront of the war effort; he ensured the survival of the university as well as enhanced its status as a war training center.

At the beginning of the war, Purdue had been a university for 72 years (a young institution compared to over-three-hundred-year-old Harvard College, founded in 1636). The Morrill Act (1862) had granted land to each state for constructing institutions of higher education in the agriculture and mechanical arts.<sup>85</sup> John Purdue, a very wealthy industrialist living in Lafayette, Indiana, donated substantial funds to implement the grant in Tippecanoe County, northwest of Indianapolis.<sup>86</sup> After negotiations, the Indiana General Assembly accepted his terms, and Governor Conrad Baker signed the act founding the Purdue University on May 6, 1869.<sup>87</sup> The Purdue board of trustees allocated funding to construct buildings on campus before the first semester of classes began in the fall of 1874.<sup>88</sup> Although the Purdue board of trustees denied admission to eight women in 1874 because the students were female; they lifted the gender restrictions the following year.<sup>89</sup>

Edward C. Elliott became the eighth president in 1922.<sup>90</sup> In 1924, Elliott oversaw the construction of Ross-Ade Stadium, original capacity of 13,500, and eventually twenty-four other buildings including Cary Hall (male dormitory), the Purdue Memorial Union, Lambert Fieldhouse and Gymnasium, Hall of Music, Hall of Administration,

Windsor Halls (female dormitories) and in 1934, the airport before retiring in 1945.<sup>91</sup> Developing the campus in the 1920s and 1930s, especially during the Great Depression, was impressive, but his role as president during World War II surpassed his earlier efforts. He prepared Purdue for the war effort and converted it into a campus war machine.

Purdue became one of the leading institutions in federally-funded scientific research during and after the war. Faculty and graduate students worked around the clock conducting experiments on soy beans, dried eggs, atomic energy, automatic weapons, high-altitude flying, and radar components. They reported their findings to agencies such as the War Production Board, Ordnance Department, Navy, Army Air Corps, Office of Scientific Research and Development, and Civil Aeronautics Administration.<sup>92</sup>

Nine university physicists, including graduate students and faculty members conducted research in atomic energy.<sup>93</sup> The Department of Physics had received funds through the Purdue Research Foundation in 1942 to work on the development of atomic energy. The physicists worked on the project under the supervision of a physicist appointed by the federal government.<sup>94</sup> Five of the nine left West Lafayette for Los Alamos, New Mexico, to work on the Manhattan Project, significantly contributing to the end the war.<sup>95</sup> One of these physicists was twenty-four year-old Harry K. Daghlian who had graduated from Purdue in 1942.<sup>96</sup> On August 21, 1945, after the successful completion of and dropping of the atomic bombs, Daghlian was working late one night in an isolated laboratory at S-Site where he determined how much fissile material was needed for an atomic explosion.<sup>97</sup> On this fateful night, Daghlian accidentally dropped

some of the material, exposing him to a lethal dose of radiation. A few weeks later, he died from acute radiation syndrome although the newspapers described his death as “burns received in an industrial accident.”<sup>98</sup> While Daghlian was part of an innovative team that helped end World War II, he and fellow physicists were still figuring out the side effects of radiation. In the end, he paid the ultimate price for working on such a ground-breaking project.

Purdue also received federal funding for the implementation of civilian industrial training programs. Purdue operated these programs in more than 60 cities in Indiana, including West Lafayette. The Engineering, Science, Management War Training (ESMWT) program provided men and women with valuable skills to work in the defense industries.<sup>99</sup> Purdue graduates had worked at Hoosier industries; now, the university had the ability to train future workers at industrial facilities more efficiently than the industrial companies could. In 1940, Purdue began training in fourteen industrial centers and trained 3,200 workers.<sup>100</sup> During the 1941-42 school year, over 21,000 workers (men and women), were trained in sixty-eight cities and another 20,000 were trained the following year.<sup>101</sup> By 1944, Purdue had prepared over 56,000 men and women to work in war industries. Taking specialized classes in cities such as Hammond, Fort Wayne, Evansville, East Chicago, Gary, South Bend, Indianapolis, and Terre Haute facilitated a widespread training system.<sup>102</sup>

On the Purdue campus, beginning in the summer of 1942, female employees of companies like Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Curtiss-Wright Corporation enrolled in the ESMWT program for training.<sup>103</sup> The School of Electrical Engineering developed the curriculum for the RCA cadets, who attended classes in engineering math,

drawing, shop and manufacturing processes, and radio manufacturing.<sup>104</sup> In the summer and fall of 1943, Purdue enrolled 166 RCA cadets.<sup>105</sup> The School of Mechanical and Aeronautical Engineering developed the curriculum for Curtiss-Wright cadets, who attended courses in engineering math, theory of flight, and aircraft structural analysis.<sup>106</sup> From January until October, 1943, 287 Curtiss-Wright cadets attended Purdue.<sup>107</sup> In addition to the RCA and Curtiss-Wright cadets, Purdue trained civilians in Ordnance Inspection and radio engineering, inspecting war plants and working in the Radio Research Laboratory in Wright Field, Ohio.<sup>108</sup> The ESMWT program also trained naval officers in Diesel Engine Operation and in Ultra-High Frequency Techniques.<sup>109</sup>

As the war progressed, enrollment increased in the ESMWT program; in the fall of 1942, Purdue had enrolled over 1,081 students in the ESMWT programs (this number includes the sailors enrolled in the Naval Training School for Electricians' Mates program). By September of 1943, ESMWT students increased to 1,138.<sup>110</sup> While the federal government paid for all students in the ESMWT program to learn these specialized skills, students at technical institute centers around the state could receive university credits toward a degree, although engineering credits were not transferable.<sup>111</sup> The Purdue board of trustees agreed to offer the ESMWT program at technical institutes for not only the duration of the war, but also after "as a service to Indiana industry and to high school graduates employed in Indiana industry who c[ould] not have the benefits of an engineering college education."<sup>112</sup> The board of trustees believed that if this program was "carefully planned and courageously carried out," then it would cultivate the university's leadership in technical education.<sup>113</sup>

These relationships built between Purdue and industrial centers and communities throughout Indiana proved useful in post-war society. Community representatives requested continued training for their companies even after the war.<sup>114</sup> The sites of these industrial centers would eventually lead to the creation of several Purdue satellite campuses around Indiana. Purdue was well on its way to becoming the state's leader in technological education.

Although male and female Purdue students learned trades and skills to help their country fight and win the war, nonessential areas of study became less popular. From 1941 through 1943, student enrollment dropped in the Schools of Agriculture, Forestry, Pharmacy, Home Economics, Science, and Physical Education (see Table A.1 in Appendix A, for the breakdown of civilian student enrollment in nonessential areas of study from 1941 to 1943).<sup>115</sup> These traditional educational programs were not as crucial as the war-related industry or military training programs.

According to Table A.1, the enrollment statistics of the fall semester of 1942 were similar to the pre-war fall semester of 1941. Student enrollment in these nonessential areas of study decreased from 2,686 to 2,438. In the School of Agriculture, there were 606 students enrolled in 1941; in 1942, there were 569 students. Comparably, in Home Economics, student enrollment fell from 858 to 792; and in Science, enrollment dropped from 873 to 808. Even with an accelerated academic schedule in the autumn of 1942, Purdue resembled more of a university in peacetime than wartime.<sup>116</sup>

However, in September 1943, the eight-week semi-term from the beginning of September through the end of October, civilian enrollment in the nonessential areas of study dropped by more than half from 2,438 to 1,129. In 1942, there were 569 students

enrolled in Agriculture and in September 1943, enrollment was 61. In the School of Physical of Education, enrollment fell from 99 in 1942 to 10 in 1943. In 1943, in Home Economics, the 792 students in 1942 dropped to 413. In the autumn of 1943, the somewhat peacetime environment that Purdue students had enjoyed in 1942 was fading.<sup>117</sup>

While Purdue offered nonessential areas of study in wartime, the university also provided students with an essential area of study: engineering. From the fall of 1941 to the fall of 1942, civilian engineering enrollment as a whole increased from 3,434 to 3,830 (see Table A.2 in Appendix A). However, the Department of Mechanical Engineering dropped from 1,201 to 1,049; the Department of Public Service Engineering remained the same, and Aeronautical Engineering had no students enrolled in 1941 with 44 enrolled in 1942. From the fall of 1942 through the fall of 1943, civilian engineering enrollment dropped drastically as the Army and Navy implemented their college training programs in the spring and summer of 1943. In November 1943, civilian engineering enrollment fell to 1,099.<sup>118</sup>

While Purdue students joined industrial training programs and specialized in engineering to aid the war effort, they also joined the military reserves. In June 1942, the American Council on Education released a list of opportunities for reserve service from the Departments of War and Navy. Those able-bodied men who had not enlisted immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor now had the ability to choose which reserve service branch had the most to offer them.<sup>119</sup> The *Exponent* published the list for Purdue students to consider their options. The list included opportunities for young men and women in the Army Air Corps, Enlisted Reserve, Army Nurse Corps, Medical Corps;

Navy V-1, V-5 pre-flight, and V-7 programs; Navy Volunteer Reserve and Nurse Corps; and Marine Corps Reserves, Coast Guard Reserve and Merchant Marines.

At Purdue and around the country, the servicemen and women in the reserves lived like civilian college students; they resided in the dormitories, eating in the cafeterias, and attending classes. In addition, they improved their calisthenics skills and physical fitness. For technical training the servicemen studied engineering, chemistry, physics, and math. At Purdue, the Naval Training School for Electricians' Mates became operational on June 16, 1942, welcoming 200 cadets that summer. The Navy transformed Cary Hall, a male dormitory, into a sailor's residence. Over 800 sailors arrived on campus for the 1942 fall semester. Over 6,000 men trained under this program until it closed on June 30, 1945.<sup>120</sup> The reservists also played varsity sports, including football.

Football would become more than just an intercollegiate sport; it would transform into a distraction for citizens from their wartime society, teach players needed skills in battle, and also boost the players' and citizens' morale.<sup>121</sup> When asked about his success at the end of the 1941 season, before Pearl Harbor, head football Coach Frank Leahy of the University of Notre Dame replied:

Our success we feel was due to spirit, sacrifice, and unselfishness in team play. Notre Dame's football squad of this year was a carbon copy of real American democracy. Every man played as a member of the team, each boy thinking in terms of team success rather than personal glory. Should America be called upon again to defend our rights, we feel that the same spirit of sacrifice and team play . . . will again preserve the American way of living.<sup>122</sup>

If these qualities that Coach Leahy held in such high regard were realized across American college campuses, as they were at Purdue, then players would not only possess skills needed to fight but also would have proud, competitive spirits.

Football as well as all organized athletics could contribute to the war effort. “Playing athletic games and attending sporting events were alternately considered to be a healthy continuance of normal national life and a means of preparing for defense . . . sport was believed to have unique qualities representing the moral and physical superiority of the U. S.”<sup>123</sup> The spectacle of wartime football created “victorious warriors” and “virtuous Americans,” that strengthened Americans’ values and ways of life.<sup>124</sup> This realization stirred the American people not only to defend but also to preserve the American way of life with athletics as an essential part of it.<sup>125</sup> Through these contributions, college football justified its survival and place in wartime.

Many colleges and universities survived during the war because administrations worked with the federal government and the armed forces to figure out how their institutions could serve the war effort. Intercollegiate athletics continued because athletic directors and university presidents believed sports provided young men with sufficient physical training. Becoming a war training center in addition to a learning center, Purdue thrived during the war. In the fall of 1942, Purdue began its transition into a war training center, affecting the collegiate culture. Football, a staple feature of the collegiate culture, boosted students’ morale, diverting their attention away from the wartime changes.

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- <sup>1</sup> Paul T. Yamashita, "Very Much Alive," *The Purdue Alumnus* 30, no. 3 (December 1942): 13.
- <sup>2</sup> Walter Lord, *Day of Infamy* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957), 212.
- <sup>3</sup> S. L. Price, "December 7, 1941: Redskins versus Eagles on Pearl Harbor Day, the Second World War Kicks Off," *Sports Illustrated* November 29, 1999, 82.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> "All City Rallies to Support War," *New York Times*, December 9, 1941, 39.
- <sup>6</sup> "Crush the Axis!" *The Lowell Sun and Citizen Leader* (Lowell, MA), December 8, 1941, 6.
- <sup>7</sup> "Parade of Opinion," *The Coe College Cosmos* (Cedar Rapids, IA), December 10, 1941, 2.
- <sup>8</sup> "Our Platform," *The News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), December 9, 1941, 2.
- <sup>9</sup> "Our Community Duty: An Editorial," *Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, Indiana), December 8, 1941, 1.
- <sup>10</sup> "Texas Spirit Flames At Japanese Attack," *The Brownsville Herald* (Brownsville, TX), December 9, 1941, 2.
- <sup>11</sup> "The Twain Shall Meet . . ." *The Delta Democrat Times* (Greenville, MS), December 8, 1941, 4.
- <sup>12</sup> "America is United," *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, CA), December 8, 1941, 1.
- <sup>13</sup> Elias Huzar, "Selective Service Policy 1940-1942," *Journal of Politics* 4, no. 2 (May 1942): 203, 217.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., 209.
- <sup>15</sup> George F. Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 231 (January 1944): 3.
- <sup>16</sup> Elias Huzar, "Selective Service Policy 1940-1942," 222.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., 222-223, 225-226.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., 222.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., 203, 207.
- <sup>21</sup> Virgus Ray Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993), 2.
- <sup>22</sup> Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 183.
- <sup>23</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities*, 2. Also mentioning the April peace rallies, see Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 183.
- <sup>24</sup> Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 16, 162.
- <sup>25</sup> Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip E. Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector, 1940-1947* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 7.
- <sup>26</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities*, 2.
- <sup>27</sup> Robert W. Topping, *A Century and Beyond: The History of Purdue University* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1988), 238.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>29</sup>H. B. Knoll, *A Record of a University in the War Years, 1941-1945* (Lafayette, IN: Purdue University, 1947), 6.

<sup>30</sup> Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 16, 168.

<sup>31</sup> Bob Brittell, "Koenig Predicts Repercussions of War; Deferments Nullified," *The Coe College Cosmos*, December 10, 1941, 1, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 168.

<sup>33</sup> In a period of eight days, the Army alone had over 17,500 applications in New York, New Jersey and Delaware. In five days, the Navy received approximately 10,000 applications from the areas of New England, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, see "Recruited Facilities Expanded by Army," *New York Times*, December 17, 1941, 24.

<sup>34</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities*, 3.

<sup>35</sup> LeRoy E. Cowles, *University of Utah and World War II* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret News Press, 1949), 31.

<sup>36</sup> Edward C. Elliott, "The Day and Our Duties: A Message to Purdue from President Edward C. Elliott" (speech, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, December 15, 1941). Printed and distributed in pamphlet form by Purdue University in 1941. Box G, Edward C. Elliott Papers, Manuscript Collection, Archives and Special Collections, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN. Hereafter citations will note the manuscript item, followed by Edward C. Elliott Papers.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*; Edward C. Elliott, "Another Day and Other Duties: A Second War Message to Purdue from President Edward C. Elliott" (speech, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, February 13, 1942). Printed and distributed in pamphlet form by Purdue University in 1942, Edward C. Elliott Papers; and Elliott, "A Prologue to Service: A Third War Message to Purdue from President Edward C. Elliott" (speech, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, July 31, 1942). Printed and distributed in pamphlet form by Purdue University in 1942, Edward C. Elliott Papers.

<sup>38</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities*, 4.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>40</sup> Malcolm Willey, "The College Training Programs of the Armed Services," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 231 (January 1944): 14-15.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7. For reference to James Forrestal, the name of the Special Committee on the Utilization of Colleges and Universities and their meeting four times, see War Manpower Commission, *Report of the Special Committees on the Utilization of Colleges and Universities for the Purposes of War*, Aug. 19, 1942, Folder, "Committee on Utilization of Colleges and Universities in the War Training Program—WMC," Box H, Edward C. Elliot Papers.

<sup>45</sup> War Manpower Commission, *Report of the Special Committee on the Utilization of Colleges and Universities*, WMC, Aug. 19, 1942, Edward C. Elliott Papers.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*.

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<sup>47</sup> George F. Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 231 (January 1944): 3.

<sup>48</sup> For the break down of how many thousands of soldiers enrolled in these programs, see Raymond Walters, "Facts and Figures of Colleges at War," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 231 (January 1944): 8.

<sup>49</sup> Asa Bushnell to President Roosevelt, telegram, 9 December 1941, as quoted in Donald Rominger, Jr., "The Impact of the U.S. Government's Sports and Physical Training Policy on Organized Athletics during World War II" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1976), 68.

<sup>50</sup> National Collegiate Athletic Association, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Convention*, (Mission, KS: National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1941), 34-46. Hereafter cited as NCAA, *Proceedings*, 1941.

<sup>51</sup> NCAA, *Proceedings*, 1941, 71, 73-4. Philip O. Badger quoting George E. Johnson.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 75, 90.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 89-90.

<sup>55</sup> Donald Rominger, Jr., "From Playing Field to the Battleground: The United States Navy V-5 Pre-Flight Program in World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 12, no. 3 (Winter 1985): 254-256.

<sup>56</sup> Rominger, Jr., "The Impact of the U.S. Government," 35-36, 138. For further reference to Hamilton's positions, see "Hamilton—Football's Man-of-Year," in *The Official National Collegiate Athletic Association Football Guide*, ed. Walter R. Okeson (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1943), 30.

<sup>57</sup> For reference to Commander Hamilton and his discussion of the nine sports, see Rominger, Jr., "From Playing Field to the Battleground," 254-256; for reference to sports and their relation to military training, see Jack Falla, *NCAA: The Voice of College Sports* (Mission, KS: National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1981), 206-207; Wanda Ellen Wakefield, *Playing to Win: Sports and the American Military, 1898-1945* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 36.

<sup>58</sup> NCAA, *Proceedings*, 1941, 84-5.

<sup>59</sup> John L. Griffith, "The Value of School and College Athletics in the Present Crisis," *Athletic Journal* 22, no. 3 (November 1941): 10.

<sup>60</sup> "Athletics: An Aid to National Defense," *Athletic Journal* 22, no. 3 (November 1941): 32.

<sup>61</sup> Griffith, "The Value of School," *Athletic Journal*, 10.

<sup>62</sup> "Athletics: An Aid to National Defense," *Athletic Journal*, 36.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

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<sup>70</sup> The Big Ten was also known as the Western Conference. In 1939, the University of Chicago dropped out of the conference, and then it also became known as the Big Nine.

<sup>71</sup> Katy Howes, "Herald-American Lauds University as 'War College,'" *The Purdue Exponent*, October 9, 1942, 1. Before the war, Purdue taught students applicable skills to obtain jobs in the fields of agriculture, engineering, physics, chemistry, military science and home economics. Throughout the rest of the chapter and subsequent chapters, the *Purdue Exponent* will be referred to as the *Exponent*.

<sup>72</sup> Purdue University, "Enrollment of Students by Schools and Terms," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.

<sup>73</sup> Knoll, *A Record of a University*, 43-44.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-44.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 32, 34.

<sup>77</sup> Topping, *A Century and Beyond*, 238.

<sup>78</sup> "Purdue University at Work: during the War Year of 1942-1943," *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 2 (February 1944): 11, War Years at Purdue, (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File, Archives and Special Collections, Purdue University Libraries, West Lafayette, Indiana.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Edward C. Elliott, "Education and the War," read before the 39<sup>th</sup> Annual Congress on Medical Education and Licensure, Chicago, February 15, 1943, Box F, Edward C. Elliott Papers.

<sup>81</sup> Topping, *A Century and Beyond*, 239.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>83</sup> Edward C. Elliott, "Problems in Higher Education" (pamphlet, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, n.d.), 22, Box F, Edward C. Elliott Papers.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Topping, *A Century and Beyond*, 10-13, 18-19.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-31.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 59, 62-64.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 197, 199, 202-203, 213, 217, 219-220, 230-231.

<sup>92</sup> Knoll, *A Record of a University*, 8.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 87.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> Jon Hunner, *Inventing Los Alamos: The Growth of an Atomic Community* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 84-85.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>99</sup> Purdue University, "Document No. 886, ESMWT Progress Report," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 21-22, 1942, 239.

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<sup>100</sup> “Purdue University at Work: during the War Year of 1942-1943,” *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 2 (February 1944): 20, 26, War Years at Purdue (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-23.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students by Schools and Terms,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.

<sup>106</sup> “Purdue University at Work: during the War Year of 1942-1943,” *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 2 (February 1944): 20, 26, War Years at Purdue (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File.

<sup>107</sup> Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.

<sup>108</sup> For reference to the description of the ESMWT courses, see *ibid.*; and for reference to the ESWMT courses beginning in 1942, see Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.

<sup>109</sup> Purdue University, “Document No. 886,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 21-22, 1942, 239.

<sup>110</sup> Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.

<sup>111</sup> Purdue University, “Document 881, Progress Report on Technical Institutes,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 21-22, 1942, 255-257.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> “Purdue University at Work: during the War Year of 1942-1943,” *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 2 (February 1944): 20, 26, War Years at Purdue (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File.

<sup>115</sup> For 1941, 1942, and Sept. 1943 enrollment statistics, see Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577; and for 1943 enrollment statistics, see Purdue Univ., “Document 977, Report Re Enrollments as of November 20, 1943,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, January 19-20, 1944, 645.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> Knoll, *A Record of a University*, 16.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 49; for the 800 sailors arriving in the fall of 1942, see Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.

<sup>121</sup> NCAA, *Proceedings*, 1941, 102, 104, 106.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 102, 104.

<sup>123</sup> Rominger, Jr., “The Impact of the U.S. Government,” 2.

<sup>124</sup> Wilbur Jones, Jr., “Football! Navy! War!”: *How the Military “Lend-Lease” Players Saved the College Game and Helped Win World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., Inc., 2009), 14, 22-23.

<sup>125</sup> Rominger, Jr., “The Impact of the U.S. Government,” 1-2.

## Chapter Two

### Keeping Mr. Spirit Alive: Burnham's Boilermakers and the 1942 College Football Season

On the evening of November 20, 1942, the effigy of Miss Indiana awaited her annual cremation. The members of the Skull and Crescent, an organization of gentlemen scholars chosen from each fraternity, strolled onto Stuart Field and presented the students in attendance with a coffin. As they lifted Miss Indiana, the stamping of the feet and roar of the crowd brought the limp dummy to life, her yellow-yarn hair dancing about her head and limbs thrashing like a swimmer struggling underwater. An orange flame flickered in the reflection of her stitched black-button eyes, and the fire consumed the lifeless corpse, leaving nothing but ash. A battle cry rose from the crowd; the war dance had begun.<sup>1</sup>

The Purdue University football team and coaches, a few hundred students, and faculty members gathered to attend the customary pep rally. As the evening marched on, the players and coaches gave speeches about defeating the Hoosiers for the first time in three years. Howling for a victory, the students ended the rally with a parade, a snake dance winding throughout campus ending at the Memorial Union building. Since 1925, this annual college football game in the burnt-orange and cardinal-red hues of autumn was the Hoosier equivalent of a small-scale Civil War. The winners would reign over Hoosierdom with the cherished Old Oaken Bucket.<sup>2</sup> It was time to hook another "P" on the bucket's chain representing an eleventh win for Purdue.

The 1942 college football season stood out from the '43, '44 and '45 wartime seasons. The 1942 season shared more similarities with the previous years. Since the

Selective Service Act did not lower the draft age to 18 until November of '42, the pool of talent for college football remained mostly intact, although war had begun almost nine months before.<sup>3</sup> The war had not completely transformed American society yet, and football coaches felt little change during the autumn of 1942. Although the U.S. had begun to send troops overseas to fight, large contingents of men who had joined the reserves had not left because they were still training. Purdue enrollment rose in the fall of 1942 to a total of 7,759 students, welcoming a rather large freshman class of over 2,000 and over 1,000 new students in the ESMWT industry training programs (see Table A.4 in Appendix A for a breakdown of total wartime student enrollment).<sup>4</sup> Because of the increased enrollment, the editors of the *Exponent* welcomed and educated the new students with descriptions of Boilermaker traditions on campus.<sup>5</sup> With over 3,000 new students, Purdue campus life thrived in wartime.

In the autumn of 1942, college football not only maintained the Purdue students' sense of normalcy, but also boosted their loyalty to their university and their wartime morale. In the early 1940s, college football was central to the cultural identity of universities; thus, Purdue's traditions revolved around football. Football connected the external and internal relations of alumni, students and local constituents and displayed a unique culture of symbols, language, narratives, and practices in university communities.<sup>6</sup> In 1944, the *Bulletin of Purdue University* acknowledged that "intercollegiate and intramural athletics play[ed] a major part in the maintaining of morale" and that "college spirit among American youth apparently [wa]s more dependent upon the success of athletes than upon the accomplishments of scholars."<sup>7</sup> Purdue continued its athletic

programs with support from the student body; war could not shake the gridiron spirit of the students.

While the Purdue students' American duty came first, the maintaining of "normalcy" of their collegiate culture was now crucial. The war changed the daily lives and futures of collegiate men and women:

Men and women can make major adjustments frequently more easily than they can minor ones. A civilian who puts on his soldier's uniform and undergoes the rigorous training and discipline of the Army may find it easier to accept that major change than to be forced to smoke a different brand of cigarettes. Women who take strenuous jobs in industry find it easier to get up early and work a steady eight or nine hours than to crush their hair-do's under nets. The reason may [have] been that we recognize big reasons for big changes but resent the small changes for which we do not understand the need. If this is the true explanation, it offers the best of reasons for the attempts of the University to keep life on the campus going along as much as possible in the smooth groove worn by custom.<sup>8</sup>

In 1944 the *Purdue Bulletin* published this statement of how Purdue proudly went to war for students, their parents and alumni. Although the *Bulletin's* report could be interpreted as media propaganda, embellishing reasons to maintain campus customs, it did explain that the routine of campus life could uplift the students' morale.<sup>9</sup>

### *Changing Collegiate Culture*

War, like frost glistening on the leaves of autumn, marked a climate change to American campus cultures. After Pearl Harbor, "the outpouring of patriotism" spread to college campuses with students, faculty, and university administrations aggressively showing their support.<sup>10</sup> At the University of Virginia, students formed the Civil Defense Organization where students volunteered to sit atop Lewis Mountain and various roofs of university buildings to spot enemy airplanes.<sup>11</sup> At Cornell University, students

established the Cornell for Victory Committee to assist students in finding work in the war industries. Students at “virtually every campus” created organizations to contribute to the war effort by selling war stamps and bonds, organizing scrap metal drives and services at the campus United Service Organization (USO), learning first aid, and even helping to harvest the local cash crop.<sup>12</sup>

This change also came to Purdue. The students created the Student War Council (SWC) to “provide an agency through which the student body may be enabled to participate, actively and continuously, in the concerted efforts of the University to contribute” to the war effort.<sup>13</sup> The SWC was comprised of the presidents or leaders of each student organization on campus, including the Student Senate, the *Exponent*, the Student Union, Associated Women Students, and Fraternity Presidents’ Council. Professor Frank C. Hockema, faculty advisor to all Purdue students during the war, helped coordinate the desires of the SWC with the policies and programs of the university. The SWC encouraged students to stay physically fit and take defense courses, continue their studies in the accelerated programs, conserve their resources, participate in wartime relief organizations, sell war bonds, and update their fellow students on national and international affairs.<sup>14</sup> But, above all, the SWC promoted the boosting of student morale for the duration of the war.<sup>15</sup>

The SWC sponsored war convocations and lectures with discussions on the war and the war effort.<sup>16</sup> Educating students on war-related affairs gave them a keener understanding of why their higher educations contributed to the war effort. In September 1942, the SWC sponsored a lecture by Paul V. McNutt, Indiana’s former governor and chairman of the federal War Manpower Commission.<sup>17</sup> The Glee Club opened the event

by singing the “Star Spangled Banner,” as a large American flag descended from the rafters. The spirited rally, including speeches by student leaders, elicited a “will-to-win” posture in wartime. Addressing higher education’s role in the war, McNutt said that “it [was] the special task of the college to be the arsenal of skill,” that all, not just a few select universities should concentrate all energies on the war effort.<sup>18</sup> According to McNutt, students were participating in a revolutionary process that was changing the management and mission of higher education. Curricula and facilities would now meet the needs of the war industries and military training, rather than civilian higher education.<sup>19</sup> Similar lectures and convocations continued throughout the war until October, 1945, when the SWC officially disbanded.<sup>20</sup>

Over the airwaves on WBAA in October 1942, Professor of History Louis Sears rededicated Purdue’s mission to support all the men in the armed forces, on land, in the air, and on the sea. As part of the university’s Navy Day in U.S. History, he recalled the many Navy men who trained at Purdue and thanked them for their service. Sears hoped that when the Navy cadets left for war, the Purdue community would “feel assured that they carry on with a goodly share of the old Purdue spirit.”<sup>21</sup> No matter the outcome of the future, Purdue possessed a pride that uplifted their courageous hearts.

Contributing to the national war effort, Purdue students set up scrap metal drives within the West Lafayette community. G. S. McGrath, the university inspector, along with students combed through University buildings and took whatever scrap they could find. In one drive, walking door-to-door, students also asked homeowners to donate trophies and old frying pans to contribute to the steel requirements set by the War Production Board.<sup>22</sup> Over 300 men in four hours collected over 80,000 pounds of scrap

metal. Army cadets in Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) trucks picked up the loads to turn over to the steel industry.<sup>23</sup> Although gas rationing had begun to take its toll on student transport, local businesses profited from their immobility and campus events swelled in attendance. Many more students stayed on campus for the weekends. Students on campus attended pep rallies, dances, and movies at the Luna, New Main, and Mars theatres.<sup>24</sup>

Purdue no longer emphasized personal study and recreational activity, rather selfless duty and a will-to-win attitude. On August 29, 1942, Dean A. A. Potter welcomed the students in a warm, but cautionary manner. Students could no longer “carry on as usual;” they “must prepare themselves quickly and thoroughly so that they can contribute most to victory for American idealism and to happier living for all in a world at peace.”<sup>25</sup> If students did not “utilize [their] time most advantageously,” then they could be considered unpatriotic.<sup>26</sup> It would have been un-American for students to cut class, scrape by with average grades, have more interest in their recreational activities than their education, or take joyrides in their automobiles when the country was rationing rubber and gasoline for the war effort.

While college students across the nation embraced new wartime activities, some found it hard to preserve their campus traditions. At the University of Virginia, the tradition of freshmen wearing selected ties and hats disappeared during the war.<sup>27</sup> Wabash College, in Crawfordsville, Indiana, suspended their student newspaper as well as most of their student organizations for the duration of the war.<sup>28</sup> In general, students’ entertainment consisted of going to the movies and gathering around a radio to hear war

news.<sup>29</sup> Although Purdue students now trained for combat or jobs in war industry, they could not let the university turn into a full-fledged military and civil defense base.

Purdue students preserved many of the campus traditions. Purdue continued its almost daily publications of the *Exponent*; the student yearbook, the *Debris*; and several student organizations such as the Gold Peppers, Skull and Crescent, Glee Club, and the Reamers survived.<sup>30</sup> Purdue even upheld freshman male fashion. According to the *Exponent*'s Stan Shipnoski, the freshman males could not wear mustaches or light tan corduroy pants, which were the privileged attire of seniors. However, until the first home football game, freshman could "hunt" seniors: to shave off their mustaches and remove their tan corduroys. Those seniors who survived paraded the football field before the game. New students also learned of the history of the eighteen-year-old rivalry of the Old Oaken Bucket game.<sup>31</sup> Football, fused with these collegiate traditions, maintained the customs that kept the Purdue spirit and student wartime morale alive. The 1942 football season revealed that Purdue student morale depended upon the normalcy of a sport schedule.

### *The 1942 Bummin' Boilers*

In early 1942, Purdue hired Elmer Burnham as the new head football coach. The university administrators also chose Guy "Red" Mackey as athletic director to turn around this struggling varsity program.<sup>32</sup> In '40 and '41 Purdue's record totaled 4-11-1 (wins-losses-ties).<sup>33</sup> In February, 1942, the *Purdue Alumnus*, the alumni magazine, published an article in the sports news section featuring the two new men. Mackey, a former football player from the '26-'28 seasons, was glad to be back at his alma mater

and hoped he could fulfill his duty and serve Purdue well. Elmer Burnham, former head coach of North Central High School in South Bend, Indiana, boasted a successful 16-season career there. He knew that by coming to Purdue he would have to uphold long-standing fighting football traditions requiring “the fullest cooperation of players, students, and all other fans of Purdue football.”<sup>34</sup>

The *Purdue Alumnus* published articles on students’ approval of the board of trustees’ decision on hiring these men. Students knew Mackey grew up with Purdue athletics since he was a former Boilermaker player. They were hopeful of his coaching abilities. The *Exponent* featured Mackey’s letter to the freshman class; he not only welcomed them to campus, but also told them that even if they were not participating in athletics, they were still a part of the “Purdue team,” and he needed their support.<sup>35</sup> As for Burnham, the *Alumnus* emphasized how he faced “one of the most united fronts going into the new job that any coach has ever met,” with players, coaches, students and fans admiring him as a hard-working coach. A writer for the *Indianapolis Star* commended Purdue for hiring “sports gems” and not “temporary replacements during an uncertain war period.”<sup>36</sup> Although uncertain about the pending season, students believed in the new football leadership of Burnham and Mackey.

Gripping their pencils and notebooks, sports editors of the *Exponent* readied themselves to report on Burnham and Mackey’s leadership for the upcoming football season. Past sport editors had interchanged the university’s nickname “Boilermakers” with “Riveters,” keeping it within the same industrial family of terms.<sup>37</sup> A sportswriter coined the nickname of the “Riveters” in the fall of 1929, describing the strong backfield as the “Four Riveters,” playing on the nickname of the “Four Horsemen,” for the

University of Notre Dame football coaches.<sup>38</sup> Throughout the 1942 season, the *Exponent's* senior sports editor Bob Hadley continued the tradition of interchanging “Boilers” with “Riveters.” He published an editorial column titled, “Sports Communiques,” in which he shared his opinions of Boilermaker sports, comparing the teams’ statistics against those of future opponents’ using a distinct cultural language of sport.<sup>39</sup>

The table of contents page of the 1943 *Debris*, the student yearbook, listed sections called Knowledge, Leadership, Morale, Physical Fitness, Preparedness, and Cooperation.<sup>40</sup> For each, editors had written a description, and for “Morale,” the staff wrote, “football games, dances, that ‘will-to-win’ spirit at Purdue,” asserting that these traditions indeed uplifted student morale.<sup>41</sup> Flipping the pages to the section on ‘Football,’ the reader found this paragraph:

Football—an integral part of university life in peacetime—now assumes a momentous task in wartime. Destiny perhaps does not whisper into the ears of the eleven pigskin players and their 7,000 student backers that a Purdue football field can be a testing ground for a future American battlefield, teaching relentlessly hard fighting, aggressiveness, spirit, and cooperation—keys to soldierly victories—but unknowingly serves.<sup>42</sup>

The student editors knew that the tradition of football would not only distract students from the losses of war, but would also give them a cause to believe in. Yet many of the players (13 from the 1942 squad) would enter military service after graduation.<sup>43</sup>

In August 1942, Hadley, like Mackey, encouraged students to support the team “more than ever before.”<sup>44</sup> In the weeks before the first game against the Fordham Rams, as well as before later contests, the sports editors of the *Exponent* published articles about the weekly practices and how this team would be the toughest squad of gridders yet.<sup>45</sup>

Other articles displayed enthusiasm for the upcoming season, and the editors presented

editorials on campus news. A column, titled “Blessed Event . . .,” explained how Coach Burnham inspired the birth of “Purdue Spirit” for the gridiron season. Pep sessions, parades, bonfires and speeches nourished “Mr. Spirit . . . develop[ing] the lad into a husky young Hercules who will lend a helping hand to the team when they’re having a difficult time.”<sup>46</sup> The paper dedicated front-page space to the play-by-play action of the games and the third page for more sports articles, where Hadley shared his and other students’ reactions.<sup>47</sup> Even in wartime, college football remained the nucleus of collegiate life, or at the very least, of the *Exponent*.

Over a thousand interested students flocked to Ross-Ade Stadium to see the players practice before the first game of the season. On September 26, 1942, the Riveters lost 14-7 to the Fordham Rams, but spirit among students did not waiver.<sup>48</sup> Hadley observed that no one complained about the loss; instead, students recalled it was, “the best game I’ve ever seen in this stadium!” The Boilermakers, “smashing and dodging their way down the field,” demonstrated that the high expectations from Coach Burnham had been realized.<sup>49</sup> He had built a powerful, fighting team.

During the first week of October, students chatted about how tough their grid squad was. When the team returned from Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, on Sunday morning, October 4, students would be waiting at the train station, welcoming back the team.<sup>50</sup> However, on Saturday afternoon, the powerful team that played a week before was nowhere to be seen. The Commodores beat the Boilers in an embarrassing loss, 26-0.<sup>51</sup> Coach Burnham made no excuses for the team, but Hadley excused the team for having an “off day” as Burnham was “shifting and revamping his attack and defenses this week in an effort to prevent ‘off days’ in Big Nine competition.”<sup>52</sup> On Thursday

evening, October 8, the Boilermakers' "fighting spirit was fanned into flame . . . led by the band, the parade of several thousand students swarmed out to Stuart Field which was lit by a huge bonfire."<sup>53</sup> After Coach Burnham, John Andretich, captain of the team, and other players delivered spirited speeches, the students showed their support by "howling for a victory against Northwestern . . . and we do mean howling," and ended the rally with a snake dance throughout campus ending at the Memorial Union building.<sup>54</sup> On Saturday, October 10, over 1,500 students traveled to Evanston, Illinois to watch the Boilers face the Northwestern University Wildcats.<sup>55</sup>

On Sunday, October 11, in an article on the front page of the *Exponent*, Hadley burst out, "playing the type of football that started to show against Fordham and was utterly absent against Vanderbilt, the Boilermakers drove and passed their way to a 7-6 victory over the Northwestern Wildcats here today."<sup>56</sup> Halfbacks John Andretich and Kenny Smock led the ground game for the Boilers. In the first quarter, they bludgeoned their way through the Wildcat line to the 28-yard line. After the snap, Andretich received the ball and threw a 23-yard bullet to Fred "Tex" Smerke, who caught it on the five-yard line. Four downs later, on the one-yard line, a reversal with sophomore quarterback Bob Hajzyk, making the run into the end zone, scored the first points for the Boilermakers. With the help of the offensive line's phenomenal blocking, Otto Graham of Northwestern carried the ball 12 to 15 yards again and again, testing the strength of the Purdue defense.<sup>57</sup> The Purdue students who traveled to Chicago to cheer on their team saw how much talent their team possessed.<sup>58</sup>

The rest of the October and all of the November games were not kind to the Riveters (See Table 2 for the scores of the 1942 Purdue season). Facing teams at home

and on the road challenged the team, which lost game after game. The streak included a loss to the Ohio State Buckeyes, the Associated Press's number one ranked team.<sup>59</sup> On Saturday, October 24, Purdue hosted Wisconsin for Homecoming weekend. A large group of alumni attended "a huge student-alumni pep session which gave the visitors a chance to renew their acquaintance with Boilermaker spirit, and see for themselves that it still reached the boiling point just before the big game."<sup>60</sup> Purdue lost in front of a typical home crowd of 20,000 fans, but because of the "erring officials and post-humous [*sic*] penalties . . . keeping things in an uproar," alumni and student pride soared.<sup>61</sup>

**Table 2**

Purdue's 1942 Season			
Date	Opponent	Purdue's score	Opponent's Score
Sept. 26, 1942	Fordham	7	14
Oct. 3, 1942	Vanderbilt	0	26
Oct. 10, 1942	Northwestern	7	6
Oct. 17, 1942	Ohio State	0	26
Oct. 24, 1942	Wisconsin	0	13
Oct. 31, 1942	Iowa	7	13
Nov. 7, 1942	Great Lakes	0	42
Nov. 14, 1942	Michigan State	6	19
Nov. 21, 1942	Indiana	0	20

Source: John McCallum, *Big Ten Football*, 303. For the dates, see corresponding dates in the *Exponent*.

Hope for the game against Iowa "hinge[d] on whether or not the team has picked up the spirit and 'zip' necessary to battle the favored Hawkeyes into the ground. If

they've got it—they'll win. If they haven't got it . . . well, they'll have it.”<sup>62</sup> Because of a fourth-quarter Hawkeye score, Purdue lost again, 13-7. The team looked better than it had during the last few games, but could not pull out a win.<sup>63</sup> Burnham's team played tough despite a long list of injuries, and Hadley hoped that the men would be healthy for the final games.<sup>64</sup>

Spirit that once sent over a thousand students to watch an away game and join a snake dance parade at a pep rally slowly deflated as the Boilers' injured players could not overcome the talent-laden Sailors of the Great Lakes Naval Station, suffering defeat, 42-0.<sup>65</sup> Hadley, the ever-loyal sports editor who tried to stay positive wrote that, “they fought the Sailors right up until the final gun echoed through the emptying stadium as the late afternoon gloom deepened.”<sup>66</sup> At the bottom of the front page of the paper, “Mudball,” an anonymous poet for the *Exponent*, wrote a stanza including the lines:

. . . [I]  
went to the football  
game yesterday  
afternoon I spent  
all my time yelling  
hold that line  
and block that  
kick it was all in  
vain.<sup>67</sup>

Morale throughout the campus also suffered with the realization of the shortened vacation for students over the upcoming holidays. On November 6, 1942, the *Exponent* published an article appealing to the students and administration for an extended vacation time in December; this extra time would allow all Indiana residents a week and a half at home and other states' residents at least a week. The student who wrote the article acknowledged the accelerated program aided the war effort, but argued that the university

should not forget that the students were “still human and have feelings. That week between Christmas and New Year’s Day will mean little either way concerning the war effort of this country.”<sup>68</sup> President Elliott, after meeting with the executive committee, granted an extended vacation much to the delight of the students.<sup>69</sup>

However, after all these losses, one game remained that would seal the season; no longer would the students have to cringe when hearing the final whistle blow at the stadium or over the radio. Only one win and seven losses had demoralized students. Their morale had fallen as the war and the football season wore on. In response to the low morale, an editorial in the *Exponent* scolded the students for their embarrassing lack of spirit late in the season. The remaining game pitted the Boilers against their archrival, the Indiana University Hoosiers. All week long leading up to this game, students rejuvenated what little Boilermaker spirit they had left.<sup>70</sup> Whether it was the scolding, the game against their rival, or the extension of their winter vacation—Mr. Spirit was alive.

The Old Oaken Bucket game stirred “Doc” Anderson, one of the university’s benefactors. He summed up this rival game by saying that, “if Purdue beats Indiana then it’s a good season, even if we don’t win another game.”<sup>71</sup> Sharing the same sentiment, Hadley wrote that the “season [wa]s never over, and never labeled ‘unsuccessful’ until after the annual bout with the Hoosiers of I. U.”<sup>72</sup>

On Tuesday, November 17, the *Exponent* bled black and gold, slandering the cream and crimson enemies on almost every page. A “mammoth” pep session including the cremation of Miss Indiana and yellow “BEAT INDIANA” tags all over campus reawakened the spirit to its peak of earlier in the season.<sup>73</sup> Articles beamed with

Boilermaker pride stating, “Indiana can be beaten,” and insinuating that the “Cream and Crimson, who play better cricket than they do football, will probably take Purdue like Hitler took Moscow.”<sup>74</sup> Hadley invited every one of the “6,000-odd Boilermakers in the University to get behind the team,” to stay the entire game both on the field and in the stands fighting until the end. If Purdue still lost, then they would lose honorably.<sup>75</sup>

Other articles in the *Exponent* later in the week were headlined: “Low Morale Kills Spirit of Indiana,” and “Old Oaken Bucket Stands Trial for 18<sup>th</sup> Time Saturday.”<sup>76</sup> On Friday, November 20, the day before the game, the campus showed just how much spirit the students had for their team and their university. “Everybody Out Tonight,” spread across the head of the *Exponent* and “BEAT” was printed on the upper left corner with “I.U.” on the right corner.<sup>77</sup>

During the week, students had created dummies that looked like Hoosier players and their coach Bo McMillin and hung them from campus trees.<sup>78</sup> Becky Caylor, of the *Exponent*, wrote that the effigies swayed silently in the morning breeze, and the “students who ventured out into the foggy half-light . . . were in for a rude shock. Some very active evidence of the Beat Indiana spirit which has swept the campus met their sleep-dimmed eyes.”<sup>79</sup> Posters hung from University buildings, “slogans, and pep signs . . . decorated the [side]walks, and any place else that could conceivably be used as a bill board to advertise the students’ stand on the outcome of tomorrow’s game.”<sup>80</sup> On game day, any cream and crimson fan walking on campus saw that Purdue students were out for blood.

After all of this excessive hype for the game to decide who would reign over Hoosierdom, the Boilermaker eleven lost again, 20-0, on a drizzly, gray afternoon in West Lafayette.<sup>81</sup> The Hoosiers and Boilers battled it out on the gridiron as the rain

sluiced down their mud-caked jerseys. The Hoosier eleven could not dominate in the aerial attack, attempting just four forward passes and completing none of them, but they dominated on the ground. The Hoosiers had sixteen first downs amounting to 295 yards rushing, compared to the Boilers' six first downs and 83 yards rushing. The Hoosiers blocked Purdue's defense, creating holes for the back to gain long runs into the Riveter end zone.<sup>82</sup> Bill Buffington, briefly thought to be the Riveter savior, carried the ball, barging his way through the Crimson line; but his efforts proved fruitless as a failed third down conversion forced a punt into Indiana territory.<sup>83</sup>

Heartbroken, Bob Hadley let someone else write in his editorial space. Don Brewer spoke of how only the seniors had seen the Hoosiers fall, in 1939. The cremation and drowning (in the Wabash River) of Miss Indiana, "marked the climax of one of the largest and most spirited pep sessions seen in Lafayette for a decade. The wishful and emphatic 'HELL YES' was more emphatic than in the past, despite the fact that the 1942 gridiron record was none too hot."<sup>84</sup>

Hadley, returning to editorial duty, told the readers that while the Boilermaker grid season was not good,

they played a fighting brand of football, and . . . deserve all the credit due a winning team for the job they did . . . give 'em a couple of years and a little less interference from the Japs, and the Boilermakers will be back up there where they belong in the Western Conference.<sup>85</sup>

The Boilermaker gridders should have been proud of themselves, as should the student body. Their showing of Boilermaker spirit for this last game revealed that although their country and university were a part of a war machine, the student body was giving one hundred and ten percent, just as President Elliott had asked of them.<sup>86</sup>

The 1942 Boilermaker season was, to be blunt, woeful. In fact, it was downright dreadful. One win, eight losses, was not what fans wanted to shout from the rooftops. But students and alumni on campus for the Old Oaken Bucket game saw tangible evidence of Boilermaker pride: posters, banners, and dummies. The Boilers were one game away from having their worst football season to date; yet, the campus was alive with spirit, as students chanted and sang accolades for Purdue.

### *The 1942 College Football Round Up*

The 1942 season represented “the glimmer of hope that the world would be as it once was.”<sup>87</sup> Although the 1942 season was closer to pre-war football than the following football seasons, it was still a far cry from “normal.” Because of the draft and enlistments in the armed forces, some football coaches faced schedules without their starters and best players. The University of Minnesota faced a season without half a dozen stars, including their star running back Bruce Smith; Ohio State, without two; and Texas, without an All-American end. These players among others had transferred to the Iowa Pre-flight Naval Station or Great Lakes Naval Training Station and played for their service elevens.<sup>88</sup> Sixty colleges without enough players disbanded their football programs for the duration of the war.<sup>89</sup>

In addition to fewer players, the restrictions on gasoline and rubber caused difficulty for football fans traveling to away games.<sup>90</sup> The Ohio State University, whose football team claimed the 1942 championship title, added military base service teams—like Iowa Pre-flight and Great Lakes—to their schedules. Teams continued the tradition of intersectional games; for example, in 1942, Notre Dame and the University of

Southern California, Michigan and Harvard, and Purdue and Vanderbilt played against one another.<sup>91</sup>

Since many young men enlisted in the armed forces, coaches fielded their teams with sophomores and even freshmen, nineteen- and eighteen-year-olds, respectively, who were exempt from the draft until November 1942. Seventy-six percent of colleges and universities allowed the younger men to play.<sup>92</sup> Some of the bigger schools stood firmly against using freshmen on varsity teams, arguing that the young men needed time to adjust to collegiate life, but also because they “lack[ed] the physical and mental maturity to scrimmage and play against older collegians.”<sup>93</sup>

The 1942 season was the year of the ground offensive attack. In forward passing, teams averaged about the same as the 1941 season; therefore, any progression of skill was completed on the ground. Teams around the country increased their average rushing yardage and their scoring averages to 14 points per game. Four teams even smashed a 1937 record set by the University of Colorado. That year, Colorado had set the offensive record with a season-long average of passing and rushing yards of 375.4 yards per game. The Georgia Bulldogs hit an average of 429.5 yards per game in eleven games; the Tulsa Golden Hurricanes, 426.1 yards in ten games; the Boston College Eagles, 410.8 yards in nine games; and the Ohio State Buckeyes, 397.5 yards in ten games.<sup>94</sup> In general, offenses were unstoppable, leaving defenses “groggy.” For the first time, teams’ defenses could not hold opponents to less than 1,000 total yards for the season. Texas possessed the best average for holding the opposing offense to 117.8 yards per game, but they came nowhere close to Santa Clara University’s 1937 record of holding offenses to 69.9 yards per game.<sup>95</sup>

The Associated Press (AP) named the Ohio State Buckeyes, already Western Conference, or Big Ten, champions, as the winner of the 1942 season. The Buckeyes, under the outstanding leadership of Coach Paul Brown, continually beat teams all season long with their excellent agility and speed. Gene Fekete, a sophomore fullback, led the Buckeyes with an average of 91.6 rushing yards per game and broke the conference scoring record with 52 points. The Buckeyes destroyed the Iowa Pre-flight Seahawks, 41-12. Although the Buckeyes lost one game to Wisconsin, their reputation never suffered.<sup>96</sup> Behind Ohio State in the AP poll top ten were (in order) the Georgia Bulldogs, Wisconsin Badgers, Tulsa Golden Hurricanes, Georgia Tech Yellow Jackets, Notre Dame Fighting Irish, Tennessee Volunteers, Boston College Eagles, Michigan Wolverines, and Alabama Crimson Tide.<sup>97</sup>

The Middle West as a whole—including the University of Notre Dame and other midwestern universities not in the Big Ten—performed superbly in the 1942 season, even beating their intersectional competition: Ohio State over the University of Pittsburgh and University of Southern California; the University of Notre Dame over the University of Southern California, Stanford, Army, and Navy; Michigan over Harvard; Northwestern over Texas; but Purdue, lowered the winning average by losing to both Vanderbilt and Fordham.<sup>98</sup> The overall attendance at the games had increased with Ohio State playing to a total of more than 465,000 people in their Columbus stadium. Notre Dame continued to draw crowds and Madison, Wisconsin, became a hub for Badger fans setting a new home attendance record of 149,000 fans for 6 games.<sup>99</sup>

Within the conference, the Big Ten teams thrived off the competition. Their energetic efforts made for great football games, even controversial ones. Michigan

disputed the field goal made by Minnesota in the closing seconds of the first half because the kick was a drop kick, not the authorized hold-the-ball-on-the-ground-kick; Minnesota won 16-14. Illinois beat Minnesota, but lost to Michigan and Notre Dame.<sup>100</sup> Alex Agase, the Fighting Illini's right guard, scored twice for his team, by recovering two Minnesota fumbles, for the first, after picking up the pigskin, Agase ran twenty-five yards to the end zone. The second came within the last three minutes of the game. The score was tied. Minnesota fumbled the ball behind the goal line and Agase was there holding the ball when the officials dug through the pile of players.<sup>101</sup> Wisconsin, trying to win the Big Ten title, beat Ohio State but lost to Iowa. Although the Purdue eleven had a poor showing in conference games as well in intersectional ones, their "only championship victory was at the expense of Northwestern that finished on the bottom without a single win."<sup>102</sup>

The Middle West's high quality of play came from the efforts of talented individuals. Landing spots on the Big Ten Conference team as well as the All-American teams, these men had led their teams to victory through their fitness and skills on the gridiron. Notables include Heisman finalists Dave Schreiner of Wisconsin, Dick Wildung of Minnesota, Billy Hillenbrand of Indiana, and Angelo Bertelli of Notre Dame.<sup>103</sup> Five of the Big Ten teams had men on the first All-American team, including Schreiner, Wildung, Hillenbrand, Al Wistert of Minnesota, and Alex Agase of Illinois.<sup>104</sup>

College football was part of the American way of life, in peacetime *and* in wartime. In 1942, the American citizens' recreational activities remained intact because the sport, "tilt[ed] their morale toward occasional feelings of normality."<sup>105</sup> Although college football was an integral part of the country's "institutional fabric," the sport

continued because it was also a means to prepare the national defense for war.<sup>106</sup> The sport's usefulness in wartime reinforced the "symbols, myths, rhetoric, and euphemisms of athletics as related to the American victory," in American culture.<sup>107</sup> Football continued as an essential part of the Purdue collegiate culture, as the students adapted to the wartime changes of their collegiate culture.

With the absence of the majority of American servicemen overseas and rationing restrictions, the total burden of war had not yet taken effect on student life in America. The war was still an abstraction to students.<sup>108</sup> At Purdue, A. P. Hunter, a staff writer for the *Exponent*, explained that:

until we get a clear perception of the luxury and waste of our wartime American life in contrast to the enormous sacrifices being made in other parts of the globe . . . many of us will continue on our blissful paths stifling out occasional pangs of conscience with a soothing, 'we'll think about it tomorrow.'<sup>109</sup>

However, the peaceful image of campus life at Purdue in 1942 would soon disappear.

By the fall of 1942, battle news of the Pacific theater headlined the papers. In August U.S. Marines battled the Japanese in the Pacific, landing on the Islands of Guadalcanal, Solomon, Tulagi and Malaita.<sup>110</sup> In November, allied forces landed in North Africa under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower.<sup>111</sup> That same month, Congress amended the Selective Service Act to lower the minimum age of the draft to eighteen.<sup>112</sup> Students were at the very least, dissatisfied, but also concerned for their futures. Even the Army and Navy could not give deferments to all of their reserve servicemen who were on campuses for specialized training.<sup>113</sup> Something had to change to "ensure the continuous training of the men needed to operate the modern technical war machine."<sup>114</sup> On December 12, 1942, the Departments of War and Navy announced

plans to implement military training programs on college campuses: the Navy V-12 program and the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP).

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<sup>1</sup> For the cremation of Miss Indiana, see “Low Morale Kills Spirit of Indiana,” *The Exponent*, November 19, 1942, 1.

<sup>2</sup> For reference to the pep rally, see Becky Caylor, “An Interview with ‘Doc’ Anderson . . . Indiana Can Be Thrown; Let’s Tell Them Oaken Bucket Belongs Here,” *The Exponent*, November 12, 1942, 1; for reference to the rivalry, see “Old Oaken Bucket Stands Trial for 18<sup>th</sup> Time on Saturday,” *The Exponent*, November 12, 1942, 3.

<sup>3</sup> For reference to lowering the draft age to 18, see Malcolm Willey, “The College Training Programs of the Armed Services,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 231 (January 1944): 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students by Schools and Terms,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 576-7.

<sup>5</sup> Stan Shipnoski, “Freshmen Must Learn University Traditions,” *The Exponent*, September 6, 1942, 2, 4.

<sup>6</sup> J. Douglas Toma, *Football U. Spectator Sports in the Life of the American University* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 1, 9.

<sup>7</sup> “Purdue University at Work: during the War Year of 1942-1943,” *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 2 (February 1944): 60, in War Years at Purdue, (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File, Archives and Special Collections, Purdue University Libraries, West Lafayette, Indiana.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Virgus Ray Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993), 123.

<sup>11</sup> Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr. and Robert Baxter, Jr., “Higher Education Goes to War: The University of Virginia’s Response to World War II,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 100, no. 3 (July 1992): 402.

<sup>12</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 124-125.

<sup>13</sup> “Student War Council Named,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 29, no. 4 (January 1942): 20.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Purdue University, *Purdue Serves Because Purdue Was Prepared, Purdue University in the War* [pamphlet], n.d., 26, War Years at Purdue (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File, Archives and Special Collections, Purdue University Libraries.

<sup>17</sup> Bill Hoskins, “Student Speakers Also Participate in Program,” *The Exponent*, September 3, 1942, 1, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> “Student War Council Passes into History,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 33, no. 1 (October 1945): 7.

<sup>21</sup> Louis Martin Sears, “Navy Day in Wartime” (speech, Purdue University, WBAA radio station, West Lafayette, IN, Oct. 27, 1942). Printed and Distributed in pamphlet form by Purdue University in 1942, War Years at Purdue (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File.

- <sup>22</sup> W.G. H., "How About You?" *The Exponent*, October 16, 1942, 2.
- <sup>23</sup> Bill Hoskins, "Scrap Drive Nets 40 Tons Yesterday," *The Exponent*, October 18, 1942, 1.
- <sup>24</sup> For reference to movie theatres in Lafayette, see the advertisements in *The Exponent*, September 25, 1942, 2; October 4, 1942, 2; October 24, 1942, 2; November 6, 1942, 2.
- <sup>25</sup> A. A. Potter, "A Message to New and Old Purdue Students," *The Exponent*, August 29, 1942, 12.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Wagoner, Jr. and Baxter, Jr., "Higher Education Goes to War," 421.
- <sup>28</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 131.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid. *The Exponent* published many advertisements of Hollywood films.
- <sup>30</sup> Purdue University, *The Debris* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University, 1943), 23, 55, Purdue University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections, West Lafayette, Indiana. Hereafter cited as *The Debris*, followed by the appropriate year.
- <sup>31</sup> Shipnoski, "Freshmen Must Learn," *The Exponent*, September 6, 1942, 2, 4.
- <sup>32</sup> "Appoint Mackey and Burnham: Athletic Director and Head Football Coach," *The Purdue Alumnus* 29, no. 5 (February 1942): 6.
- <sup>33</sup> John McCallum, *Big Ten Football since 1895* (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Co., 1976), 303.
- <sup>34</sup> "Appoint Mackey and Burnham: Athletic Director and Head Football Coach," 6.
- <sup>35</sup> For reference to students' support for the hiring of Mackey, see Phil Johnson, "The Sports Gestapo," *The Purdue Alumnus* 29, no. 5 (February 1942): 7, 10; for reference to Mackey's letter to the freshmen, see Guy J. Mackey, "Mackey's Letter to Frosh," *The Exponent*, August 29, 1942, 9.
- <sup>36</sup> For reference to the university admiring Burnham and the article in *The Indianapolis Star*, see Johnson, "The Sports Gestapo," 7, 10.
- <sup>37</sup> A riveter is a person whose job is to use a rivet, a "short pin or bolt, the headless end of which is flattened or beaten out after insertion in order to fasten two or more things securely together." *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., s.v. "rivet."
- <sup>38</sup> For reference to "riveter," see Dick Parker, "1929 Purdue Tops Big Ten," *College Football Historical Society Newsletter*, 14, no. 3 (May 2001): 3-4.
- <sup>39</sup> Bob Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, August 29, 1942, 9. Newspapers used phrases like "the football eleven" or "grid squad" (the football team), "gridders" (players), "gridiron" (football field), and most colorfully, "gridiron juggernauts." Interchanging "eleven" for "team" has been used at least since 1910 in *The Mansfield News* naming the All-American teams; for reference to the "Gridiron," see *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., s.v. "gridiron."; for reference to "gridiron juggernauts," see Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, August 29, 1942, 9.
- <sup>40</sup> "Order of Books," *The Debris*, (1943), 11.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup> "Football, 1942," *The Debris*, (1943), 218.
- <sup>43</sup> Robert D. Arnold, *The Rivalry: Indiana and Purdue and the History of Their Old Oaken Bucket Battles 1925 - 2002* (Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2004), 85.

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<sup>44</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, August 29, 1942, 9.

<sup>45</sup> For reference to weekly practices, see "Burnham Calls Out Gridders in First Practice," *The Exponent*, September 1, 1942, 3; Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, August 29, 1942, 9; Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, September 3, 1942, 3; and Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, September 13, 1942, 3.

<sup>46</sup> R.W.B., "Blessed Event . . .," *The Exponent*, September 9, 1942, 2.

<sup>47</sup> For reference to front-page space, see Hadley, "Fordham's Aerial Attack Downs Riveters, 14-7," *The Exponent*, September 27, 1942, 1; for reference to more sports articles on page three, see "Burnham Uses Speed, Deception In Practice," *The Exponent*, September 6, 1942, 3; "Burnham Stresses Timing, Passing in Second Day of Grid Practice," *The Exponent*, September 3, 1942, 3; for reference to Hadley's reactions, see Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, September 27, 1942, 3; Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, October 6, 1942, 3; and Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, October 13, 1942, 3.

<sup>48</sup> "Fordham's Aerial Attack Downs Riveters, 14-7," *The Exponent*, September 27, 1942, 1.

<sup>49</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, September 27, 1942, 3.

<sup>50</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communique," *The Exponent*, October 2, 1942, 3.

<sup>51</sup> McCallum, *Big Ten Football*, 303.

<sup>52</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, October 6, 1942, 3. After the University of Chicago ended sports programs in 1939, the Big Ten became the Big Nine.

<sup>53</sup> "First Pep Session Draws Big Crowd," *The Exponent*, October 9, 1942, 1.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, October 13, 1942, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Hadley, "Boilermakers Nose out Northwestern, 7-6," *The Exponent*, October 11, 1942, 1.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, October 13, 1942, 3.

<sup>59</sup> For reference to Ohio State as the number 1 ranked team, see Allison Danzig, "Notre Dame Favored to Shunt Illinois Out of National Football Spotlight," *New York Times*, October 24, 1942, 20.

<sup>60</sup> "Expect Large Alumni Homecoming Turnout; Full Week-End Planned," *Exponent*, October 22, 1942, 1.

<sup>61</sup> For reference to the 20,000 fans, see "Badgers Capture Homecoming Encounter, 13-0," *The Exponent*, October 25, 1942, 1; and for reference to the erring officials, see Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, October 30, 1942, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, October 30, 1942, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Hadley, "Last Quarter Score Downs Boilermakers, 13-7," *The Exponent*, November 1, 1942, 1.

<sup>64</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, November 1, 1942, 3.

<sup>65</sup> Written by Joe Dawson, the associate sports editor, "Sailors Trounce Riveters in Dad's Day Tilt, 42-0," *The Exponent*, November 8, 1942, 1.

<sup>66</sup> Hadley, "Sports Communiques," *The Exponent*, November 8, 1942, 3.

<sup>67</sup> "Mudball," *The Exponent*, November 8, 1942, 1.

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<sup>68</sup> “Letter to the Editor,” *The Exponent*, November 6, 1942, 2.

<sup>69</sup> “Exec Committee Lengthens Vacation: Increase to Make Christmas Holidays Eight Days Longer,” *The Exponent*, November 15, 1942, 1; for reference to the delight of the students, see K. Roquemore, “Thank You,” *The Exponent*, November 15, 1942, 2.

<sup>70</sup> W. L. V., “Stay Awhile,” *The Exponent*, November 13, 1942, 2.

<sup>71</sup> Becky Caylor, “An Interview with ‘Doc’ Anderson . . . Indiana Can Be Thrown; Let’s Tell Them Oaken Bucket Belongs Here,” *The Exponent*, November 12, 1942, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Hadley, “Sports Communiques,” *The Exponent*, November 15, 1942, 3. Today, if Purdue has a losing record, but beats Indiana, students still think it’s a successful season.

<sup>73</sup> Caylor, “Students to Hold Mammoth ‘Beat Indiana’ Pep Session,” *The Exponent*, November 17, 1942, 1, 4.

<sup>74</sup> For the reference to “Indiana can be beaten,” see Jack Halstead, “Burnham, McMillin Squad, Staff Prime for Hoosiers,” *The Exponent*, November 17, 1942, 3; and for the reference to the Cream and Crimson quote, see S. Wolf, “Sighted Hoosiers, Sank Same,” *The Exponent*, November 17, 1942, 2.

<sup>75</sup> Hadley, “Sports Communiques,” *The Exponent*, November 17, 1942, 3.

<sup>76</sup> “Low Morale Kills Spirit of Indiana,” *Exponent*, November 19, 1942, 1; “Old Oaken Bucket Stands Trial for 18<sup>th</sup> Time on Saturday,” *The Exponent*, November 19, 1942, 3.

<sup>77</sup> *The Exponent*, November 20, 1942, 1.

<sup>78</sup> Becky Caylor, “Beat Indiana Spirit Accentuated by Hanging Effigies, Whitewash,” *The Exponent*, November 20, 1942, 1.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid; and for further reference to rising spirit on campus, see Claire Murphy, “Mammoth, All-University Pep Rally Tonight, 7:30,” *The Exponent*, November 20, 1942, 1.

<sup>81</sup> Hadley, “Indiana Drops Riveters in Bucket Game, 20-0,” *The Exponent*, November 22, 1942, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Gordon Graham, “Indiana Bucket Winner, 20-0,” *Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, Indiana), November 23, 1942, 12.

<sup>84</sup> Don Brewer, “Sports Communiques,” *The Exponent*, November 22, 1942, 3.

<sup>85</sup> Hadley, “Sports Communiques,” *The Exponent*, November 24, 1942, 3.

<sup>86</sup> For the reference to the university as a war machine, see “Purdue Serves Because Purdue Was Prepared,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 30, no. 1 (October 1942): 2; and for reference to Dr. Elliott’s speech, see “Dr. E. C. Elliott Speaks at War Convocation,” *The Exponent*, August 24, 1942, 1. Elliott said, “Purdue is not a hideout for the fainthearted. Purdue is not a sanctuary for the spiritless.”

<sup>87</sup> Rominger, Jr., “Impact of the U.S. Government,” 116.

<sup>88</sup> For reference to Bruce Smith and further details on the outlook of the season, see Allison Danzig, “Minnesota’s Impressive Showing Saturday Again Makes Gophers Team to Beat,” *New York Times*, September 28, 1942, 21; and for reference to the transfer of players from Minnesota, Ohio State, and Texas, see Francis J. Powers, “The

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Middle West,” in *The Official NCAA Guide*, ed. Walter R. Okeson (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1943), 91-92.

<sup>89</sup> Thomas Harbrecht, and C. Robert Barnett, “College Football during World War II: 1941-1945,” *The Physical Educator* 36, no. 1 (March 1979): 31.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Powers, “The Middle West,” in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, 88, 91-92.

<sup>92</sup> “Last College Try,” *Time*, September 28, 1942, 79.

<sup>93</sup> Murray Sperber, *Onward to Victory: The Crises that Shaped College Sports* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1998), 93.

<sup>94</sup> Homer F. Cooke, Jr., “Flame of War Singes Record Pages,” in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. Walter R. Okeson (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1943), 50-51.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>97</sup> “Ohio State Wins National Honors,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1942, 37.

<sup>98</sup> Powers, “The Middle West”, in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, 92.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>101</sup> “College Gridiron Tilts Show Big Nine Strength,” *The Exponent*, October 13, 1942, 3.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 89, 91.

<sup>103</sup> Sinkwich to Get Heisman Trophy; Governali Next in Nation-wide Poll,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1942, S 3.

<sup>104</sup> “Sinkwich Heads All-America Team,” *New York Times*, December 5, 1942, 21.

<sup>105</sup> Rominger, Jr., “Impact of the U.S. Government,” 2.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>108</sup> Sperber, *Onward to Victory*, 93.

<sup>109</sup> A. P. Hunter, “Ankle Deep . . .” *The Exponent*, September 10, 1942, 2.

<sup>110</sup> C. Brooks Peters, “Foe’s Ships Routed,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1942, 1.

<sup>111</sup> Wes Gallagher, “Shock Troops Lead,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1942, 1.

<sup>112</sup> Willey, “The College Training Programs of the Armed Services,” 16.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter Three

### “Big Boys Play Little Boys”<sup>1</sup>: How the Army and Navy Training Programs Kicked off a New Era of College Football in 1943

Like a bull entering the ring with its black-beady eyes searching for the red-swathed matador, an over-eager defender bounded off the Illinois bench, looking for a hard tackle against the Boilermakers. He succeeded, perhaps causing some bewilderment in the announcer’s voice as it echoed from the speakers of the public address (PA) system, “Butkovich just tackled Butkovich.”<sup>2</sup> A brother tackling his own brother in a 1943 college football conference game was just one of the acts in this college spectacle on the gridiron.

At the Boilermakers’ own 20-yard line, ex-Illinois fullback Tony “Superman” Butkovich cradled the ball, barging his way down the field.<sup>3</sup> Shifting and maneuvering the 190 pounds on his 5’10” frame, he took advantage of the hole in the Fighting Illini backfield and broke away, sprinting the full eighty yards for a Boilermaker touchdown.<sup>4</sup> Stan Dubicki, “Shurtleff College’s 1942 halfback marvel,” kicked the extra point for the Boilermakers, lifting the score to 21-0.<sup>5</sup> Earlier, Butkovich had rushed 43 yards to the Illinois 17-yard line, only to lose possession two plays later when John Hazelett, one of the Illinois defenders, intercepted Sam Vacanti’s pass intended for Dubicki. Fortunately for the Boilermakers, Illinois fumbled the ball two plays later and All-American guard Alex Agase, another ex-Illini player, recovered it. Purdue’s Butkovich averaged 17.2 yards per carry and scored four touchdowns. The Riveters extended their winning streak to three, as the scoreboard lit up the final score, 40-21.<sup>6</sup>

This Western Conference tilt played out on a sunny afternoon in early October 1943 in front of about 15,000 spectators in West Lafayette, Indiana.<sup>7</sup> The fans watched a wildly entertaining, though sloppy, game of football that was like watching a circus elephant balance on a ball with its large feet awkwardly scrambling to stay on the moving object and not fall off. The players tackled one another, lost their balance, and stumbled and fumbled on the field. The sheer number of turnovers produced by each team was astounding. Each team had ten fumbles, and interceptions were no strangers to the game either. Officials blew their whistles for motion in the backfield before the snap or the unnecessary clipping of an opponent with each team accruing several penalties.<sup>8</sup>

While the Purdue and Illinois squads made plenty of errors in this game, at least the teams could play. Because athletic directors, conference commissioners, coaches and military officers advocated that football served as a vital part of military training, football remained a spectacle on college campuses for the 1942 season. However, keeping teams on the field for the 1943 season would soon become a problem.

In November, 1942, the U.S. Congress had lowered the age for the draft to eighteen, disrupting some college students' immediate futures in the reserve training programs.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, on December 12, 1942, both the Departments of War and Navy released statements for the creation of college training programs to teach students specialized technical skills and train them for combat.<sup>10</sup> Upon completion of training, the cadets transferred to military bases for further training before they deployed for war.

In February, 1943, Colonel Herman Beukema, the director of the Army Specialized Training Division (ASTD) announced that cadets in the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) could not participate in intercollegiate athletics (the Navy

allowed their sailors and marines in the V-12 program to participate).<sup>11</sup> How this decision changed the course of the 1943 college football season requires a complete understanding of the Army and Navy training programs.

By the spring of 1943, the War Manpower Commission contracted over 270 colleges to host either the Army or Navy college training program, or both.<sup>12</sup> In March, 1943, Purdue President Edward C. Elliott “requested Chairman McNutt of the War Manpower Commission to relieve him of his responsibility” to the WMC so he could return his attention to the needs of the university.<sup>13</sup> Although Chairman Paul V. McNutt, former governor of Indiana, granted his request, Elliott would still advise the WMC and chair the Army-Navy-Manpower committee in charge of selecting institutions of higher education “for training purposes by the Army and Navy.”<sup>14</sup> Elliott had a key role in choosing which universities would host the Army and Navy training programs, a role that substantially increased Purdue’s chances of hosting these programs.

Not only did Elliott have an advantage of choosing universities for the programs, but he also ensured that Purdue would have all the available facilities necessary to host these programs. In the Purdue board of trustees’ minutes on March 30, 1943, Elliott reported that he had received a letter from the Bureau of Navy Personnel, stating that the Purdue airport needed improvements before the arrival of cadets in the naval flight instructor’s school.<sup>15</sup> Elliott presented this request to the Indiana State Budget Committee, whose resolution allotted \$110,000 to the Purdue board of trustees for “the purpose of constructing an additional hangar and operation facilities at the Purdue University Airport.”<sup>16</sup> Through his efforts, Elliott prepared Purdue to serve the war effort in every way possible.

### *Training College Boys for War: The Navy and Army Programs*

In March 1925, the Navy had established naval reserve units on college campuses to supply the Navy with officer candidates beyond those produced at the U.S. Naval Academy. Six universities initially allowed these units on their campuses; by 1941, 27 colleges and universities hosted Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps (NROTC) units.<sup>17</sup> When the Department of the Navy created its World War II college training program, it had to find experienced leaders to train cadets in the V-12 program at institutions, including Purdue University, yet the Navy had commissioned only 2,000 NROTC officers since 1925.<sup>18</sup>

In the summer of 1940, the Navy announced plans to “further the flow of college men into the Reserve Midshipmen’s Schools,” by establishing the V-1 and V-7 college reserve programs.<sup>19</sup> The V-7 program enlisted men who at least had two years of college education. It was at first a two-year program for apprentice seamen, ages 19 to 26 years old, but with a 36 percent drop-out rate the first year, the Navy elongated the program to four years.<sup>20</sup> The Navy established the V-1 program for freshmen and sophomores, ages 17 to 19 years old who would have to attend their first two years of college education at their own expense, then transfer into the V-7 program.<sup>21</sup> Once the Navy announced the plan of the V-12 program in December, 1942, all of these programs would merge into one Navy college training program, the V-12 program.

Created by the Bureau of Naval Personnel, the Navy V-12 program in 1943 aimed to train sailors, marines and coast guard cadets in special fields to supply fleets with officer candidates. The Bureau of Naval Personnel issued a statement that the Navy acknowledged that this program was a *college* program, desiring “to preserve the normal

pattern of college life . . . [and] our students to have the benefits of faculty counseling, of extracurricular activities—in short, the best undergraduate education the colleges c[ould] offer.”<sup>22</sup> Trainees in the V-12 program could then participate in intercollegiate athletics, join student organizations and fraternities, among other activities.

The V-12 program consisted of eight, sixteen-week terms. The Navy placed the reservists in the V-12 program according to how many terms they had already completed by July 1, 1943—the day the program commenced on campuses.<sup>23</sup> If a marine had finished seven terms, then he would only have one term left in the V-12 Program before shipping off to reserve midshipmen’s school for another four months. The engineering program required first year V-12 trainees to take eight terms total, like undergraduate students in peacetime.<sup>24</sup> The V-5 Naval Aviation training program also merged with the V-12 program.<sup>25</sup> Its cadets took two terms of basic college training before switching to naval aviation training.<sup>26</sup> Since only 131 American colleges and universities hosted the V-12 program, trainees in the V-1, V-5 and V-7 programs, and freshmen had to transfer to universities that hosted the V-12 program.<sup>27</sup> This mobilization of naval men changed the appearance of many institutions of higher education from campuses with some boys in uniform to military encampments. While these young servicemen trained for war, they also received an education in a learning center, maintaining the primary purpose of colleges and universities.

Selecting which university the V-12 trainees would attend became a cumbersome process for the Navy. The Navy selected about 70,000 men (from the V-1, V-7, V-5 programs and high school seniors who passed the qualifying exam) for the V-12 program in the spring of 1943. Some men would be ordered to an institution on July 1; and others

on November 1.<sup>28</sup> The Navy could not send out identical orders because “these had to be individual orders directing a certain man to transport himself from one location (home, college, ship, or station) to a V-12 school, which might be in the same town or across the country.”<sup>29</sup> Where the Navy placed V-12 trainees depended upon their plan of study, what institutions offered it and how many trainees an institution could handle. Therefore, the Navy created IBM “punch cards” labeled with each trainee’s name. Naval personnel officers placed the cards into a pigeonholed cabinet, where each hole represented a host university.<sup>30</sup> This process was not the most efficient as one officer decided to distribute the cards evenly in the pigeonholes without regards to matching trainees to the right institution with the right curriculum.<sup>31</sup> Once the naval officers placed all the cards, then the Navy sent individual orders to the trainees, instructing them to report to the host university.

When the V-12 trainees arrived on their respective campuses, they followed a strict curriculum according to each area of study. The V-12 curriculum followed two paths, one for medical, including dental, and the other for officer candidates; the latter included specialized study in aviation, civil engineering, construction corps, deck officers, engineer specialists, supply corps, and pre-chaplaincy.<sup>32</sup> Cadets first took courses in Naval Organization or Naval History and Elementary Strategy and then a broad range of classes, similar to a civilian’s first four semesters of instruction: mathematics, physics, English, history, psychology, economics, engineering drawing, and physical education.<sup>33</sup> Then, their training for the last four terms focused on a specialization.

The colleges and universities had full responsibility for executing naval instruction, including “examination, maintenance of standards, [and] selection of textbooks.”<sup>34</sup> The degree of agency that universities had within the V-12 program solidified its success. Teachers given the freedom to instruct in their own ways were enthusiastic about teaching the necessary curriculum to the trainees. If they were enthusiastic, trainees learned more. Control was not the Navy’s main purpose; instead they “aimed at noninterference with custom and tradition and at the maintenance of academic freedom at the contract schools.”<sup>35</sup>

At Purdue, the university administration handled the specifics of the program. The faculty taught the required curriculum for the V-12 trainees, except those courses in naval science that naval officers taught.<sup>36</sup> Purdue offered trainees both paths of the V-12 curriculum: Curriculum 1, for officer candidates specializing in civil engineering corps, construction corps, deck corps, supply corps, pre-chaplain corps, aerology specialists and engineer specialists and Curriculum 2, for pre-medical corps.<sup>37</sup> The V-12 trainees’ first two terms following Curriculum 1 took a total of 19 credit hours in Math Analysis I or III, II or IV; English I, II; Historical Background of Present World, I, II; Physics I or II; Engineering Drawing, Descriptive Geometry, Naval Organizations, I, II; and physical training. Trainees following Curriculum 2 took 13 credit hours for both Terms 1 and 2, taking Chemistry I, II; Physics I, II; Math analysis, I or III, II or IV; Modern Foreign Language; Naval Organizations I, II; and physical training.<sup>38</sup> For the rest of the terms, the trainees’ curricula depended upon their specialization. For example, during Terms 3 through 8, deck corps candidates had their own schedule of courses.<sup>39</sup>

Purdue V-12 trainees, totaling 1,245 men in the July – October term, had intense training schedules, but still found time for recreational activities.<sup>40</sup> They somehow managed to take coeds to movies, dances and down to the Sweet Shop for a “coke.” They participated in varsity sports, joined fraternities, the marching band, the editorial staff of the *Debris* and the *Exponent*, and even participated in dramas performed by the Purdue Playshop.<sup>41</sup> The Navy program allowed the cadets to experience the Purdue collegiate lifestyle while they trained for war.

However, they could not completely avoid interference with collegiate traditions. The Navy’s sixteen-week semester ended in late October, and the football season, one month later. If any of the players had completed their required training, then they would have to leave campus. In addition, the Navy had banned player trainees from participating in the postseason due to gas rationing and training conflicts. The college bowl games played out during the war were squads from universities without the Navy program.<sup>42</sup>

Although the Navy allowed the V-12 trainees to enjoy collegiate life (even with the schedule conflict with football season), the Army designed its college training program to focus solely on war training. Since World War I, the Army had placed Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) programs on college campuses to produce a supply of cadets for officer training. When a conflict broke out, the Army used these officers to train the men who enlisted. After World War I, over 200 colleges and universities requested ROTC units on their campuses; within a few years 124 institutions had ROTC units and by 1937, the number had risen to 137.<sup>43</sup> With the onset of World War II, unlike the Navy, the Army already had the manpower to train cadets in the

college training program from a pool of 112,348 commissioned officers.<sup>44</sup> During the war, the ROTC program merged with the Army college training program as the Army called all cadets to active duty.<sup>45</sup>

With the draft age lowered to eighteen in November, 1942, and a shortage of qualified men for officer status, the Army needed an uninterrupted way to increase their supply of men. The Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) provided the Army with “professionally and technically trained men,” from colleges and universities.<sup>46</sup>

According to General George C. Marshall, chief of staff, these trainees would receive:

specialized technical training . . . for certain Army tasks for which its own training facilities are insufficient in extent or character . . . [therefore] the Army has contracted with selected college and universities for the use of their facilities and faculties in effecting such training.<sup>47</sup>

This program, directed by Colonel Herman Beukema, absorbed the ROTC, the Enlisted Reserve Corps (ERC), and the Army Air Force (AAF) programs. All of these programs had operated separately under different agencies of the Department of War; this program combined all three under the same management.<sup>48</sup>

Like the Navy, the Army found the selection process for its training programs a challenge as well. The army selected soldiers who placed high on the Army General Classification Test, possessed a high school diploma, and were 22 years old or older and had at least one year of college education.<sup>49</sup> With the lowering of the draft to age eighteen, more men qualified for the 150,000-man quota in the ASTP.<sup>50</sup> Two-thirds of the ASTP trainees were soldiers in existing Army units on bases and the last third came from reservists in ROTC, ERC and AAF, or high school graduates.<sup>51</sup> The Army attempted to assign trainees to the right institution with the right curriculum and matched unit sizes to the size of the institution with “small units of 200-300 men at smaller

colleges, [and] larger units of 1,000 to 3,000 men at larger colleges and universities.”<sup>52</sup>

But before the Army could place the soldiers at universities, Beukema had to figure out which ones would host the program.

In February, 1943, Beukema drew up contracts with universities, announcing that the hosting institutions would not only be responsible for training these soldiers, but also housing and feeding them. Within a few weeks, beginning in March 1943, these trainees arrived at the host institutions.<sup>53</sup> These institutions, albeit with federal funding after the contract was signed, scrambled to find housing for the incoming soldiers.<sup>54</sup> By June, the ASTP was fully functioning, and by December, the program peaked at 135,629 cadets training at 202 colleges and universities across the nation.<sup>55</sup>

In each area of study, soldiers were required to take all offered courses without the options. Uniformity in the “restrictions on the size of classes, on methods of instruction, on the ratio of contact hours to class hours, were directed by the ASTD [Army Specialized Training Division], and inspection trips were made and reports scrutinized to insure adherence to them.” This requisite standardized the program, ensuring its success during the war.<sup>56</sup> Within six or seven, twelve-week terms, soldiers learned specialized technical skills useful in the course of battle.<sup>57</sup> Curricula focused on engineering: aeronautical, mechanical, civil, chemical, and electrical; and in the fields of medicine, dentistry, personnel psychology, veterinary medicine, language and foreign-area study, surveying, communication, and physical training. Each contracted institution possessed the authority to provide teachers. Faculty had the agency to choose their own examinations and use their own pedagogical tools to meet the standards of the Army.<sup>58</sup>

On March 8, 1943, Purdue expected 500 ASTP trainees in advanced engineering. However, by April 7, only the Army sent 143 soldiers to Purdue.<sup>59</sup> Clearly, the Army faced difficulties in implementing the college training program. Purdue was one of eleven universities contracted by the Army to offer such a unit for a total of 5,100 soldiers.<sup>60</sup> Colonel D. M. Beere, ROTC commander at Purdue, became the Commander in Chief for the Purdue ASTP trainees. The Army trainees moved into one of the men's residence halls, but as the program grew to over 1,000 trainees by December 1943, housing spread to fraternities and even the Agricultural Engineering Building.<sup>61</sup> To graduate from the program, the Purdue soldiers took courses for the six or seven, twelve-week terms. Soldiers took a total of twenty-five and two-thirds credit hours for the first term, taking mathematics, chemistry, physics, English, history, geography, and physical training. After the second twelve-week term, soldiers entered into advanced training courses for their specialization, whether it was civil, mechanical, electrical, chemical, metallurgical, or aeronautical engineering.<sup>62</sup>

The Purdue ASTP trainees, like the V-12 trainees, had an intense training schedule, but the soldiers were not adapting to the college lifestyle quite like the sailors and marines. Col. Beere observed that the soldiers arriving at Purdue were mature from Army basic training with some of them already having a few years of college education, if not degrees.<sup>63</sup> Therefore some of the soldiers found it hard to "sit quietly in classrooms."<sup>64</sup> Since their twelve-week term did not correspond with the civilian or the Navy's sixteen-week term, soldiers had more difficulty interacting with students on campus, especially coeds. Noticing the soldiers complaining and moaning in their physical education classes, an editor of the *Exponent* scolded the soldiers for their

excessive “gripping.” The editor understood that griping was part of Army life, and even acknowledged that “when the men have to forego football and baseball and find substitutes in its place, push-ups, burpees, and monkey walk, they’re not too delighted.”<sup>65</sup> However, the soldiers needed to improve their attitudes and represent the Army with respect.<sup>66</sup> Since the Army disallowed its trainees from playing intercollegiate football, the soldiers had to turn to “the monotony of formal calisthenics” for a strenuous activity.<sup>67</sup> These Purdue soldiers, like all ASTP trainees around the country, learned quickly that their time spent on college campuses was for war training only.

#### *To Play or Not to Play: The Army Dilemma*

Colonel Beukema and the Department of War designed the ASTP program to have the soldiers “gain the most benefit in the shortest amount of time,” leaving “no room for ‘frills’ such as participating in collegiate activities separate from the Army curriculum.”<sup>68</sup> Beukema defended the Army’s stance, by stating “the intensity of the Army’s heavy training schedule would preclude participation in such activities.”<sup>69</sup> He did not abolish the sport; rather, he declined to have Army cadets participate.

College athletic directors and coaches in 1943 had to field their teams with men who had not yet been drafted, who had not passed the draft physical (4-Fs), or had been deferred for any one of many reasons (illness, family hardships, etc.)<sup>70</sup> Some athletic directors accepted the Army decision because “it place[d] the emphasis where it belong[ed],” on physical fitness and intramural competition rather than “on big time football for the duration. The principal business of the colleges [was] an all-out effort to assist in winning the war. Thus any idea of ‘athletics as usual’ [was] absurd.”<sup>71</sup>

To some athletic directors, shutting down their program was not an option.

George F. Veenker, whose speech was recorded in the NCAA's *Nineteen-Forty-Three*

*Yearbook*, noted:

The greatest and easiest developer of men for war and peace, the game that epitomizes our American spirit is that game which the more we can play it, the more likely we will keep America free. If the time ever comes that we do not want to play football, we as a nation should have reason for alarm.<sup>72</sup>

Indeed, the American nation had reason for alarm, causing many to stand up and fight for their beliefs.

The *New York Times* published articles emphasizing athletic directors' unhappiness with sacrificing their programs for the war effort. Asa Bushnell called the decision "disappointing;" the coaches at Princeton called it, "unfortunate;" and Major John L. Griffith, commissioner of the Western Conference, or the Big Ten, assumed that intercollegiate athletics would continue "as long as the boys who are left want to play."<sup>73</sup> Philip O. Badger, president of the NCAA and athletic director at New York University, defended his belief:

Those of us concerned with the administration of intercollegiate athletics have never urged that they continue simply for the sake of continuity . . . they should be continued because we believe they make a real contribution to the training of men who are to enter the armed forces. We still hold to that belief.<sup>74</sup>

Many of these athletic directors and coaches feared for the future of college football.

Would there be a 1943 season? Several university administrations, backed by their athletic directors and coaches, declared that football would continue without regard to the Army's decision. They argued that intercollegiate sports "develop[ed] an esprit de corps and a competitive spirit . . . not found in any other type of physical effort."<sup>75</sup> These

athletic directors and coaches were revisiting the same issue that they had discussed at the NCAA conference in December, 1941. College football assisted in the war effort in several ways and thus should be a part of wartime society.

On March 21, 1943, midwestern college and university administrations, including that of Purdue and fellow Big Ten universities, declared that they would continue athletics for the spring season as well as begin practice for the fall season.<sup>76</sup> They had no intention of shelving college sports, not even at the expense of curtailing their schedules. Western Conference athletic directors and representatives again defended their beliefs that the physical conditioning and skills learned as an athlete would train servicemen for combat.<sup>77</sup> The NCAA even modified intercollegiate schedules, dropping intersectional games like the Notre Dame and University of Southern California tilt that brought in a lot of revenue, and substituted games against service teams like Iowa Pre-Flight and Great Lakes Naval Station.<sup>78</sup> The NCAA changed rules of eligibility for freshmen, waiving the first year of residence rule and allowing transfers to play on varsity their first year on campus.<sup>79</sup> The Western Conference and midwestern universities adapted to the climate of wartime society, and still maintained their athletics.<sup>80</sup>

Intercollegiate athletics, especially football, had a place in wartime society. Football was not only entertainment for college students and local residents, but also physical conditioning and military training for servicemen. Lou Little, head football coach at Columbia University, believed that competitive sports was better than intramural sports. The thousands of soldiers who participated in intramural football built stamina and strength. However, Little pointed out that while these soldiers received the necessary physical training for combat, intercollegiate contests provided the servicemen with

university pride: a greater reward for the risk they took when they played against another school.<sup>81</sup> The risk of losing to another school ignited their competitive spirits, their pride. Former intercollegiate players wrote to Little during the war, emphasizing the benefits of having played college football. A former quarterback, now in command of his own ship in the Atlantic Ocean, thanked Little for his football training.<sup>82</sup> Another former player recognized that former college football players stood out on the battlefield, attributing their persistence and mental toughness to their experiences on the gridiron. These men fought war as a team; they played together selflessly to win the war as they had on the gridiron. If a team member did not block his opponent or “save[d] himself for a showy play, [then he] hurt his team.”<sup>83</sup>

On the other hand, James J. “Gene” Tunney, an ex-professional boxer known for his victory over Jack Dempsey in 1926, supported the Army’s policy. Appointed the director of the Navy Physical Fitness Program, Tunney believed that “the entire spectator sports establishment was designed to aid people in pursuing their civilian occupations in the guise of military service.”<sup>84</sup> Indeed, many of the football players (several from the Middle West) would play for the National Football League after the war was over. In the first round of the NFL draft in the spring of 1944, the Boston Yankees picked Angelo Bertelli of Notre Dame; the Cleveland Rams, Tony Butkovich of Purdue; Detroit Lions, Otto Graham of Northwestern; Green Bay Packers, Mervin Pregulman of Michigan; and Chicago Cardinals, Pat Harder of Wisconsin.<sup>85</sup> Tunney insisted that all sailors and marines would benefit more from physical training than only a few participating in intercollegiate sport.<sup>86</sup> Shutting down competitive sports was not his intention, but “with the United States at war, he felt that the purpose of physical training was to prepare men

as quickly as possible under the same general conditions.”<sup>87</sup> Tunney, a son of poor Irish immigrants, feared intercollegiate sports would exercise the few and neglect everyone else, promoting elitism in America.<sup>88</sup>

Tunney also believed that the business of intercollegiate football was a problem. In a letter to Major John L. Griffith, Tunney expressed his distaste for intercollegiate play: “It would assist our country immeasurably if a great sports authority like you were to encourage athletic idols to get out and face death for their homeland. We have too many sports promoters desirous of carrying on box-office sports-as-usual.”<sup>89</sup> In a letter to Andrew Leary, president of Wilson Bottling Co. in May of 1943, Tunney expressed that the Big Ten was doing everything to keep athletics alive, even if that meant crooked dealings, and ignoring conference regulations like eligibility requirements for military personnel. He thought that the Big Ten’s desire to sustain athletics stemmed from “the fear of losing revenue. These fellows insist upon remaining adolescents.”<sup>90</sup>

If college football did not continue for the duration of the war, then universities would lose that source of income. Thus, institutions of higher education would face another financial crisis in the midst of war. While institutions with military training programs lived off of federal funds to train and educate service men, college football allowed institutions to be financially self-sufficient. Congressman La Vern Dilweg, a former college and NFL football player for the Green Bay Packers, informed Congress in the summer of 1943 that the revenue brought in from college football paid for the construction of gymnasiums, swimming pools, field houses, stadiums and even academic buildings.<sup>91</sup> Not only did college football ensure the flow of revenue that university

administrations depended on, but also it provided the facilities where the Army placed its soldiers to train.

Furthermore, Dilweg pushed the idea that sports, especially football, contributed to producing good soldiers, sailors, marines, and coast guardsmen. Football, he noted, was “warfare on a friendly scale,” and players develop that “will to win [spirit] that brooks no defeat . . . he is urged on by an inspiration to excel individually, to become the best, a champion.”<sup>92</sup>

Alongside Dilweg, other congressmen fought the political crusade to overturn the Army’s ruling that soldiers could not participate in intercollegiate athletics. Samuel A. Weiss, a Pennsylvania representative and former college football player, tried to persuade the Army to change its policy. In a letter to Secretary of War Henry Stimson, Weiss pointed out the inconsistency of the Army’s policy to that of the Navy, urging him to reconsider. Weiss believed that intercollegiate athletics would “bring about a greater degree of development in our soldier boys because of physical combat and competition.”<sup>93</sup> On May 14, 1943, Stimson replied that the Army had stationed trainees on college campuses for military training, not to enjoy the recreational pastimes of college life. He added that the servicemen would hardly have enough time to profit from intercollegiate sports because of the strict timetable enforced upon all soldiers.<sup>94</sup> Their weekly schedule demanded 59 hours of their time: 24 hours minimum of classroom and lab work, 24 hours of required, supervised study, 5 hours of military instruction and 6 hours of physical training.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, Stimson stated that many universities had curtailed their athletic programs to conserve rubber, gasoline and rail transportation, and the Army needed to support these universities’ conservation efforts.<sup>96</sup>

Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson also tried to convince Stimson to allow ASTP trainees to play sports, but J. Douglas Brown, an aide on Stimson's central staff, rejected the idea. He underlined the importance of sustaining "the conviction in the minds of the soldiers and the public that the A.S.T.P. [wa]s definitely a war-time intensive course carried on by soldiers on the campus rather than by college boys in uniform."<sup>97</sup> At the end of May, the *New York Times* reported that Stimson refused to consider changing the Army's decision.<sup>98</sup>

By summer, universities contracted to host the ASTP began dropping their intercollegiate athletic programs. Fordham University reluctantly folded its program much to the dismay of Arthur Daley, sportswriter for the *New York Times*. Football without Fordham, he lamented, would be a "strange football season" like "baseball without the [New York] Yankees, hockey without the [New York] Rangers."<sup>99</sup> Football had become a casualty of war at universities hosting ASTP trainees. Coaches had to either close their programs or field their teams with freshmen and 4-Fs.<sup>100</sup> Jack Coffey, Graduate Manager of Athletics, stated that Fordham lacked sufficient manpower to field a football squad. If the Army had allowed the cadets to play, then he could have picked his squad from 650 men.<sup>101</sup>

Tennessee, Baylor, Georgetown, Auburn, the University of Cincinnati and 190 other colleges suspended their football programs, following Fordham's somber footsteps to the bench.<sup>102</sup> In October 1943, 44 out of 138 teachers colleges had suspended their sports programs.<sup>103</sup> In September, 1943, the University of Connecticut shelved its football program. When asked why, President Albert Jorgenson replied that it was because "of the Army's ban on student trainees' participation in competitive sports."<sup>104</sup>

The Army's policy forced university administrations to decide whether to continue varsity sports. The Georgia Board of Regents debated the issue, finally agreeing to keep the football program alive; however, at the University of Omaha, the president chose to drop the football program, causing students to protest his action.<sup>105</sup>

With the 1943 football season around the corner, Weiss and his fellow congressmen persisted in their attempt to change the Army's policy. Two-hundred and fifty-six congressmen signed a petition that supported the soldiers' participation in intercollegiate athletics.<sup>106</sup> Hopeful about the outcome of the petition, Weiss noted that "the picture [wa]s gloomy but not hopeless."<sup>107</sup> John B. Kelly, the chairman of the Federal Security Agency's Committee on Physical Fitness, could not understand how the Navy could allow sailors and marines to participate in all walks of college life, including that of varsity football, and the Army could not "see the light."<sup>108</sup> The Navy imposed physically and mentally demanding schedules on the V-12 trainees as well. Like ASTP trainees, V-12 trainees endured 50 to 60 hours a week in the classroom, lab, and in physical and military training.<sup>109</sup> The signed petition rested on Secretary Stimson's desk, awaiting his return from Africa.<sup>110</sup> *Times* sportswriter Daley pointed out that the petition was a positive sign for the pending season.<sup>111</sup> Would Stimson change his mind and allow soldiers at participating colleges to play?

Five days later, Stimson ended any further discussion on the matter when he declared the Department of War decision final.<sup>112</sup> No further inquiries or petitions swayed his decision. In January 1944, the NCAA again asked the Department of War to lift the ban. The Department of War refused.<sup>113</sup> Like giving a consolation prize to the loser for participating in the race, the Department of War encouraged the trainees to play

intramural sports at the colleges.<sup>114</sup> Apparently, Stimson was not against football as physical training, but against intercollegiate football in the Army training program.

Although Stimson and Tunney believed intramural sports provided sufficient training for ASTP trainees, the Army and Navy service stations fielded football teams and played against one another and intercollegiate teams. West Point (Army) and the Naval Academy (Navy) had been fielding teams for years and were part of intercollegiate scheduling. During World War II, more service stations opened, and the NCAA allowed these teams to play against college teams, integrating the service stations into intercollegiate schedules.<sup>115</sup> Like many of the service stations, Camp Grant (Army) of Rockford, Illinois, had played against intercollegiate teams since 1942.<sup>116</sup> Commanding officers at Army service stations employed the idea of football as a means of training for combat and valued the opportunity to field teams.<sup>117</sup> The commanding officers of service stations had their own rules and regulations since their trainees were not participating in a college training program, proving the Army's overall sports policy inconsistent.

The Army's opinion on intercollegiate play sparked one citizen to speculate on what he viewed as the Army's mistake. In a sports editorial, Harry Davidson of New York suspected that the "War Department [wa]s too small to admit that a mistake ha[d] been made in this instance," and only someone with the utmost authority could overrule it, acknowledging that in this case, "the Navy [wa]s right in holding a directly opposite view toward intercollegiate sports competition."<sup>118</sup> Since competitive sports were conducted at service stations and West Point, Davidson's comment seemed to nail the Army's error on the head.

The effect of the Army's ban on its trainees playing intercollegiate football and the Navy's blessing on its V-12 trainees playing marked the beginning of a new era of college football that lasted until the end of the war. Each week, as the *New York Times* sportswriter Arthur Daley predicted the winners of the Saturday afternoon tilts, he chose the universities with Navy programs over the ones without. When predicting the outcome of the Ohio State vs. Northwestern and Purdue vs. Iowa games, Daley mused that the "big boys play little boys, one vote for Northwestern's trainees . . . one vote for Purdue."<sup>119</sup> The effect of the Army and Navy's contrasting decisions created two kinds of football teams. Thousands of young men transferred from universities without the Army and Navy programs to universities with them. The sailors and marines participated in football programs while the ASTP soldiers did not. Universities hosting the ASTP trainees either had to suspend their football programs or had to allow freshmen to put on the shoulder pads.

### *The Mismatched Football Season of 1943*

"Normalcy had yielded to the demands of war" as universities that had enjoyed strong football programs fell short in the 1943 season.<sup>120</sup> This season differed from the 1942 season like night and day, now that the training programs were in full swing. According to the National Collegiate Athletic Bureau, there were 765 intercollegiate football teams in 1941; by 1943, there were only 162.<sup>121</sup> Although hundreds of universities, teachers colleges, and junior colleges suspended their football programs and played fewer intersectional games, William Reid, reporting from the second district in the *Nineteen-Forty-Three Yearbook* for the NCAA, offered that "the football season of 1943

was [still] a successful one.”<sup>122</sup> While the V-12 program enabled institutions, like Purdue, to continue their intercollegiate athletic schedules, some large universities without the Navy program, including six of the nine in the Western Conference, maintained their programs as well.<sup>123</sup>

The Ohio State Buckeyes, the defending 1942 champions, had lost their game opener to the Iowa Pre-flight Seahawks (naval station); it was the first time they had been defeated in a season opener since 1894. The Seahawks, outfitted with ex-professional football players who were now Navy trainees, outmatched the Buckeye’s scrawny freshmen.<sup>124</sup> Ohio State was one of the colleges that hosted ASTP trainees, and then able-bodied men sat on the sidelines, belonging to the crowd of spectators as they read the final numbers on the scoreboard, 28 Seahawks, 13 Buckeyes.<sup>125</sup>

Other teams like Wisconsin, Nebraska, Cornell, Colgate, Pittsburgh, S.M.U., Oklahoma, Minnesota, Texas A&M, Tulane, Texas, Texas Christian, Missouri, and Georgia Tech were affected by the policies of the Army and Navy training programs.<sup>126</sup> These universities had lost their best players to the Navy program and some attended their former schools’ biggest rivals. A Minnesota Gopher the year before, Bill Daley, an All-American fullback, had morphed into a Michigan Wolverine for the 1943 season when he left Minneapolis to attend the V-12 Program in Ann Arbor. Cleo Calcagni of Cornell became captain-elect of the Pennsylvania Quakers. Wisconsin lost a few men of their stellar 1942 team to Michigan.<sup>127</sup> Purdue gained a slew of players from the Big Ten Conference, welcoming eight players from Illinois, five from Iowa, and one from Indiana.<sup>128</sup> Fans complained that this intercollegiate—and inter-conference—“team hopping . . . violated the classical nature of intercollegiate athletics.”<sup>129</sup> For the Gopher

fans watching their former favorite fullback play against his alma mater as a Wolverine or the Fighting Illini fans watching their former All-American guard Alex Agase play as a Boilermaker surely boiled their blood. But, by fall 1943, these players were no longer scholar-athletes; they were sailor-marine-athletes whose enlistment into either the Army or Navy determined their eligibility.

Forty of the V-12 institutions had marine contingents, including Purdue.<sup>130</sup> Purdue welcomed 1,263 V-12 trainees in the July 1, 1943, to November 1, 1943, term, a third of whom were marines.<sup>131</sup> All but ten of the forty-nine players on Purdue's 1943 varsity football squad had enrolled in the Navy V-12 program.<sup>132</sup> To attend the V-12 program at Purdue, the Navy plucked out these sailors and marines from the following colleges and universities: Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Indiana, Ball State, Butler, St. Joseph's, Case Western Reserve, Shurtleff, North Dakota, Santa Barbara, Fordham, and Tulane.<sup>133</sup> Like many of Purdue's students in the summer and fall of 1943, they were first-year Boilermakers, welcomed by Director Guy "Red" Mackey and the *Exponent* staff. Although most of the transferred V-12 trainees had played college football before, they had not played together as Boilermakers.

While the V-12 program provided many colleges with talented players, whether they adapted was another matter. Would they play well together? The coaching staff had to teach the V-12 trainees a new playing style.<sup>134</sup> The coaching staff at Dartmouth College found the first month difficult, but as the season wore on, they managed to create a good, solid squad.<sup>135</sup> Most of the University of Virginia's 1943 squad was V-12 trainees, but the individual players never bonded as a team. Virginia's 1943 win-loss-tie record was 3-4-1.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, teams had less time than before the war to practice

during the week because their training took precedence over any extracurricular activity. Coaching staffs had to utilize their shortened practice time wisely.<sup>137</sup>

However, if the players received the coach warmly, respected their fellow teammates, and adapted their skills to the new style of playing, then they might find themselves in a potential championship squad. No one could have crafted this equation for greatness. The staff of the Department of the Navy placed the trainees at institutions that offered the right curricula; it was “strictly an accident” if a group of talented players all went to the same university and only a few went to another.<sup>138</sup> The “team composition reflected the policy of the [Navy],” but the Navy’s purpose was to train these sailors and marines, not create football powerhouses.<sup>139</sup>

Therefore, as a byproduct of the V-12 program, the Navy placed groups of talent-laden football players at certain universities. Many of these talented marines and sailors together created football powerhouses where the Navy stationed them. Eight of the 40 marine units were based at universities whose teams were in the Associated Press’s top 20, Purdue being one of them.<sup>140</sup> Universities with the V-12 programs had large pools of men from which football coaches could field decent teams.

Football experts predicted Notre Dame, Army, and Navy (since the beginning of the war, the service teams had been stocked with talented recruits), the triumvirate, would dominate in the AP polls for the 1943 season. And oh, how they did. Notre Dame, America’s top team, rushed 310 yards per game, and total offense reached 418 yards per game.<sup>141</sup> The Fighting Irish slaughtered the Wisconsin Badgers 50-0, making them “feel like the unwary pedestrian who ha[d] just stepped into an open manhole.”<sup>142</sup> Until they lost Angelo Bertelli, their strong arm, the Irish racked up points after points, mercilessly

beating their opponents. After the first month of tilts, Notre Dame led the top ten with Army, Navy, Pennsylvania, Purdue, Duke, Iowa Pre-Flight, USC, Michigan, and the College of the Pacific following.<sup>143</sup>

The leaders in college football in October 1943 were different from the leaders in October 1942. The top ten in 1943 included only Michigan and Pennsylvania from the top ten in 1942. While Notre Dame and Duke ranked as number 20 and number 22, respectively, Navy did not even make the top forty.<sup>144</sup> Iowa Pre-flight and the other three Navy schools were not even qualified by the Associated Press for ranking among college elevens.<sup>145</sup> Purdue had not been ranked nationally for ten years, since 1933, when they rounded out the top ten with talented stars like William “Dutch” Fehring and All-American halfback Duane Purvis.<sup>146</sup>

This unanticipated 1943 season continued with Navy trainees demolishing freshman squads nationwide. This season was one of the most interesting to watch from “a spectator and sports page standpoint.”<sup>147</sup> Perhaps the only boring task was Arthur Daley’s game predictions. For the Purdue-Wisconsin game on October 30, he offered a “half dozen careless votes for Purdue.”<sup>148</sup> Freshman squads playing against one another were more difficult to predict, but the level of play was certainly under par for varsity teams. Yet sportswriter Grantland Rice pointed out that the “glory of the 1943 season really belong[ed] to the outmanned, overpowered, outclassed, trampled-in-the-dirt kids who gave everything they had against impossible odds to keep the game going along.”<sup>149</sup> To Rice, the scrawny seventeen-year-olds who dared to play against veteran players deserved credit for preserving an important social element of the American way of life.<sup>150</sup>

When the Navy V-12 training term ended in October, the predictions for the Saturday afternoon tilts became harder to make. On November 1, the V-12 “graduations” left leading teams without some of their V-12 “lend-lease” players. Two or three games shy of the end of the season, Notre Dame lost Bertelli; Purdue lost Butkovich, their leading rusher and top-scorer as well as eight others; and Michigan lost Bill Daley.<sup>151</sup> Most of these “lost” men shipped out to Parris Island, South Carolina for midshipmen’s school.<sup>152</sup>

In November, the sports journalists who were the football experts voted on the nominees for the Heisman Trophy awarded to the college football player of the year. Three of the nine nominees were from the Western Conference—Purdue, Michigan, Northwestern—and three from Notre Dame. Quarterback Angelo Bertelli of Notre Dame easily won the eight-year-old Heisman Trophy Award, polling more votes than the votes of the next five nominees combined.<sup>153</sup> In his last game before shipping off to Parris Island, Bertelli threw three touchdown passes and ran in one himself against second-ranked Navy. After the final whistle, the score 33-6, a blur of gold uniforms tossed Bertelli onto their shoulders and carried him off the field, paying a personal tribute to their star quarterback who led them to victory after victory.<sup>154</sup>

Navy trainees stationed at American universities created powerful football teams. The men played as cohesive units, as teams. The 1943 season solidified college football’s place in American wartime society. Maj. John L. Griffith, Big Ten commissioner and editor of the *Athletic Journal*, declared that college football proved “beyond a doubt that varsity competition c[ould] surmount any handicap and that football in colleges [wa]s a necessity in wartime” because of its “training values.”<sup>155</sup>

Furthermore, he stated that football boosted national morale by providing “entertainment for spectators and . . . refreshing news-reading to millions of sport-conscious men and women.”<sup>156</sup> Paying homage to the Navy for designating football an essential part of war training, John DaGrosa and Edward H. Nichterlein wrote in the 1944 *Official NCAA Football Guide* that for the 1943 season, “American football owe[d] a tremendous debt of gratitude to the United States Navy.”<sup>157</sup>

The 1943 season welcomed a new era of wartime college football. The decisions of the Navy and Army, allowing or prohibiting intercollegiate sports changed college football. This new era, unlike the previous wartime season, included many colleges and universities having to forego their football programs; others were pulling talented players from V-12 trainees; and the rest were using seventeen-year-olds or 4-Fs to field teams. The V-12 universities did not participate in the post season, and most of the long distance intercollegiate games were cancelled because of the rationing of rubber and gasoline. To say it was a season of great games would be false; the Purdue-Illinois tilt in October, 1943, showed just how poorly players could play. Many of the early games in the 1943 season were full of errors as teams were full of inexperienced freshmen or transferred trainees learning to play with each other. But by November, a few of these teams, like Purdue, demonstrated their ability to work together, thus producing a titan among the other teams.

Not only did the policies of the Army and Navy affect college football and other varsity sports, but also the universities themselves. The establishment of the military training programs on college campuses guaranteed the survival of the host colleges and

universities. These programs brought back the thousands of young men who left to train for war, ensuring the continuation of higher education in wartime.

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Daley, "Stuffing the Ballot Box," *Sports of the Times*, *New York Times*, October 23, 1943, 18. In this quote, Daley is referring to Northwestern as the "big boys," and Ohio State as the "little boys." He then gives one vote for Northwestern's trainees.

<sup>2</sup> Russ Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, October 5, 1943, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Russ Lipes, "Riveters Victorious in First Conference Tilt, 40-21," *The Exponent*, October 3, 1943, 1.

<sup>4</sup> For reference to Butkovich's height and weight, see Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, Nov. 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, South Bend, Indiana; and for reference to Butkovich's 80-yard carry, see Lipes, "Riveters Victorious in First Conference Tilt, 40-21," *The Exponent*, October 3, 1943, 1.

<sup>5</sup> For reference to the halfback marvel, see "Illinois Faces Former Heroes at Purdue," *The Football News: The American Collegiate Sports Weekly* (Detroit, MI), October 2, 1943, 1; and for reference to kicking the extra point and the score, see Lipes, "Riveters Victorious in First Conference Tilt, 40-21," *The Exponent*, October 3, 1943, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Lipes, "Riveters Victorious in First Conference Tilt, 40-21," *The Exponent*, October 3, 1943, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. Clipping is when a player hits a non-ball carrying player from behind or below the waist.

<sup>9</sup> Malcolm Willey, "The College Training Programs of the Armed Services," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 231 (January 1944): 15.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>11</sup> For reference to Beukema as director of the ASTD, see Henry Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs of the Armed Services* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Education, 1948), 26; and for reference to Beukema's decision to bar ASTP participants from playing college sports, see "Ruling Hits Sports in Colleges Picked for Army Training," *New York Times*, February 13, 1943, 1, 16.

<sup>12</sup> "Ruling Hits Sports in Colleges Picked for Army Training," *New York Times*, February 13, 1943, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Purdue University, "Report Regarding the Release of President Elliott from his Duties with the War Manpower Commission," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, March 30, 1943, 394.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Purdue University, "Report Regarding Letter from Bureau of Naval Personnel Relative to Need for Improving Purdue University Airport Facilities," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, March 30, 1943, 384.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 385.

<sup>17</sup> Virgus Ray Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993), 67-68.

<sup>18</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 16-17.

<sup>19</sup> Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 58-59.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 59-60.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 18.

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- <sup>23</sup> For reference to the V-1 and V-7 programs, see Willey, "College Training Programs of the Armed Services," 20; and for reference to the 16-week term and commencing on July 1, 1943, see Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 61-62.
- <sup>24</sup> Willey, "College Training Programs of the Armed Services," 20.
- <sup>25</sup> The V-5 program cadets had a special demarcation of (a) following their status as a cadet.
- <sup>26</sup> Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 60-61.
- <sup>27</sup> Willey, "College Training Programs of the Armed Services," 20.
- <sup>28</sup> James G. Schneider, *The Navy V-12 Program: Leadership for a Lifetime* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1987), 67-68, 97.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.
- <sup>31</sup> Interview with Lt. Raymond Howes, O-inC, 4/24/1982, as referenced in *ibid.*
- <sup>32</sup> Willey, "College Training Programs of the Armed Services," 21.
- <sup>33</sup> Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 21, 63.
- <sup>34</sup> Willey, "College Training Programs of the Armed Services," 22: for further reference to colleges and universities having control over the academic education for naval cadets, see Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 21-22.
- <sup>35</sup> Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 22.
- <sup>36</sup> H. B. Knoll, *A Record of a University in the War Years, 1941-1945* (Lafayette, IN: Purdue University, 1947), 46.
- <sup>37</sup> "Catalogue Number for the sessions of 1943-1944 with announcements for the Sessions of 1944-1945," *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 3 (March 1944): 255-56, Archives and Special Collections, Purdue University Libraries, West Lafayette, Indiana.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 256-64.
- <sup>40</sup> For reference to 1,245 trainees in the July-October term, see Purdue University, "Enrollment of Students," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.
- <sup>41</sup> Knoll, *A Record of a University*, 46-47.
- <sup>42</sup> Robert L. Baxter, Jr., "Student Life at the University of Virginia during World War II" (Ed.D. Diss., University of Virginia, 1990), 247.
- <sup>43</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 15.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 47-48.
- <sup>46</sup> Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 27.
- <sup>47</sup> Letter from General George C. Marshall to commanding generals of the AGF, ASF, and AAF, April 1, 1943, as quoted in *ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-26.
- <sup>49</sup> Louis E. Keefer, *Scholars in Foxholes: The Story of the Army Specialized Training Program in World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1988), 49-50.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-52.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 65.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

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- <sup>55</sup> Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 27.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid., 20.
- <sup>57</sup> Willey, "College Training Programs of the Armed Services," 17-18.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid., 19.
- <sup>59</sup> Purdue University, "Report re Army Specialized Training Program Contract," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, April 16-17, 1943, 442-3.
- <sup>60</sup> Keefer, *Scholars in Foxholes*, 65.
- <sup>61</sup> Knoll, *A Record of a University*, 47-48.
- <sup>62</sup> "Catalogue Number for the sessions of 1943-1944 with announcements for the Sessions of 1944-1945," *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 3 (March 1944): 248-253, Archives and Special Collections, Purdue University Libraries.
- <sup>63</sup> "Purdue University at Work: during the War Year of 1942-1943," *Bulletin of Purdue University* 44, no. 2 (February 1944): 11, War Years at Purdue (World War I and World War II) Vertical Clipping File, Archives and Special Collections, Purdue University Libraries.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid., 49.
- <sup>65</sup> "No Premium on Self-Pity," *The Exponent*, September 4, 1943, 3.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>67</sup> For the monotony of calisthenics quote, see *ibid*; and for the banning of soldiers playing football, see "Ruling Hits Sports in Colleges Picked for Army Training," *New York Times*, February 13, 1943, 1, 16.
- <sup>68</sup> Donald Rominger, Jr., "The Impact of the U.S. Government's Sports and Physical Training Policy on Organized Athletics during World War II" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1976), 153.
- <sup>69</sup> "Ruling Hits Sports in Colleges Picked for Army Training," *New York Times*, February 13, 1943, 1.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>71</sup> "College Officials See Hope as Navy Delays Sport Rule," *New York Times*, February 14, 1943, 5.
- <sup>72</sup> George F. Veenker, "Football," in *The Nineteen-Forty-Three Yearbook*, National Collegiate Athletic Association, (Mission, KS: National Collegiate Athletic Association), 65, NCAA Archives, NCAA Hall of Champions, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- <sup>73</sup> "Ruling Hits Sports in Colleges Picked for Army Training," *New York Times*, February 13, 1943, 1.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>75</sup> "College Officials See Hope as Navy Delays Sport Rule," *New York Times*, February 14, 1943, 5.
- <sup>76</sup> Allison Danzig, "Midwest Plans for Athletics Top Those of the East," *New York Times*, March 21, 1943, 1.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid., 1.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid., 3.
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid., 1.
- <sup>80</sup> Ibid., 3.
- <sup>81</sup> Lou Little, "College Football Is at War," in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. Walter R. Okeson (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1943), 21.

- <sup>82</sup> Ibid., 21-22.
- <sup>83</sup> Ibid., 22.
- <sup>84</sup> For reference to Tunney being the director of the Navy Physical Fitness Program, see “NAVY: Potbellyacher,” *Time*, September 22, 1941; and for reference to the spectator sports establishment quote, see Rominger, Jr., “Impact of the U.S. Government,” 137.
- <sup>85</sup> Bertelli Is Taken by Boston Eleven,” *New York Times*, April 20, 1944, 16.
- <sup>86</sup> Rominger, Jr., “Impact of the U.S. Government,” 136.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid., 136-137.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid., 137.
- <sup>89</sup> Letter from Gene Tunney to John L. Griffith, nd., as quoted in *ibid.* Note: In Rominger’s endnotes, there is a missing page containing the endnotes 15-32, which includes the endnote for this letter. On page 137, Rominger cites this quote from a letter that Tunney wrote to Griffith. He did not give a date.
- <sup>90</sup> Letter from Gene Tunney to Andrew Leary, May 18, 1943, as quoted in *ibid.*, 156.
- <sup>91</sup> La Vern Dilweg, “Sports in War,” *Athletic Journal* 23, no. 10 (June 1943): 20, 21. Griffith printed Dilweg’s speech before Congress in 1943.
- <sup>92</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>93</sup> Letter from U.S. Representative Samuel Weiss to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, May 4, 1943, as quoted in Rominger Jr., “Impact of the U.S. Government,” 157.
- <sup>94</sup> Letter from Secretary Henry Stimson to Congressman Samuel A. Weiss, May 14, 1943, as quoted in Keefer, *Scholars in Foxholes*, 138-139.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid.; for the breakdown of 59 hours, see Willey, “College Training Programs of the Armed Services,” 19; and Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 20.
- <sup>96</sup> Letter from Stimson to Weiss, May 14, 1943, as quoted in Keefer, *Scholars in Foxholes*, 139.
- <sup>97</sup> Memorandum from J. Douglas Brown (assistant to G. H. Dorr of Secretary Stimson’s staff) to Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson, n.d., as quoted in Keefer, *Scholars in Foxholes*, 139.
- <sup>98</sup> “Army Sports Ban Sticks,” *New York Times*, May 28, 1943, 24.
- <sup>99</sup> Daley, “Rameses Retires,” *Sports of the Times*, *New York Times*, July 15, 1943, 9.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>101</sup> “Fordham, Hit by Player Shortage Gives Up Football for Duration,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1943, 26.
- <sup>102</sup> Daley, “Rameses Retires,” *Sports of the Times*, July 15, 1943, *New York Times*, 9.
- <sup>103</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 130-131.
- <sup>104</sup> Article 13—No title, “Storrs, Conn.,” *New York Times*, September 2, 1943, 23.
- <sup>105</sup> Rominger, “Impact of the U.S. Government,” 68, 69.
- <sup>106</sup> Allison Danzig, “Sports Plea Made by 256 in Congress,” *New York Times*, July 30, 1943, 1.
- <sup>107</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>108</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>109</sup> Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs*, 20.
- <sup>110</sup> For reference to the petition on Stimson's desk, see Danzig, "Sports Plea Made by 256 in Congress," *New York Times*, July 30, 1943, 1; and for reference to Africa, see "Army Blocks Move to Lift Sport Ban," *New York Times*, August 6, 1943, 18.
- <sup>111</sup> Daley, "Short Shots in Sundry Directions," Sports of the Times, *New York Times*, August 1, 1943, S2.
- <sup>112</sup> "Army Blocks Move to Lift Sports Ban," *New York Times*, August 6, 1943, 18.
- <sup>113</sup> Keefer, *Scholars in Foxholes*, 139.
- <sup>114</sup> "College Officials See Hope as Navy Delays Sport Rule," *New York Times*, February 14, 1943, 5.
- <sup>115</sup> Col. Theodore P. Bank, "Football in the Army," in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. Walter R. Okeson (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1943), 27-28.
- <sup>116</sup> Wilbur Jones, Jr., "Football! Navy! War!": *How the Military "Lend-Lease" Players Saved the College Game and Helped Win World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., Inc., 2009), 134-146.
- <sup>117</sup> Lt. Col. Theodore P. Bank, "Army Football," in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. Walter R. Okeson (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1942), 17.
- <sup>118</sup> Harry Davidson, "Letters to the Sports Editor," *New York Times*, August 7, 1943, 9.
- <sup>119</sup> Daley, "Stuffing the Ballot Box," Sports of the Times, *New York Times*, October 23, 1943, 18.
- <sup>120</sup> Rominger, Jr., "Impact of the U.S. Government," 145.
- <sup>121</sup> "Who Are Our Friends?" *Athletic Journal*, 24, no. 7 (March 1944): 12.
- <sup>122</sup> William A. Reid, "Second District," in *The Nineteen-Forty-Three Yearbook*, National Collegiate Athletic Association (Mission, KS: National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1943), 39.
- <sup>123</sup> George L. Rider, "Fourth District," in *The Nineteen-Forty-Three Yearbook*, National Collegiate Athletic Association (Mission, KS: National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1943), 46.
- <sup>124</sup> Danzig, "Reappraisal of Gridiron Leaders Forced by Penn and Purdue Feats," *New York Times*, September 27, 1943, 27.
- <sup>125</sup> For reference to Ohio State as a host for the ASTP, see Keefer, *Scholars in Foxholes*, 92; and for reference to the score between the Seahawks and the Buckeyes, see John D. McCallum, *Big Ten Football since 1895* (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Co., 1976), 309.
- <sup>126</sup> Danzig, "On College Gridirons," *New York Times*, October 14, 1943, 28.
- <sup>127</sup> John "Ox" DaGrosa and Edward H. Nichterlein, "Review and Preview," in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. W. J. Bingham (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1944), 25-26.
- <sup>128</sup> For the Purdue players' previous colleges, see Game Program, Purdue at Indiana, Nov. 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives; and Game Program, Purdue at Marquette, Sept. 25, 1943, Box 45, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives.
- <sup>129</sup> Sperber, *Onward to Victory*, 111.
- <sup>130</sup> Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 51, 55.

- <sup>131</sup> Knoll, *A Record of a University*, 45.
- <sup>132</sup> Game Program, Camp Grant vs. Purdue, Oct. 9, 1943, Box 70, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives. The ten civilian players were seventeen-year-old freshmen and could sign a contract with the military, but they could not volunteer or register for the draft until they were eighteen.
- <sup>133</sup> Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, Nov. 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, University of Notre Dame Archives; and Game Program, Purdue vs. Marquette, Sept. 25, 1943, Box 45, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives.
- <sup>134</sup> Jones, Jr., “*Football! Navy! War!*,” 62.
- <sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>136</sup> Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr. and Robert Baxter, Jr., “Higher Education Goes to War: The University of Virginia’s Response to World War II,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 100, no. 3 (July 1992): 418.
- <sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>138</sup> For placing the trainees at schools with the right curricula, see Schneider, *The Navy V-12 Program*, 98; for the accident quote, see Arthur Daley, “Rameses Retires,” *Sports of the Times*, *New York Times*, July 17, 1943, 9.
- <sup>139</sup> Baxter, Jr., “Student Life at the University of Virginia,” 247.
- <sup>140</sup> Jones, Jr., “*Football! Navy! War!*,” 62.
- <sup>141</sup> Homer F. Cooke, Jr., “Freshmen Foil ’43 Forecasts,” in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. W. J. Bingham (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1944), 69.
- <sup>142</sup> For the score of the game, see McCallum, *Big Ten Football*, 309; and for the pedestrian quote, see Daley, “Stuffing the Ballot Box,” *Sports of the Times*, *New York Times*, October 23, 1943, 18.
- <sup>143</sup> Notre Dame Rated at Top by 86 of 99,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1943, 33.
- <sup>144</sup> Danzig, “On College Gridirons,” *New York Times*, October 14, 1942, 30.
- <sup>145</sup> Allison Danzig, “National Ranking of Elevens Is Perplexing, with Clear Picture Only in East,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1942, 22. But if the service elevens were included in the rankings, then all four would have been in the top twenty.
- <sup>146</sup> McCallum, *Big Ten Football*, 300.
- <sup>147</sup> Maj. John L. Griffith, “Football in War Time,” in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. W. J. Bingham (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1944), 30.
- <sup>148</sup> Daley, “Stuffing the Ballot Box,” *Sports of the Times*, *New York Times*, 30 Oct. 1943, 19.
- <sup>149</sup> Grantland Rice, “The All-America Football Team,” *Colliers*, 112, no. 25 December 18, 1943, 17.
- <sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>151</sup> Daley, “The Monday Morning Quarterback,” *Sports of the Times*, *New York Times*, November 1, 1943, 21.
- <sup>152</sup> To see a picture the marines at Parris Island including Bertelli and Butkovich, see the illustration on the front cover of Jones Jr., “*Navy! Football! War!*”.
- <sup>153</sup> “Bertelli Named to Receive Heisman Trophy as Outstanding College Player of Season,” *New York Times*, November 28, 1943, S1.

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<sup>154</sup> Daley, "The Monday Morning Quarterback," *Sports of the Times, New York Times*, November 1, 1943, 21.

<sup>155</sup> Griffith, "Football in War Time," *The Official National Collegiate Athletic Association Football Guide*, ed. W. J. Bingham (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1944), 30.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> John "Ox" DaGrosa and Edward H. Nichterlein, "Review and Preview," *The Official National Collegiate Athletic Association Football Guide*, ed. W. J. Bingham (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1944), 22.

## Chapter Four

### The 1943 Undefeated Band of Boilermakers: How Football Boosted Purdue Servicemen Pride and Morale during World War II

The 1943 Purdue football squad bid their farewells to nine players who would journey to midshipmen's school at Parris Island, South Carolina, and then would ship overseas.<sup>1</sup> The team had become a tight-knit fellowship of men who now had to say good-bye to several of their brothers. They had spent months practicing football, had gone to class, lived in fraternities-turned-into-barracks, and cheered for each other on the gridiron.

The 1943 team had forged solid friendships; they were a band of Boilermakers.<sup>2</sup> Gordon Graham, sports editor for West Lafayette's *Journal and Courier*, noted that these men had come to admire one another, and that "guys like Agase, Genis, Butkovich, Hughes . . . [Staak, Darr, Milla, O'Keefe, and Newell] don't just walk out of your life without doing something to your ticker."<sup>3</sup> The entire team had already said their good-byes to Ed Cycenas, Bill Stuart, and Gilbert Mordoh, whose injuries had ended their collegiate football careers but were still to report to midshipmen's school after the end of the school term.<sup>4</sup> The team parted ways in Chicago, after they won their seventh consecutive game in Madison, Wisconsin.<sup>5</sup> Probably few cared then about their undefeated record, nor helping "Touchdown Tony" Butkovich break the Western Conference's twenty-year-old scoring record.<sup>6</sup> All the numbers and games flitted away into mere memories as the men held each other close.

The 1943 Purdue football squad was unique; the circumstances of war engendered a new breed of players. Transfer players from rival universities, veteran Purdue players,

and freshmen all learned to play together during a shortened schedule without long-distance games or championship bowls. They played as a team, encouraging each other to excel on the gridiron; throughout the season, this squad conquered opponents, game after game. When some of these players left for war, they remained in contact with one another. Football, a tool which constructed and sealed the bonds of brotherhood, transformed the 1943 team into a family on and off the field, boosting their pride and morale.

When these players left for war, the Purdue Alumni Association made sure that they and all the rest of their fellow Purdue servicemen would not be alone overseas. For the duration of World War II, the association mailed copies of the *Exponent*, the *Purdue Alumnus* and the war newspaper supplement *Purdue Patrol* to all Boilermaker servicemen around the world, including Purdue servicemen who graduated before World War II. Inspired by Athletic Director Guy “Red” Mackey, “the Boilermaker Letterman,” a four-page newsletter within the *Alumnus*, provided “a medium for the exchange of news between Boilermaker lettermen in service as well as between lettermen and the University.”<sup>7</sup> The “P” men in the service sent letters and cards to the Athletic Department, from which editor Bob C. Woodworth published excerpts in the “Boilermaker Mail Bag.”<sup>8</sup> Mackey hoped letters of lettermen servicemen around the world would fill the pages. He wished the publication would keep fellow servicemen “in touch” with one another while the “Letters from our Readers” and other articles would provide news of other Purdue servicemen and civilian alumni.<sup>9</sup>

These publications created a world-wide Boilermaker community that lifted the servicemen’s Boilermaker spirit and wartime morale, including some of the football

players until the end of the war. Recurrent themes in many of the letters by players and non-players were how much they appreciated Purdue sending them these publications, how proud they were to be Boilermakers, and how they could not wait to return to Purdue. Their letters dripped with Boilermaker pride as many of them spread the good news of the university to fellow servicemen. For instance, Captain William J. Neff, a 1941 Purdue graduate, wrote that “the Purdue boys in our group keep the other fellows informed of the *only* school in the world. It seems as if every Purdue man is a walking public relations man for the school.”<sup>10</sup> The Purdue servicemen also wished for any news of the football team in the fall of 1943, 1944 and 1945: they missed watching it, playing on it, or hearing about it on the radio. Servicemen frequently mentioned in their letters until the end of the war how they scoured the Purdue publications and other newspapers for football news. These publications demonstrate how important football was to these fighting Boilermakers.

#### *Tales from the Gridiron: The Making of a Brotherhood*

The story of the 1943 Purdue football season began in the hot, sweat-soaked days of July as Coach Elmer Burnham took command of the new football season. As the Navy sent over a thousand men to Purdue to train in its V-12 program on July 1, 1943, Burnham had his work cut out for him. He proceeded with caution on teaching the T-formation to the transfers, but the new players caught on quickly. Literally, the technique was in the form of the capital letter “T,” having three running backs behind the quarterback.<sup>11</sup> This strategy, used initially for a running play, revolutionized the passing game as the running backs turned into wide receivers.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the season, the

offense “averaged better than five yards a try on running plays.”<sup>13</sup> David J. Walsh, sportswriter for the *International News Service* noted that the Purdue squad had “poise,” and “tremendous gusto,” and an offensive line that was “pretty impressive.”<sup>14</sup>

**Table 3**

Purdue’s 1943 Season			
Date	Opponent	Purdue’s score	Opponent’s Score
Sept. 18, 1943	Great Lakes	23	13
Sept. 25, 1943	Marquette	21	0
Oct. 2, 1943	Illinois	40	21
Oct. 9, 1943	Camp Grant	19	0
Oct. 16, 1943	Ohio State	30	7
Oct. 23, 1943	Iowa	28	7
Oct. 30, 1943	Wisconsin	32	0
Nov. 7, 1943	Minnesota	14	7
Nov. 14, 1943	Indiana	7	0

Source: John McCallum, *Big Ten Football since 1895*, (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Co., 1976), 303. For reference to the dates, see corresponding dates in the *Purdue Exponent*.

In September, the Boilermakers prepared for their first game. After beating the Sailors of Great Lakes Naval Station and the Hilltoppers of Marquette University, they had yet to find a worthy opponent. *New York Times* sportswriter Allison Danzig prophesized that Purdue “loom[ed] as a titan, with a good prospect of going through unbeaten, on the strength of its 21-0 conquest of Marquette.”<sup>15</sup> On Saturday, September 25, the Riveter defense held the Hilltoppers’ rushing to forty-four rushing yards. With star fullback Tony Butkovich and Boris “Babe” Dimancheff, the 5’10”, 170-pound ex-

Butler University halfback, the Boilers easily out-rushed their opponents as the two men both averaged over four and five yards respectively per carry.<sup>16</sup> “The touchdown pass from [Sam] Vacanti to [Frank] Bauman was one of those passes you read about but never see; it was perfect. There was nothing Marquette could do to stop the Riveter attack.”<sup>17</sup>

The squad left Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in good spirits, maybe too good spirits. At the Chicago train station, one of two Purdue veterans of the 1942 squad, Dick Barwegan, guard, participated in what Russ Lipes, *The Exponent* sports editor, called the “funniest sight of the trip.”<sup>18</sup> Barwegan, sporting a black patch over one eye and a slouch hat tilted down over his face, tried to sell pencils to bystanders waiting to catch their trains.<sup>19</sup> Quite literally, “he was helped along [on his mission] by Mike Kasap and John Genis, with Alex Agase clearing the way.”<sup>20</sup>

Russ Lipes observed that the boys had become fast friends and enjoyed each other’s company so much that Coach Burnham could have taken the team into vaudeville and walked out with loads of money. Burnham had his hands full with this team; they were a bunch of “characters whose motto seem[ed] to be ‘Never a dull moment.’”<sup>21</sup> Back in West Lafayette, the players attended classes, study sessions, football practice, and trained for war; in what little free time they found, they played poker.<sup>22</sup> The players also watched movies at the local theatre as Tony Butkovich admitted he was “a movie fiend.”<sup>23</sup> Private Thomas Patrick Hughes, kicker and second string right tackle, entertained his friends with his Irish jokes and serenaded them with his smooth, melodious voice in the Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity house, now marine barracks.<sup>24</sup> Fellow marine John Genis, first string right tackle, played polka songs on the piano for his fellow marines.<sup>25</sup> Keith Parker, an accomplished halfback, also was a talented

trombone player, receiving offers to play with Les Brown's, Charlie Fisk's, and Muggsy Spanier's bands.<sup>26</sup> Being in good spirits on and off the field boosted team morale. Furthermore, a winning spirit led to selfless play in which the *team*, not the individual, basked in the glory of the victory.

For their fourth game of the 1943 season, the Riveters faced the soldiers of Camp Grant before a crowd of 13,000.<sup>27</sup> In World War I, Camp Grant had been an Army recruitment and training center for medical personnel replacements. Closed after the war, Camp Grant reopened in 1940. Starting in 1942 and ending in 1943, the Army permitted the soldiers to form a football squad and play intercollegiate teams as well as Army and Navy service teams. Traveling to West Lafayette with a 2-1-1 record, the Camp Grant Warriors hoped they could add another win.<sup>28</sup> Their team was composed of former professional players like the “280 pound, six foot, five inch Joe Coomer, formerly of the Pittsburgh Steelers . . . and Roman Bentz, a 230-pounder, formerly of the Washington Redskins.”<sup>29</sup> Other players had experience with the Detroit Lions and Chicago Bears, or were collegiate notables from Notre Dame, Indiana, Colgate, and even Purdue.<sup>30</sup>

Shortly before kickoff at 2:30 p.m. on October 9, 1943, fans flipped through their game programs to the President's Page, where President Elliott welcomed the soldiers to play the Navy's sailors and marines of Purdue: “None of us will forget that the players of both of the teams wear the uniform of some one of the branches of the armed forces. For the moment they are opponents—but opponents in play.”<sup>31</sup> President Elliott reminded the students that although these men were football players, they were also servicemen who would soon join the team to beat the Axis Powers. While football games diverted the attention of fans and players for a few hours, they could not ignore the reality of war.

The Boilermakers executed their plan for success well but were not flawless. The first drive of the game turned spectacular as the Boilers sped down the field. Purdue scored a touchdown in less than two minutes on a pass from Sam Vacanti to Stan Dubicki. However, they failed to convert one extra point, fumbled the ball four times and Dubicki tore a ligament in his knee. Still, the Boilers had 15 first downs over the Warriors' 8; in rushing, 153 yards over 80; and in passing, 122 yards over 61.<sup>32</sup>

The Riveters' passing, tackling, running with and catching the ball seemed effortless as they completed pass after pass, run after run. Even Vacanti managed to score a touchdown, on a quarterback sneak from the Warriors' 8-yard line. He was "over the line before the Warriors realized that he had the ball in his possession."<sup>33</sup> Butkovich, then acknowledged as one of the leading rushers in the nation, added a touchdown to his scoring tally and carried the ball 12 times for 50 yards, averaging 4.2 yards per carry.<sup>34</sup> Arthur Flint, a wiry 5'10", 165-pound halfback from Iowa, returned a punt for a long 32 yards.<sup>35</sup> The dynamic duo of Joe Buscemi, a 5' 11", 185-pound left end from Illinois, and Frank Bauman, a 6'3", 215-pound right end from Illinois, awed the crowd with their consistent catches of Vacanti's passes.<sup>36</sup>

At the end of the game, when Bill Burghardt, a former Purdue footballer, threatened to break down the field, Charley Haag, the 6'1", 175-pound end of the Purdue line, tackled Burghardt to the ground, keeping the Warriors scoreless.<sup>37</sup> However, Camp Grant did not lack spirit and skill. Burghardt averaged 5.1 yards for his eight attempts carrying the ball while Tony Storti's eight carries averaged 5.3 yards.<sup>38</sup> But the Warriors heavy-set line could not contain the quickness and breakout speed of the Riveters who defeated the soldiers, 19-0.<sup>39</sup>

The Riveters' next victim was Ohio State on Saturday, October 16. Although the Buckeyes had won the conference and national crown the previous year, those players were gone. However, beating the new team would not be easy.<sup>40</sup> This inexperienced Ohio State squad managed to gain 555 rushing yards in the first two games against Missouri and Iowa Pre-flight with their best ball-carrier averaging nearly seven yards a try. The only negative attribute of the 1943 Buckeyes was their aerial attack. In two games, they completed 5 of 23 passes for 92 yards with two interceptions. Their defense had allowed opponents to complete 11 of 27 passes for 192 yards. The 1942 national champions had beaten the Boilers in nine of their past ten meetings. For Purdue to have a chance, they would have to capitalize on Ohio State's weak pass defense and strengthen the Boilermaker wall to hold and stop the rushing attack.<sup>41</sup>

The Boilers traveled to Cleveland instead of Columbus to attract a larger crowd for the gridiron game, but they were two men short. Because of his torn ligament Stan Dubicki could not make the trip to Cleveland with the team. Coach Elmer Burnham replaced Dubicki with Bill Stuart, a 6', 185-pound half back from Purdue, and had Art Flint and seventeen-year-old Dick Bushnell from West Lafayette, Indiana, start practicing as back-ups for Stuart.<sup>42</sup> Lou DeFilippo also failed to make the trip to Cleveland because he resigned. He believed that his veteran experience was unfair to his opponents.<sup>43</sup> DeFilippo had played center on the varsity squad for Fordham for three years and one year for the National Football League's New York Giants.<sup>44</sup> At Purdue, he taught his fellow teammates "the fine[r] points of football," giving them an inside track of knowledge.<sup>45</sup> In the first few games, he had called out defensive plays and helped the quarterback in offensive plays. The players would certainly miss his presence.<sup>46</sup>

Playing on the Cleveland Indian baseball field in front of a crowd of 40,000, the Boilers and Buckeyes battled it out in the rain as mud splattered and sprayed up like geysers. Vacanti failed to connect with Stuart, Buscemi or Bauman on forward passes. Both teams were still scoreless as halftime neared; then, as Purdue snapped the ball on their own five-yard line, they fumbled it, and the Bucks' Sensanbaugher scooped it up and easily ran into the end zone for a touchdown. The first half ended with Ohio State on top, 7-0.<sup>47</sup>

During the third quarter, the Boilers started a drive deep in their own territory. Keith Parker, the 6-foot, 205-pound Marine halfback from Missouri, tore a hole in the Buckeye line and ran the ball down the field.<sup>48</sup> One of Ohio State's defenders denied Purdue a touchdown as he tackled Parker to the ground on the Bucks' seven-yard line.<sup>49</sup> For the rest of the game, the Purdue eleven succeeded in bringing the Buckeye running offense to a standstill and capitalized on the Bucks' weak pass defense as Buscemi and Bauman somehow hung on to the muddy ball thrown by Vacanti.<sup>50</sup> Providing the Riveters with a combined total of 350 rushing yards over the Bucks' 76, "Purdue came to life in the second half, sparked by Tony Butkovich and Boris Dimancheff."<sup>51</sup> Dimancheff pulled his weight for the team, adding to the rushing yards and scoring two of the five Boilermaker touchdowns.<sup>52</sup> Butkovich scored the rest of the touchdowns for the Boilers and became the leading scorer of the Big Ten Conference.<sup>53</sup> Beating the Bucks 30-7, Purdue handed Ohio State their "worst football defeat in three years."<sup>54</sup> The Boilermakers had twenty first downs; the Buckeyes had three.<sup>55</sup> Paul Brown's young, inexperienced Buckeyes had put up a good fight, but they did not match the brute force and quickness of the big boys of Purdue.<sup>56</sup>

With the Cleveland win, the Riveters' record improved to 5-0; they must have felt so proud of one another. Playing a sport that they all shared a passion for united them. In interviews published in the *Exponent*, the varsity players expressed how much they loved the game of football, particularly playing for this team. Halfback Ed Cycenas, a veteran of the Purdue 1942 squad, praised this 1943 squad and how Butkovich "did some beautiful running" in their first game against Great Lakes Naval Station and "thought him best on the field."<sup>57</sup> While halfback Lewis Rose thought that the tough Riveter line was "great to play behind," quarterback Sam Vacanti complained he could never back up the line because "the line stop[ped] most of the plays," before the opponents could get to him.<sup>58</sup> Fortunately, Vacanti used the strength of the line to wait a moment before propelling the ball down the field.<sup>59</sup> Mike Kasap, left tackle, loved playing football for the Boilermakers and thought highly of his fellow teammates.<sup>60</sup>

These sailors and marines chose to play football; the Navy V-12 program did not require that they play intercollegiate sports.<sup>61</sup> In the Western Conference, or Big Ten, 236 sailors and marines played football for the nine teams.<sup>62</sup> The servicemen chose to spend their afternoons from 4:30 to 5:30 practicing football rather than playing intramural sports or relaxing for an hour.<sup>63</sup> According to an editorial in the November 1943 issue of the *Athletic Journal*, the servicemen enjoyed the sport enough to want to spend what little free time they had playing football.<sup>64</sup>

In their published interviews, several University of Illinois transfer players explained their fondness for the Purdue squad and the campus. Their conversion from Fighting Illinis to Boilermakers was as natural as if they had chosen to attend Purdue in the first place. Joe Buscemi, left end, stated that "the school has more than surpassed his

expectations.”<sup>65</sup> Wells Ellis, tackle, enjoyed the diverse courses and the university’s beautiful landscape.<sup>66</sup> Frank Bauman, right end, stated that he liked Purdue a lot and, of course, thought that the football team this year was “one of the best.”<sup>67</sup> After some of the Purdue marines reported to Parris Island, Tony Butkovich wrote to Dean Hockema:

It was a pleasure to be a member of the Boilermaker squad and even more so, a student at Purdue University. Even though it took a war to get me to Purdue, everything turned out for the best. I can always say I had my greatest football season with Purdue University, even though I played three previous seasons with the Fighting Illini.<sup>68</sup>

Butkovich was a Boilermaker, no question about where his allegiance stood.

Sportswriter Gordon Graham observed that the mixture of players from other universities played “as furiously as any other all-Boilermaker team,” and the Illinois players “fought like demons against their alma mater.”<sup>69</sup>

Other players who transferred to rival universities played just as hard as these Illini-turned-Boilers. In February 1944, an *Athletic Journal* editorial pointed out that transfers played football under difficult circumstances such as war, and even competing against their former team could not shake their love of the game.<sup>70</sup> The Navy transferred Bill Daley, formerly of Minnesota, to Michigan where he joined the Michigan squad for the 1943 season and played his heart out when the Wolverines played Minnesota.<sup>71</sup> Although the Navy encouraged the V-12 trainees to participate in varsity sports, they did not force them to play. Daley and hundreds of other players competed against their alma maters because they loved the game.<sup>72</sup>

Playing for the last time together at Randall Stadium in Madison, Wisconsin, on October 30, the Boilermakers helped Butkovich break the Big Ten scoring record. The selfless efforts by the team proved to be the story of the game, rather than Butkovich

himself. At one point, Sam Vacanti intercepted a pass and ran down the field only to be brought down on the Badger's ten-yard line where "[he] wasn't exactly playing 'hard to get' on that run."<sup>73</sup> The Badgers, according to the Wisconsin Coach Harry Stuhldreher, did not willingly allow the Boilers to run up and down the field as they wished, but having the will or not, they could not stop the Boilers.<sup>74</sup> Since the Purdue players had been on break from the end of the school term, the squad did not perform at their regular level of skill, but they certainly had the energy.<sup>75</sup> Butkovich blocked his opponents all too easily, using the straight arm tactic on his way down the gridiron. Twice he managed to score, and he tied the record with 72 points scored against conference opponents in a single season.<sup>76</sup>

As the clock ticked off the remaining minutes of the game, it seemed as though the entire stadium, all 10,000 spectators, all but the Wisconsin players, their coaches, and the officials, rooted for Butkovich to break that record. Starting from their own 36-yard line, the Boilers marched down the field with Butkovich and Dimancheff leading the charge. Dimancheff carried the ball to the Badgers' thirteen-yard line where Butkovich took over so he could score and break the record. Two plays later, the Badgers brought him down on the three-yard line. Butkovich crossed the goal line with three tacklers struggling to stop him only to be called back one foot shy of the end zone. Then, officials called both lines off sides as Butkovich tried to score again. With seconds remaining, and Purdue's hope dimming ever so slightly, Butkovich hit the line one more time. Crashing into the end zone with the football cradled in his arm, he had done it. In four conference games, Butkovich had scored 13 touchdowns. Since 1922, Gordon Locke of Iowa had held the Big Ten scoring record with 12 touchdowns in five conference

games.<sup>77</sup> Behind Butkovich was Otto Graham of Northwestern, whose eight touchdowns in six games earned him second place in the Western Conference.<sup>78</sup>

Leaving Madison, Wisconsin, with a 32-0 win over the Badgers, the Purdue team stopped in Chicago.<sup>79</sup> While most of the team boarded the train for West Lafayette, nine of the players boarded a different train, heading to Parris Island and midshipmen's school.<sup>80</sup> The players embraced one another, saying their good-byes. Surely, Barwegan or Hughes joked one last time with a sad smile as they parted. The Boilermaker squad had lost good men, and they now faced the last two games without these players. It was up to the remaining players to step up and finish the season without a loss. Their spirit and determination drove them to succeed and not let down their former team members. Although the spirit of the players more than compensated for the lack of spirit of the students on campus, the football squad probably did not notice because they were now fighting for their absentee brothers-in-arms.

### *Failing the Footballers: Students Short of Spirit*

On the West Lafayette campus not much football pride oozed out of the students. Where was the student pride? The footballers had it; the coaches had it; why not the students? Had the burden of war finally caught up to them? No one greeted the team at the train station on the Sunday afternoon after their victory against Great Lakes Naval Station.<sup>81</sup> As the students sent the team off to Wisconsin to play the Marquette Hilltoppers, a small, but enthusiastic crowd of 50 students gathered to show their spirit. When Russ Lipes, sports editor for the *Exponent*, heard one player "remark 'Boy, they sure have the spirit around here,'" he probably shook his head because this group of fans

did not compare to the spirit shown by the Purdue students in the past couple of years.<sup>82</sup> Who could forget the 1942 Bummin' Boilers with the dismal record of 1-8? The 1943 squad was undefeated but the students' lack of spirit disappointed Lipes.

Where were the majority of students on Sunday afternoons when the team arrived at the train station? Watching movies? Relaxing in the dorms? Studying in the library? If the students read the *Exponent*, they saw the articles written by the pep session committee, who encouraged students to come out to support their team. This team was one of the best Purdue had seen in a long time, so where was the school spirit? The team had it; they were obnoxiously enthusiastic on the benches during the gridiron tilts, cheering for their teammates and for Purdue.<sup>83</sup>

Over the next few games, editors scolded and berated the students again and again. On October 17, the football team came home after beating Ohio State, a major victory. Ellis Murphy, one of the *Exponent's* editors, rambled on about how the student body *should* be there to congratulate the team. Students boasted to others of the football team's constant success on the gridiron, so why not show this spirit to the team themselves? How else would they know that the student body cheered for them? It was the duty of all Purdue students to welcome home the victorious squad.<sup>84</sup> A few days later Murphy challenged students to come out for the pep session Friday night at 7:30 p.m.; if they were proud of their team, then they should show their spirit. The student body needed to redeem themselves. Those students who came, Murphy commended, but he was overall disappointed in the lack of student spirit.<sup>85</sup>

In November, when the team said good-bye to their star players, the remaining team members and the small, loyal contingent of fans possessed spirit. These fans,

alumni, and former players acknowledged that “never have they heard such poor support from the student body, and particularly the spectators at Ross-Ade Stadium this season.”<sup>86</sup> Students showed little interest in the Old Oaken Bucket game against the Hoosiers. Although over 5,000 students attended Purdue in the fall of 1943, only a few hundred students came to the pep rallies.<sup>87</sup> Ray Smith, one of the sports editors for the *Exponent*, admitted that “college life is not what it was a year ago . . . [but] a winning football team, whether it is formed of civilians, marines, sailors, or soldiers, deserves the support of the people that it represents.”<sup>88</sup> The Old Oaken Bucket game was *the game* of the season, and the team needed the full backing of the Purdue student body. Smith, like Murphy, over the next few days, challenged all Boilers on campus to lift their Purdue spirit, and if they could, then travel to Bloomington to further prove their loyalty.<sup>89</sup>

In response, the Purdue student body rejuvenated their spirit and cheered for another “P” to be hooked on the Old Oaken Bucket chain. Three years had gone by since Purdue took home the Bucket to its rightful place.<sup>90</sup> A spirited pep rally would include the dazzling marching band, cheerleaders, and the traditional event of burning the effigy of Miss Indiana. In her coffin, the stuffed doll was on display in the Great Hall of the Memorial Union all day Friday. Students saw the number eleven “tacked on trees and posts about campus,” marking the upcoming victory over Indiana.<sup>91</sup> The pep rally reinvigorated student spirit. According to Lipes, excitement surged throughout the campus, and he had seen many students at practice all week long in anticipation of the big game of the season. The team was “rarin’ to go.”<sup>92</sup> The school was not without spirit in wartime after all.

With the establishment of the Army and Navy programs in the summer and fall of 1943, the total number of civilian students on campus was lower than in the last pre-war years. Purdue enrolled a total of 5,587 students in the semi-term of 1943; of those students, 2,283 were civilians, of which were 1,489 men and 794 women (see Table A.3 and A.4 in Appendix A for a breakdown of student enrollment from the fall semesters of 1941 through 1943). In the November term of 1943, the enrollment totaled 6,804; of those students, 2,750 were civilians.

For most of the 1943 season, Lipes charged students with a lack of spirit. A possible explanation for Lipes's accusation could be that many of the students in 1943 were new to Purdue and their Boilermaker spirit was hardly cultivated. In the fall of 1942, Purdue had a grand total of 7,759 students with 6,678 civilians.<sup>93</sup> The 1942 civilian student population was composed of students who had stayed at the same university since the military training programs had not yet begun. In the fall of 1943, the number of civilian students at Purdue shrunk considerably, and military enrollment increased as trainees transferred to Purdue. For instance, over 1,200 sailors and marines in the Navy V-12 program arrived at Purdue in the summer of 1943; about two-thirds of these trainees transferred from other colleges and universities while the last third were returning Purdue students.<sup>94</sup> The remaining 1,800 students who transferred to Purdue included ASTP trainees, cadets in the Flight Instructors School for the Navy, and cadets in the Naval Training School for Electricians' Mates.<sup>95</sup>

Throughout the season a small, but loyal contingent of fans supported the team, demonstrating that the student body's support of the football team was not lacking, only that, perhaps, there were fewer enrolled, faithful students to rally behind the team. With

over 5,000 students attending the university, Lipes and his fellow sportswriters did not understand why so few fans turned out for the rallies.

When the transferred servicemen first arrived on campus in July 1943, an *Exponent* editor printed the two stanzas and chorus lines to “Hail Purdue” so that they could sing the words to the Purdue fight song when the occasion called for it.<sup>96</sup> The editors welcomed the new servicemen, helping them understand campus traditions and customs.<sup>97</sup> When they left for war, the Purdue Alumni Association treated them as alumni, sending them copies of the *Alumnus*, *Exponent* and *Patrol* because they were part of the Boilermaker community.

#### *Fighting Boilermakers: They Have Spirit, Yes They Do*

Two games shy of a perfect season, the Purdue Boilermaker squad had holes in its starting line-up. Playing Minnesota and then Indiana in the Old Oaken Bucket game rounded out the 1943 season. If they managed to win these two games, then Purdue could boast of an undefeated season, a feat they had not secured in 14 years.<sup>98</sup> However, playing without their stars would be a challenge. Coach Burnham was up for the task; he demanded respect from the players and expected them to respect each other. But even now Coach Burnham possessed faith in his team. As the last two games approached, the Boilers would be ready.<sup>99</sup>

Coach Burnham named junior Dick Barwegan captain since Agase had left for mid-shipmen’s school. Barwegan inspired his teammates on the field and now more than ever, the team needed his leadership.<sup>100</sup> Playing in Minneapolis in front of 45,000 fans, the Boilermakers showed that they could still play well without a third of their starters.

Although it was early November, Minnesota experienced a taste of winter as a snowstorm swept its bitter cold winds into the stadium. A white blanket covered the field, making it difficult for the Boilermaker's ground attack. But Dimancheff and Chalmers "Bumps" Elliott, a skinny lad straight out of a high school in Bloomington, Illinois, ran the ball down the field early in the first quarter, and Elliott scored a touchdown from the one-yard line. In the second quarter, the Gophers, in possession of the ball on the Boilermaker 44-yard line, ran the ball and fumbled it, but another Gopher picked the ball up and "romped down the sideline for 36 yard[s]" and scored.<sup>101</sup>

Tied 7-7 with one minute remaining, the Gophers thought they were on their way to upsetting one of the great football teams in the nation as they had possession of the ball on their own twenty-yard line. To their dismay, they fumbled the ball and Mike Kasap, the big and strong, 6'1", 240-pound Boiler tackle from Illinois, recovered the ball. With forty-three seconds left, Coach Burnham sent young receiver Charley Haag onto the field. Under-throwing his receivers all game, Sam Vacanti, threw a pass to Haag deep in the end zone. It was short. Again. Thirty-eight seconds left. Back at the line of scrimmage, Vacanti settled comfortably in the T-formation, behind the center, with the backs behind him. The center snapped the ball and handed it to Vacanti. Instead of handing it to one of the backs, who were running down the field, Vacanti stepped backward, making it "back to the thirty yard line and then heaved the pigskin across the goal line into the end zone to Dimancheff who scored the winning touchdown." Dubicki kicked the extra point; with the score at 14-7, the Boilermakers remained undefeated.<sup>102</sup>

Overseas, Purdue servicemen could not wait to find out the results of this game. Lt. John David (1939 graduate) wrote that he was pretty sure that the Boilers beat

Wisconsin, but was curious if they beat Minnesota, too, because there was a fellow from Minneapolis on his ship whom he had “been razzing.”<sup>103</sup> Chief Specialist Wesley Stevens was glad to “read the papers and see how Purdue drubbed another team.”<sup>104</sup> Ensign William “Dutch” Fehring, a former All-American footballer who graduated from Purdue in 1934, noted that the game in Minneapolis “must have been a real thriller.”<sup>105</sup> Now stationed at Parris Island, Tony Butkovich *knew* it would be a thriller, as he “would have given anything to be up there in Minneapolis in a football uniform.”<sup>106</sup> He had played football in an intramural game on base that same day, claiming to have played harder than any of the boys in Minnesota.<sup>107</sup> Clearly, he missed playing football with his team.

The last game of the season was the Old Oaken Bucket against Indiana. The student body revitalized their Boilermaker spirit as the players prepared to defend their undefeated title against their archrivals. On November 14, Purdue beat Indiana, 7-0 in Bloomington.<sup>108</sup> The 1943 squad was undefeated and untied; the first time since 1929.<sup>109</sup> In a game that was “not decided until the final seconds, the dauntless defensive play of the [Riveter] forward wall held Indiana scoreless for the first time in 36 consecutive games.”<sup>110</sup> The only touchdown came on a 73-yard drive down the field with Vacanti throwing the ball 37 yards to Frank Bauman, who scored.<sup>111</sup> After the final whistle of the game, Hoosier player John Cannady, unhappy with the final score, swung a punch at Sam Vacanti, knocking him out.<sup>112</sup>

The Purdue Boilermakers boasted a 9-0-0 record, the only team in the nation to do so with a nine-game season (see Table 3 for the scores of the 1943 football season). Only six teams went undefeated and untied. Bainbridge Naval Station in Maryland placed

second with a record of 7-0-0.<sup>113</sup> Purdue ranked number five according to the Associated Press, with Notre Dame, Navy, Army, and Iowa Preflight ahead of Purdue.<sup>114</sup> After hearing the results of the Indiana game, Tony Butkovich expressed his reaction:

It would have been a great pleasure to play against Indiana University and help bring back “The Old Oaken Bucket.” The boys really deserve a pat on the back for coming through the way they did. You don’t know how happy we were down here when we heard the results of the game. Agase, Genis, and I played the entire game even if we weren’t at Bloomington. It sure was hard work.<sup>115</sup>

On base, many of the servicemen played intramural games for strengthening their combative skills and coordination. Although Butkovich, Agase, and John Genis trained for war, their hearts focused on West Lafayette. In his letter, Private Alex Agase asked the editor of “The Boilermaker Letterman,” to “say hello to all the swell guys at Purdue.”<sup>116</sup> Reading the news from Purdue and letters from servicemen worldwide diverted their attention, if only for a moment, from the reality of war.

Fighting Boilermakers devoured the monthly (and sometimes bimonthly, i.e., January/February issue) publications sent by the Alumni Association. During World War II, news of campus events and sports scores, alumni wedding and birth announcements by alumni, and “Letters from Our Readers” and “the Boilermaker Letterman” were spread throughout the thirty pages of the *Purdue Alumnus*. Correspondents included not only fighting servicemen, but also civilian alumni who spoke of their loved ones who were serving, their recent marriages, newborn children, and their Purdue pride. The number of letters printed in each “Letters from Our Readers” section ranged from 10 to 15, with each letter about 120 to 150 words.

As the war progressed, more servicemen’s letters appeared in this section than civilian letters. In November 1943, the *Alumnus* began printing “the Boilermaker

Letterman” newsletter, which included sports news and published in the “Boilermaker Mail Bag,” excerpts of letters written by Purdue servicemen who played varsity sports. While the *Alumnus* published a much higher number of lettermen’s letters—ranging from 30 to 50 in each issue—in the “Boilermaker Mail Bag” than in the “Letters from Our Readers,” the editors included only excerpts from their letters, allowing about 25-50 words per excerpt. Over the span of the war, the *Alumnus* printed excerpts from hundreds of service/lettermen’s letters, even printing several letters from the same men (see Appendix B for additional letters from Purdue servicemen).

Most of the lettermen’s letters in the “Boilermaker Mail Bag” mentioned at least one of the following topics: where they were stationed, what their jobs were; which Purdue classmates they had run into; how thankful they were that the Alumni Association had sent the *Alumnus*, *Patrol* and *Exponent* to them; how proud they were to be Boilermakers; and the scores of the Purdue football games. Many of the civilian and servicemen’s letters published in the “Letters from our Readers” section mentioned the same topics. Their letters proved that these publications boosted their spirit and morale.

While reading other servicemen’s letters and campus news helped raise Boilermaker servicemen’s spirits, football news offered the biggest boost. Football, above all, was the hottest topic for all servicemen, even if they weren’t athletes. They searched for the scores of the football games to see how Purdue fared on the gridiron during the 1943 season and later, the 1944 season with an even record of 4-4 and 1945 season with a 7-3 record.<sup>117</sup> Lieutenant Everett Porter, stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, mentioned in his letter that he was one of many Purdue soldiers on the base. He spoke of how they sat on cots and listened to radio broadcasts as the Boilermakers beat teams all

season long in 1943. “The Indiana victory and a share in the Big Ten championship boosted our morale to a new high and called for a celebration.”<sup>118</sup> Porter’s statement showed how the successful Purdue football season raised the morale of Boilermaker servicemen. Lt. Bill Upton, a football letterman who graduated from Purdue in 1937, declared that “up here at the front we try to keep up with sports because we like to keep our minds off war all the time.”<sup>119</sup> Proudly comparing Purdue’s undefeated record with the Allied forces, Lieutenant B. E. Brown, who participated in the Allied invasion of Italy, noted that “our big team here is not only striving for, but is attaining. We hope our season may be brought to its successful termination.”<sup>120</sup>

The football players from the 1943 squad fighting in the war demonstrated that the bonds of brotherhood were as ironclad as ever. Although John Andretich played on the 1942 squad, he, like Bill Burghardt who played for Camp Grant, played against the Boilermakers in 1943. Since he had attended Purdue, the Alumni Association sent him (and Burghardt, too) copies of the *Alumnus*. Andretich’s letter published in the “Letterman” asked Editor Bob Woodworth to send his regards to Dick Barwegen, Bill Newell, and Bill Stuart of the 1943 squad.<sup>121</sup> Midshipman Wells Ellis, tackle, remembered the past football season, as a season that came “once in a lifetime.”<sup>122</sup> Private Keith Parker, halfback, wished the war would end so he and the boys could come home and play another successful season together.<sup>123</sup> Private First Class Tony Butkovich was glad to see that more Purdue men, including Parker, had arrived nearby. Surely, he added with a smirk, he and John Genis were “going to do a little instructing around here.”<sup>124</sup> By the fall, “Buck” and Genis had been promoted to corporals. According to Genis, they were still in good shape and looked forward to Sundays to see how all the

football teams fared in the States.<sup>125</sup> Lt. Leo Milla, fullback, commented that he and Lt. Bill “Pinky” Newell, center, would never separate as they now shared a tent.<sup>126</sup> As the war continued into the summer of 1944, footballers’ letters filled the Boilermaker Mail Bag.

The servicemen hoped that they would have the chance to listen to a few games on the radio in the fall, and a few did, or they followed the Army’s *Stars and Stripes* for the Boilermaker football scores.<sup>127</sup> Some men ached to see another game at Ross-Ade Stadium.<sup>128</sup> One captain wished “to cheer a Boilermaker squad from the stadium this year, rather than from in front of a radio in a German basement, as we did last year.”<sup>129</sup>

Purdue servicemen boasted to other football fans of the 1943 conference championship season and the subsequent 1944 season.<sup>130</sup> Even former Boilermaker gridder, Bill Burghardt, who became a Camp Grant Warrior, wished he could see a Purdue game soon, as long as he was not on the receiving end. His Army life was pretty enjoyable; he held up his own arguments when discussing football teams at Camp Grant because of Purdue’s “fine playing.”<sup>131</sup> Another Purdue man griped about “a couple of Illinois guys here.” He requested that the football team not let him down or he would “have to go off and live alone in these jungles.”<sup>132</sup> Another private joked that “there is a fellow in the outfit from I.U. and I’m making him like it.”<sup>133</sup> Even in war, discussions of college football rivalries were near the top of conversations between servicemen. According to Lt. Upton, talking about sports was the key to keeping his mind off of the war. Football news was a pleasant distraction.<sup>134</sup>

In addition to football news, the servicemen read news of the campus and what other servicemen were doing for the duration of the war. Some men were surprised that

the Purdue Alumni Association sent them news from home.<sup>135</sup> Knowing that they had support from home energized these men on the battlefields to “reach greater victories” and bring “peace on this earth.”<sup>136</sup> Private Willard D. Hiatt gave Purdue a metaphorical pat on the back as he urged them to keep up the good work by sending out the *Patrol*; Hiatt felt as long as Purdue did, then “our morale shall be at a high level all the time.”<sup>137</sup> One captain was pleasantly surprised with the “Letterman,” and liked reading the news of fellow Purdue lettermen in the service.<sup>138</sup>

Many service men thanked the Alumni Association for sending them news from home. Ensign Don Hampton declared that “news from the University makes me proud to know that so many of us Purdue alumni and the school itself are all doing our part in this war of wars.”<sup>139</sup> Others noted how they read the *Alumnus* from cover to cover and even passed it on to non-Purdue men to read.<sup>140</sup> The men welcomed any news from Purdue, asking to keep the news coming.<sup>141</sup> With some humor in his voice, Lt. “Olie” Warner Ohman, said when he received the *Alumnus* and *Patrol*, he devoured them immediately, “figuratively speaking of course; Spam and other dehydrated foods have not yet caused me to turn to that extreme.”<sup>142</sup> Another serviceman had heard about the *Patrol* and requested the supplementary paper in addition to the other publications.<sup>143</sup> Many enjoyed the *Patrol*, and one serviceman noted how it kept Boilermakers “much closer to what [wa]s going on back on the campus.”<sup>144</sup>

Purdue servicemen who were lettermen or non-lettermen wrote letters telling of their Boilermaker pride and how they could not wait to return to campus. Their Purdue pride kept up their spirits in war as one serviceman noted how the Christmas greeting made him feel “once more the pride one feels at being an alumnus of Purdue

University.”<sup>145</sup> Another Purdue man received his Christmas Greeting a year later and admitted that although he was “far from the old campus, [he] felt the old school spirit once again.”<sup>146</sup> Gridders Ed Cycenas and Frank Ruggieri both expressed how much they missed the Purdue campus.<sup>147</sup> When seaman apprentice Max Biggs compared Purdue to other universities where he had been stationed for training, Purdue came out on top.<sup>148</sup> Several servicemen, including the MVP of the 1943 squad Dick Barwegen, could not wait until the war was over so that they could return to campus, attend football games and resume their civilian education.<sup>149</sup> Stationed in Germany, Captain Milburn S. Weir wrote, “We all miss the University very much. One of the first questions always asked is, ‘when were you last there?’”<sup>150</sup>

Servicemen also wrote of how they maintained their Boilermaker spirit during the war. Somewhere near the desert landscape with a sea breeze, six Boilermakers came together at an officer’s bar and sang “Hail Purdue,” remembering the good old times.<sup>151</sup> Corporal Bob Chester reported how they showed their old gold and black spirit overseas by sending “a bunch of shells marked, ‘for Krauts from Old Purdue.’”<sup>152</sup> Cadet James O. Bray, class of 1943, said that the football team was a great source of pride and that when he ran into fellow Boilermakers, they had to swap old issues of the *Exponent* and the *Alumnus* for “greater dissemination of news from ‘Back At Old Purdue.’”<sup>153</sup> Through these publications and continual contact with fellow Boilermakers, one serviceman contemplated that “Purdue is kept alive in each of us . . . no matter where we go.”<sup>154</sup>

According to these letters published in the *Alumnus* during World War II, being a Boilermaker meant a lot to the Purdue servicemen. Purdue football meant even more to some of them. Their love of the game of football and their university spirit kept the

men's morale high for the duration of the war. Even the 1943 transfer players who were only Purdue students temporarily, kept their Purdue loyalty. These Purdue men, singing "Hail Purdue" in a Navy bar or listening to a football game in a foxhole, upheld winning spirits, which could make all the difference to winning the war.

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- <sup>1</sup> Gordon Graham, "Tony Butkovich Sets Big Ten Scoring Record at 78 points," *Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, Indiana), November 1, 1943, 7.
- <sup>2</sup> Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, September 28, 1943, 4.
- <sup>3</sup> Graham, "Graham Crackers," *Journal and Courier*, November 1, 1943, 7; for reference to the other men's names in the brackets, see "Boilermaker Squad Hit Hard by Loss of V-12 Seniors," *The Exponent*, November 3, 1943, 3.
- <sup>4</sup> "Stuart, Cycenas, Wind Up Collegiate Gridiron for the Boilermakers," *The Exponent*, October 24, 1943, 4; for reference to Mordoh, see "Boilermaker Squad Hit Hard by Loss of V-12 Seniors," *The Exponent*, November 3, 1943, 3.
- <sup>5</sup> Graham, "Graham Crackers," *Journal and Courier*, November 1, 1943, 7.
- <sup>6</sup> "From Stuldreher's Football Letter," *The Purdue Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 7.
- <sup>7</sup> "Design New Publication for "P" Men in Service," *The Exponent*, July 15, 1943, 4.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>9</sup> Guy Mackey, "Greetings," *The Purdue Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 6.
- <sup>10</sup> Capt. William J. Neff, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Purdue Alumnus* 31, no. 4 (January/February 1944): 8. Hereafter *The Purdue Alumnus* will be cited as *The Alumnus*.
- <sup>11</sup> Glen Perkins, "Burnham's Boys Play for Fun," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 5.
- <sup>12</sup> David M. Nelson, *The Anatomy of a Game: Football, the Rules, and the Men Who Made the Game* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 226.
- <sup>13</sup> Perkins, "Burnham's Boys Play for Fun," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 5.
- <sup>14</sup> David Walsh, "Walsh Thinks Purdue Team to Beat," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 5.
- <sup>15</sup> Danzig, "Reappraisal of Gridiron Leaders Forced by Penn and Purdue Feats," *New York Times*, September 27, 1943, 27.
- <sup>16</sup> "Boilermaker Squad Prepares for Illinois," *The Exponent*, September 30, 1943, 4. For reference to Dimancheff's height, weight and previous college, see Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, November 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives.
- <sup>17</sup> Russ Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, September 28, 1943, 4.
- <sup>18</sup> For reference to the Chicago train station and the funniest sight of the trip, see Russ Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, September 28, 4; and for reference to Barwegan being the lone veteran, see Dan Margolis, "Cycenas Shelved by Knee Injury; Barwegan Sole Letterman in Lineup," *The Exponent*, September 18, 1943, 1.
- <sup>19</sup> For reference to Barwegan's eye patch, hat and his attempt to sell pencils, see Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, September 28, 1943, 4; and the definition of a slouch hat, see *Oxford English Dictionary*, "slouch hat," n., soft felt hat with wide brims.
- <sup>20</sup> Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, September 28, 1943, 4.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> For reference to the men's daily lives, see the details of the Navy V-12 program covered in the previous chapter, "'Big Boys Play Little Boys'"; for reference to playing

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poker, see Bob Simons, "Meet the Team: John Genis, Purdue Tackle," *The Exponent*, September 16, 1943, 4.

<sup>23</sup> Marc Ogden, "Meet the Team: Tony Butkovich, Purdue Fullback," *The Exponent*, September 30, 1943, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Joe Hahn, "Meet the Team: Tom Hughes," *The Exponent*, October 19, 1943, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Simons, "Meet the Team: John Genis, Purdue Tackle," *The Exponent*, September 16, 1943, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Bill Hermann, "Meet the Team: Keith Parker, Purdue Halfback," *The Exponent*, October 24, 1943, 4.

<sup>27</sup> "Riveters to Face Strong Camp Grant Team Oct. 9," *The Exponent*, October 3, 1943, 4; for reference to the 13,000 fans, see Ray Smith, "Boilermakers Outclass Camp Grant Eleven, 19-0," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Wilbur Jones, Jr., *"Football! Navy! War!": How the Military "Lend-Lease" Players Saved the College Game and Helped Win World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., Inc., 2009), 137.

<sup>29</sup> "Riveters to Face Strong Camp Grant Team Oct. 9," *The Exponent*, October 3, 1943, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> For reference to kick off at 2:30 p.m., see "Riveters Oppose Camp Grant in Dad's Day Tilt," *The Exponent*, 7 October 7 1943, 1; and for reference to Elliott's note, see Game Program, Camp Grant vs. Purdue, October 9, 1943, 3, Box 70, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives.

<sup>32</sup> Ray Smith, "Boilermakers Outclass Camp Grant Eleven, 19-0," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> For reference to the height and weight of Flint, see Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, November 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives; for reference to Flint's 32-yard punt, see Smith, "Boilermakers Outclass Camp Grant Eleven, 19-0," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 1.

<sup>36</sup> For reference to the height and weight of Buscemi and Bauman, see Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, November 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives; and for reference to their catching of Vacanti's passes, see Smith, "Boilermakers Outclass Camp Grant Eleven, 19-0," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 1.

<sup>37</sup> For reference to Burghardt's attempt, see Smith, "Boilermakers Outclass Camp Grant Eleven, 19-0," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 1; and for reference to the height and weight of Haag, see Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, November 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Smith, "Boilermakers Outclass Camp Grant Eleven, 19-0," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Danzig, "No Threat in View for Top Elevens," *New York Times*, October 16, 1943, 17.

<sup>41</sup> "Ohio State Backs Display Strong Running Attack," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 4.

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<sup>42</sup> For reference to Stuart replacing Dubicki and 17-year-old Bushnell as a back-up, see “Boilermakers, Travel to Cleveland; Will Play Second Conference Game,” *The Exponent*, October 14, 1943, 1; and for reference to Stuart’s height and weight, see Game Program, Camp Grant vs. Purdue, October 9, 1943, Box 70, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives.

<sup>43</sup> Ray Smith, “Grandstand Echoes,” *The Exponent*, October 12, 1943, 4.

<sup>44</sup> Bob Simons, “Meet the Team: Lou DeFilippo,” *The Exponent*, October 5, 1943, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, “Grandstand Echoes,” *The Exponent*, October 12, 1943, 4.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Steve Thomas, “Boilermaker Gridders Defeat Ohio State, 30-7,” *The Exponent*, October 17, 1943, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., for reference to Keith Parker’s height and weight, see Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, November 20, 1943, Box 38, College Football Programs, Notre Dame Archives.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas, “Boilermaker Gridders Defeat Ohio State, 30-7,” *The Exponent*, October 17, 1943, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> “Purdue Downs Buckeyes, 30-7,” *Stars and Stripes* (U.S. Army), October 18, 1943, 4.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> “Butkovich Holds Lead in Individual Scoring Honors,” *The Exponent*, October 17, 1943, 4.

<sup>54</sup> “Purdue Downs Buckeyes, 30-7,” *Stars and Stripes*, October 18, 1943, S4.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> John “Ox” DaGrosa and Edward H. Nichterlein, “Review and Preview,” *The Official National Collegiate Athletic Association Football Guide*, ed. W. J. Bingham, (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1944), 26.

<sup>57</sup> Bill Garber, “Meet the Team: Ed Cycenas,” *The Exponent*, September 26, 1943, 4.

<sup>58</sup> For reference to Rose, see Steve Thomas, “Meet the Team: Lewis Rose,” *The Exponent*, October 3, 1943, 4; and for reference to Vacanti, see Bill Garber, “Meet the Team: Sam Vacanti, Purdue Quarterback,” *The Exponent*, October 19, 1943, 4.

<sup>59</sup> Garber, “Meet the Team: Sam Vacanti, Purdue Quarterback,” *The Exponent*, October 19, 1943, 4.

<sup>60</sup> Steve Thomas, “Meet the Team: Mike Kasap, Purdue Tackle,” *The Exponent*, October 26, 1943, 4.

<sup>61</sup> “Why Do They Play Football?” *Athletic Journal* 24, no. 3 (November 1943): 14.

<sup>62</sup> The Western Conference had nine teams during World War II since the University of Chicago dropped all their varsity programs in 1939.

<sup>63</sup> “Why Do They Play Football?” *Athletic Journal*, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Warren Wright, “Meet the Team: Joe Buscemi,” *The Exponent*, September 21, 1943, 4.

4. <sup>66</sup> Paul Garber, "Meet the Team: Wells Ellis," *The Exponent*, September 23, 1943, 4.
- <sup>67</sup> Irwin Steinberg, "Meet the Team: Frank Bauman," *The Exponent*, October 10, 1943, 4.
- <sup>68</sup> Tony Butkovich, "Letters from our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 1 (October 1943): 20.
- <sup>69</sup> Graham, "Graham Crackers," *Journal and Courier*, November 23, 1943, 8.
- <sup>70</sup> "Playing to Win," *Athletic Journal* 24, no. 6 (February 1944): 16.
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid.
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- <sup>73</sup> Graham, "Graham Crackers," *Journal and Courier*, November 1, 1943, 7.
- <sup>74</sup> "From Stuhldreher's Football Letter," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 7.
- <sup>75</sup> Graham, "Tony Butkovich Sets Big Ten Scoring Record at 78 points," *Journal and Courier*, November 1, 1943, 7.
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>78</sup> "Butkovich Breaks Big Ten Record," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 14.
- <sup>79</sup> Graham, "Graham Crackers," *Journal and Courier*, November 1, 1943, 7.
- <sup>80</sup> Graham, "Tony Butkovich Sets Big Ten Scoring Record at 78 points," *Journal and Courier*, November 1, 1943, 7.
- <sup>81</sup> Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, September 21, 1943, 4.
- <sup>82</sup> Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, September 28, 1943, 4.
- <sup>83</sup> J. T. R. "Students Lack Football Spirit . . ." *The Exponent*, September 28, 1943, 2; and for reference to the pep session committee's article, see "Pep Session Sunday to Welcome Squad at Big Four Station," *The Exponent*, October 14, 1943, 4.
- <sup>84</sup> Ellis Murphy, "Meet the Team," *The Exponent*, October 17, 1943, 2.
- <sup>85</sup> Ellis Murphy, "Will You be There?" *The Exponent*, October 21, 1943, 2.
- <sup>86</sup> Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, November 11, 1943, 4.
- <sup>87</sup> For reference to over 5,000 students, see Purdue University, "Enrollment of Students," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577; and for reference to the number of students coming out to the pep rallies, see Raymond Smith, "Where is the Boilermaker Spirit" Grandstand Echoes, *The Exponent*, November 16, 1943, 4.
- <sup>88</sup> Smith, "Where is the Boilermaker Spirit?" Grandstand Echoes, *The Exponent*, November 16, 1943, 4.
- <sup>89</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>90</sup> "Boilermakers to Aim for Old Oaken Bucket," *The Exponent*, November 14, 1943, 1.
- <sup>91</sup> "Miss Indiana Will Face Cremation Tonight," *The Exponent*, November 18, 1943, 1.
- <sup>92</sup> Lipes, "Grandstand Echoes," *The Exponent*, November 21, 1943, 3.
- <sup>93</sup> For 1941, 1942, and Sept. 1943 enrollment statistics, see Purdue University, "Enrollment of Students," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577; and for 1943 enrollment statistics, see Purdue University, "Document 977, Report Re

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<sup>94</sup> Bob Woerner, “East Meets West as Navy, Marines Come to University,” *The Exponent*, July 8, 1943, 1.

<sup>95</sup> Purdue University, “Enrollment of Students,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 577.

<sup>96</sup> “Hail Purdue,” *The Exponent*, July 20, 1943, 1.

<sup>97</sup> Katy Wendell, “Varied Caps Note Campus Organizations,” *The Exponent*, July 20, 1943, 1.

<sup>98</sup> “Boilers Outclass Hoosiers, 7-0,” *The Exponent*, November 21, 1943, 1, for reference to first undefeated, untied season in 14 years.

<sup>99</sup> Walsh, “Walsh Thinks Purdue Team to Beat,” *The Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 5.

<sup>100</sup> Jim Ackerman, “Grandstand Echoes,” *The Exponent*, November 7, 1943, 3.

<sup>101</sup> Ackerman, “Boilermaker Grid Men Beat Minnesota 14 to 7,” *The Exponent*, November 7, 1943, 1; and for reference to Elliott’s hometown, see Game Program, Purdue vs. Indiana, November 20, 1943.

<sup>102</sup> Ackerman, “Boilermaker Grid Men Beat Minnesota 14 to 7,” *The Exponent*, November 7, 1943, 1.

<sup>103</sup> Lt. John David, “The Boilermaker Letterman,” *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 4.

<sup>104</sup> Chief Specialist Wesley Stevens, “The Boilermaker Letterman,” *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 4.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Pvt. Tony Butkovich, “The Boilermaker Letterman,” *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 4.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Garber, “Boilers Outclass Hoosiers, 7-0,” *The Exponent*, November 21, 1943, 1.

<sup>109</sup> John McCallum, *Big Ten Football since 1895* (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Co., 1976), 302.

<sup>110</sup> “Purdue, 7; Indiana, 0” *Purdue Patrol*, 1, no. 4 (November 1943): 1.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Graham, “Purdue Downs Indiana, 7-0,” *Journal and Courier*, November 21, 1943, 9.

<sup>113</sup> “1943 Scoring List Topped by Steuber,” *New York Times*, November 30, 1943, 32.

<sup>114</sup> “Notre Dame Heads Final Football Poll,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1943, 29.

<sup>115</sup> Butkovich, “Letters from Our Readers,” *The Alumnus* 31, no. 1 (October 1943): 20.

<sup>116</sup> Pvt. Alex Agase, “The Boilermaker Letterman,” *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 4.

<sup>117</sup> For reference to the 1944 season record, see McCallum, *Big Ten Football*, 303.

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- <sup>118</sup> Lt. Everett Porter, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 3 (December 1943): 7-8.
- <sup>119</sup> Lt. Bill Upton, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 6.
- <sup>120</sup> Lt. B. E. Brown, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 4 (January/February 1944): 12.
- <sup>121</sup> Pvt. John Andretich, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 5.
- <sup>122</sup> Midshipman Wells Ellis, "The Boilermaker Mail Bag," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 6 (May/June 1944): 10.
- <sup>123</sup> Pvt. Keith Parker, "The Boilermaker Mail Bag," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 6 (May/June 1944): 10.
- <sup>124</sup> Pfc. Tony Butkovich, "The Boilermaker Mail Bag," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 6 (May/June 1944): 10.
- <sup>125</sup> Cpl. John Genis, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 6.
- <sup>126</sup> Lt. Leo Milla, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 8.
- <sup>127</sup> Howard B. Mayerhofer, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 9 (September 1944): 12; see the letters of Lt. Bruce Warren, Lt. Tony Juska, and Lt. Dick Johnson, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 7-8; and Nathaniel P. Paulus, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 3 (December 1944): 10-11. For reference to reading the *Stars and Stripes*, see Nathan Paulus and Lt. William A. Hart, "Letters from our Readers," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 18; Major Victor Alden, "The Boilermaker Mail Bag," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 6 (May/June 1944): 10; Capt. Allen Gaulke, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 1 (October 1944): 16; and Cpl. Bob Chester, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 6.
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- <sup>131</sup> Pvt. William "Bill" Burghardt, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 4.
- <sup>132</sup> Lt. Jim Maloney, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 8.
- <sup>133</sup> Pvt. Robert Chester, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 5.
- <sup>134</sup> Lt. Bill Upton, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 6.

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<sup>136</sup> For reference to the quote "reach greater victories," see Howard B. Mayerhofer, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 9 (September 1944): 12; and for reference to the quote, "peace on earth," see Harry Gurevitz, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 5 (March/April 1944): 7.

<sup>137</sup> Pvt. Willard D. Hiatt, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 11.

<sup>138</sup> Capt. W. B. Wolverton, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 5.

<sup>139</sup> For reference to mail as a highlight, see Millard H. Overton, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 19; and for reference to the quote on the news from the university, see Ensign Don E. Hampton, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 3 (December 1943): 9.

<sup>140</sup> For reference to reading the *Alumnus* cover to cover, see Capt. Bob Schumacher, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 18; Benton A. Rayfield, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 3 (December 1944): 10; Lt. Gordon E. Christopher, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 9; and for reference to passing it on to non-Purdue men, see Lt. Gordon Christopher, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 9.

<sup>141</sup> Capt. A.P. Johnson, Cpl. John W. Spangler, James Clay, Lt. Jon D. Anderson, and Jack M. Kelly, in "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 4 (January/February 1944): 8-9; Gordon W. Sims, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 9 (September 1944): 10; Cpl. Maurice Spear, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 1 (October 1944): 16; and Pvt. Robert Plevo, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 7.

<sup>142</sup> Lt. "Olie" Warner Ohman, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 8.

<sup>143</sup> Kenneth Frischie, CM, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 3 (December 1943): 8; and for reference to others requesting and enjoying the *Purdue Patrol*, see the letters of Pvt. Arthur L. Brownstein and Lt. Charles Clark "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 4 (January/February 1944): 10; and Pvt. Rupert E. Clark, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 5 (March/April 1944): 7.

<sup>144</sup> For reference to enjoying the *Patrol*, see the letters from Maj. Bob Endicott and Dean G. Jones, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 3 (December 1944): 9; Capt. William E. Schaem, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 8-9; the letters of Lt. William F. Kiesel, Norman Goldstein, Capt. Benton A. Rayfield, and Lt. Jerry E. Hinshaw, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 10; and for reference to the quote keeping Boilermakers closer, see Lt. J. L. Compton, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 3 (December 1944): 9.

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<sup>146</sup> Pvt. George Cipollito, "Letters from Our Readers" *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 9.

<sup>147</sup> A/S Ed Cyncenas, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 4; and Ensign Frank Ruggieri, "The Boilermaker Mail Bag," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 6 (May/June 1944): 11.

<sup>148</sup> A/S Max Biggs, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 5.

<sup>149</sup> For reference to returning to Purdue and finishing their education, see *ibid.*; Kenneth Frischie, CM, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 3 (December 1943): 8; Cpl. Harry F. Olds, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 3 (December 1943): 9; Harry Gurevitz, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 5 (March/April 1944): 7; Pfc. George Dawson, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 9 (September 1944): 12; Pvt. Dick Barwegen, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 7; Pfc. W. J. Weidig, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 9 (September 1943): 4; Midshipman Neal F. Mulvihill, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 11; and for reference to return and attend football games, see the letters of Lt. R. H. Harden and Cpl. Francis H. Ricks, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 4 (January/February 1945): 10-11.

<sup>150</sup> Weir, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 33, no. 3 (December 1945): 10.

<sup>151</sup> Nate Paulus, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 31, no. 3 (December 1943): 9.

<sup>152</sup> Cpl. Bob Chester, "The Boilermaker Letterman," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November 1944): 6.

<sup>153</sup> Cadet James O. Bray, "Reminiscing Sessions," *The Alumnus* 30, no. 9 (September 1943): 3.

<sup>154</sup> Bob Hetteema, "Letters from Our Readers," *The Alumnus* 32, no. 1 (October 1944): 17.

## Conclusion

### The Impact of World War II upon College Football

After the Allied forces proved victorious over the Axis powers in 1945, American servicemen and women returned home. The U.S. Congress had passed the G.I. Bill, legislation created for veteran aid, one provision of which allowed veterans to finish their higher education on the federal government's dollar. Over 2.2 million veterans attended college during the next decade, giving football coaches a large pool of talent.<sup>1</sup> College football had entered the postwar years of plenty as the era of "big boys" playing the "little boys" had ended.<sup>2</sup>

According to historian Donald Rominger, Jr., college football during World War II represented a "healthy continuance of normal national life and a means of preparing for defense," revealing the sport's contributions to the war effort.<sup>3</sup> The skills necessary to play college football helped servicemen physically and mentally prepare for further military training. The spectacle of the gridiron game boosted Purdue student morale in 1942 as well as the morale of Boilermaker servicemen fighting overseas from 1943 until the end of the war.

The administrative cooperation between colleges, universities, the armed forces and organized athletics saved American higher education. World War II threatened the existence of institutions of higher education since the federal government used all its resources including college-age men to serve the war effort. University presidents and officials from the American Council on Education (ACE), the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), and the National Committee on Education and Defense (NCED) met with representatives of government agencies such as the War Manpower

Commission (WMC) to discuss how institutions of higher education could assist the war effort. These discussions led to over 200 colleges and universities providing facilities for Army and Navy training programs in 1943. Without these training programs some schools probably would have closed their doors for the duration.

Blending patriotic duty with the preservation of college sports, the NCAA had met a few weeks after Pearl Harbor to discuss how intercollegiate athletics would aid the war effort. The federal government “worked to unleash and develop sport and physical training around the war effort,” which proved vital to preparing for the war.<sup>4</sup> Much to the delight of the NCAA, the Navy agreed that the physical training in intercollegiate athletics complemented combat training.

In contrast to the Navy’s collaboration with the NCAA to integrate military training with athletic training, the Army’s ban on soldiers in intercollegiate athletics had a negative effect on the 1943, 1944, and 1945 football seasons.<sup>5</sup> The Navy’s decision to allow its trainees to play college sports secured the survival of some varsity football programs, and even created football powerhouses like Purdue and several others. However, the Army’s decision to ban servicemen from participation led to the suspension of many varsity programs or the fielding of generally smaller and inexperienced freshmen.

Purdue President Elliott, from a combination of patriotism and the desire to preserve the health of higher education, enabled Purdue to rise in rank as a valuable institution of higher education during the war and also after the war by hosting both the Navy V-12 and ASTP trainees, conducting scientific research, and training civilians for jobs in the war industry. In early 1943, President Elliott was an advisor to the War

Manpower Commission and also the chair of the joint Army-Navy-Manpower committee that chose colleges and universities to host the Army and Navy training programs.

Because of Elliott's involvement in the decision-making, Purdue's sufficient facilities, and several respected departments of engineering, the decision to choose Purdue as a host site was a likely one.<sup>6</sup> President Elliott had expanded the university's campus with more buildings in the 1930s, including an airport that would later transform into a naval flight instructor's school. He promoted compulsory military training, which not only helped Purdue to survive throughout the war but also after the war. The G.I. Bill sent millions of servicemen and women to college. In the fall of 1946, Purdue's total enrollment was 11,470 with 7,192 veterans. In the fall of 1947, the total enrollment was 14,060 with 8,071 veterans.<sup>7</sup> In a period of four years, student enrollment had more than doubled.<sup>8</sup>

At Purdue in 1942, football remained one of the principal parts of the collegiate culture while the war brought changes to the campus. The preservation of the game of football demonstrated how students continued their university traditions while embracing new wartime ones. The Student War Council brought students together at convocations to listen to war-related issues. While students sold war bonds or participated in scrap metal drives, they also attended football games, dances, and other events. Football served as entertainment, distracting the students from the realities of war.

In the autumn of 1943, the Purdue football team was undefeated and the entire student body should have beamed with pride, but student spirit disappointed the *Exponent* student sport editors. A possible explanation could be that they were not accustomed to a small group of loyal fans. Military enrollment increased from 950 in the fall of 1942 to 3,091 and 3,747 in September and November 1943, respectively. Many of these

servicemen had attended other institutions the year before, suggesting that their Boilermaker spirit was still in its infancy.<sup>9</sup> The editors of the *Exponent* printed the lines to “Hail Purdue” so the Army and Navy men new to the university would know the words to the Purdue fight song. Not until they acclimated to campus life at Purdue could they become loyal Boilermakers, and when they left for war, the Purdue Alumni Association treated them as alumni. The Association sent the *Purdue Alumnus* to all alumni, but for Purdue servicemen overseas, they also sent publications of the *Purdue Exponent* and the *Purdue Patrol*, the newspaper supplement to the *Alumnus*.

By sending the *Exponent*, the *Alumnus*, and the *Patrol* to all Purdue servicemen, including those who graduated from Purdue before the war, the Alumni Association created a global community of Boilermakers from 1943 until the end of the war. In addition, the servicemen’s and civilians’ letters sent to Purdue and subsequently published in the *Alumnus* generated a network of communication between servicemen and the entire alumni community. These publications provided tangible connections to one another and to their collegiate home. Many of the men wrote about how reading campus news and the results of Purdue football games had a profound effect on their morale. One lieutenant said that sports news kept his mind off the war; another declared how the Purdue victories on the gridiron boosted his morale. Many others searched the available newspapers to find the scores of the games and boasted about Purdue victories to servicemen from rival universities. These letters of Purdue servicemen fighting overseas demonstrated that they had Purdue pride and that football raised their morale.

As for the members of the 1943 squad, the “Meet the Team” segments in the *Exponent*, the commentary by sports editor Russ Lipes and the letters published in the

*Alumnus* illustrated how the players became a family. Football created the opportunity for these players to form friendships, and it effectively produced a brotherhood of Purdue footballers. The players' letters mentioned one another, the teammates they had seen, or those they wanted the editor of the "Boilermaker Mail Bag" to say hello to. Back in West Lafayette, the rest of the 1943 team attended the annual football banquet, honoring the conference co-championship team. Although President Edward C. Elliott could not attend, Dean Frank C. Hockema delivered his speech:

Most of all, I would join with all in acclaiming, individually and collectively, those who gave their strength and skill, and above all, their unconquerable spirit . . . They wrote an indestructible page for our athletic record. Through unnumbered after years those who remember "way back when" will be recalling and recounting the doings of the team of 1943.<sup>10</sup>

When the war ended, many of these Purdue players and non-players returned to campus to finish their education. Some servicemen, however, returned in long wooden boxes with the American flag draped over them. On April 18, 1945, a Japanese sniper on Okinawa shot and killed Marine Corporal Tony Butkovich.<sup>11</sup> Butkovich, a 1943 Heisman Trophy nominee, had broken the Big Ten scoring record with 78 points in five conference games in a single season, and in April 1944, the National Football League's Cleveland Rams had drafted him in the first round.<sup>12</sup>

These Purdue men were not alone in their belief that football raised the morale of American servicemen overseas. In the *Athletic Journal*, the editor for the *Chicago Daily News* observed that the 1942 football season "provided a stimulus to civilian morale, and to the morale of our armed forces as well . . . [I]n the service newspapers published for the men at sea and in the field, nearly half the space, by popular demand, has been devoted to sports news."<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Al Laney, a writer for the *New York Herald*

*Tribune*, expounded upon this subject in “Grid Game Goes Global,” in the 1943 *Official National Collegiate Athletic Association Football Guide*.<sup>14</sup> Servicemen flooded the Office of War Information (OWI), in charge of supplying information to the troops overseas, with requests to send them football scores from the 1942 football season.<sup>15</sup> The Army created the Special Service Division within the Army Service Forces to provide news, including sports news, to servicemen.<sup>16</sup> During the 1943 football season millions of servicemen fans received sports news.<sup>17</sup>

Congressman Samuel L. Weiss asked the House of Representatives in March 1943 to pass a resolution to sanction wartime spectator sports before a possible “undue curtailment.” In simpler terms, Weiss wanted Congress to encourage professional sports in America. Weiss argued that “happy soldiers make better fighters . . . [and] soldier and civilian morale demands that the government permit spectator sports to continue for the duration.”<sup>18</sup> A soldier had written Weiss: “I am willing to die for my country, but for God’s sake don’t stop the sports that make America great.”<sup>19</sup> Another *New York Times* article interviewed Fred Corcoran, who had been the tournament manager for the Professional Golf Association (PGA) and now worked with the Red Cross Recreation Division. He conducted sports quizzes at American camps throughout Great Britain; he stated that the soldiers “talk[ed] and argue[d] sports from morning until night . . . it’s the most popular subject in the Army camps today.”<sup>20</sup>

In November 1943, an *Esquire* poll published in the *Football News: The American Collegiate Sports Weekly* reported that 96.5 percent of servicemen on bases voted yes to the continuation of intercollegiate and professional sports in the United States. When asked if the men missed playing sports while in the service, 57.49 percent

said yes; and 70.84 percent of the men polled said that they missed listening to or watching sports while in the service.<sup>21</sup> A month earlier, an editorial in the *Football News* reported how important football news was to the servicemen overseas.<sup>22</sup> The number of servicemen ordering subscriptions proved that they desired to stay updated in the football world back home. In *Street and Smith's Football Pictorial Yearbook, 1943*, a naval officer said:

Troops and enlisted men in the navy in combat zones thrive on sports news from home," he said. "I know I hung on a receiving set once trying to find out . . . how Navy made out against Pennsylvania, and when poor reception cheated me of the final score I was sore clear through."<sup>23</sup>

Wisconsin Representative La Vern Dilweg in a speech on the floor of Congress in 1943 said that sports news was a "refreshing balance" from war news.<sup>24</sup> Sports news became a "must read" for servicemen overseas if they wished to keep their spirits up for the duration of the war. Because the troops followed sports news, some football publications such as *Football Prevues*, *Football News: the American Collegiate Sports Weekly*, *Football Review: Yearbook of the Football News*, *Illustrated Football Manual*, *Football Pictorial Yearbook*, and the *Official National Collegiate Athletic Association Football Guide* remained in print for the duration of the war.<sup>25</sup> Even the Army's *Stars and Stripes* included a sports section. College football had become a strategic element in the boosting of morale for Purdue servicemen and millions of others.

The story of college football during World War II was not only a spectator sport that brought in millions of dollars to universities, but a way to train for war, a way to preserve a part of collegiate culture, a way for fans at the games to escape from the realities of a wartime society, and a way to boost the morale of American servicemen personnel abroad.

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<sup>1</sup> Keith W. Olson, "The G.I. Bill and Higher Education: Success and Surprise," *American Quarterly* 25, no. 5 (December 1973): 596.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Daley, "Stuffing the Ballot Box," *Sports of the Times, New York Times*, October 23, 1943, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Donald Rominger, Jr., "The Impact of the U.S. Government's Sports and Physical Training Policy on Organized Athletics during World War II" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1976), 2.

<sup>4</sup> Wilbur Jones, Jr., *"Football! Navy! War!": How the Military "Lend-Lease" Players Saved the College Game and Helped Win World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., Inc., 2009), 1.

<sup>5</sup> The 1944 and 1945 Purdue football seasons provided Boilermaker servicemen overseas with football news, raising their morale and university spirit.

<sup>6</sup> Institutions not chosen were usually due to either a lack in engineering or technical programs or available facilities to house, feed or physically train incoming servicemen.

<sup>7</sup> Purdue University, "Document 53, Enrollment, October 4, 1947," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 24-25, 1947, 721.

<sup>8</sup> Purdue University, "Document 977, Report Re Enrollments as of November 20, 1943," Purdue University, *Board of Trustees Minutes*, January 19-20, 1944, 645. See Table A.4 in Appendix A, for Purdue civilian student enrollment.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> "Ray Smith," Barwegan Elected Most Valuable by Team Mates at Annual Football Banquet," *The Purdue Alumnus* 31, no. 2 (November 1943): 16.

<sup>11</sup> "Tony Butkovich, War 2 Casualty, Rites Saturday," *Canton Daily Ledger* (Canton, Illinois), June 9, 1949, 10.

<sup>12</sup> "Bertelli Is Taken by Boston Eleven," *New York Times*, April 20, 1944, 16. Butkovich had shared the first round draft with future NFL star Otto Graham, who was picked up by the Detroit Lions.

<sup>13</sup> "Two Different Points of View," *Athletic Journal* 24, no. 1 (September 1943): 16.

<sup>14</sup> Al Laney, "Grid Game Goes Global," in *The Official NCAA Football Guide*, ed. Walter R. Okeson (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1943), 24.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>18</sup> The Associated Press, "Sanctioning of Spectator Sports by Congress Asked to Aid Morale," *New York Times*, March 3, 1943, 27.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> "Soldiers of U.S. in Great Britain Favor Full Major League Season," *New York Times*, March 29, 1943, 20.

<sup>21</sup> "Esquire Poll Shows Soldiers Like Their Sports," *The Football News: The American Collegiate Sports Weekly*, November 27, 1943, 1.

<sup>22</sup> "Football News for Eddie," *The Football News: The American Collegiate Sports Weekly*, October 9, 1943, 4.

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<sup>23</sup> Charles Moran, "Football and the War" in *Street and Smith's Football Pictorial Yearbook, 1943*, ed. Charles Moran (New York: Street and Smith Publications, 1943), 4-6.

<sup>24</sup> La Vern Dilweg, "Sports in Wartime," *Athletic Journal* 23, 10 (June 1943): 36.

<sup>25</sup> Jones, Jr., "*Football! Navy! War!*," 48.

## Bibliographical Essay:

### How American Higher Education and Intercollegiate Football Went to War

Historians have provided much scholarship on the World War II American home-front, but they have paid little attention to the role of wartime college football. This bibliographical essay offers a comprehensive overview of the literature concerning the relationships between higher education, the armed forces, and intercollegiate football.

Scholars have studied the war's impact upon the relationship between higher education and the armed forces. Henry C. Herge's *Wartime College Training Programs of the Armed Services* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948) describes each training program, asserting that colleges and universities adapted their civilian educational methods to the subject specialties of the armed forces.

Virgus Ray Cardozier's *Colleges and Universities in World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993) claims that the impact of the military upon institutions of higher education changed the way colleges and universities organized education. Like Herge, Cardozier examines the inception and implementation of how institutions altered their curricula for the military training programs. Cardozier also mentions the training programs' effects upon collegiate life including intercollegiate athletics, but his broad analysis hardly explains the programs' significant impact upon college football.

Two scholars have focused on either the Navy or Army college training programs. James G. Schneider's *The Navy V-12 Program: Leadership for a Lifetime* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1987) proposes that the Navy V-12 program established a stable relationship with the Department of Navy and higher education. Schneider argues that

the Navy V-12 program produced leaders on college campuses as well as in combat. Although Schneider touches on the fact that the Navy Department gave sailors and marines consent to play intercollegiate sports during their training, he does not analyze the effects of their participation in intercollegiate athletics upon either the trainees or the schools.

Louis Keefer's *Scholars in Foxholes: The Story of the Army Specialized Training Program in World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1988) studies how the Department of War implemented the program and evaluated its success by analyzing the roles of university administrations, the Army, and the trainees who went through the program. Although Keefer discusses the debate between congressmen who wanted soldiers to play intercollegiate athletics and Secretary of War Henry Stimson, who rejected the idea, he does not analyze the effects of Stimson's decision.

Several historians have examined the effects of the war upon higher education. Isaac L. Kandel's *The Impact of the War upon American Education* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948) argues that during the war, high schools and institutions of higher education dedicated their efforts to educating the American youth for military and industrial occupations, but after the war, the educational system lost its sense of direction.

Charles Dorn's *American Education, Democracy, and the Second World War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) claims that the war not only strengthened colleges and universities, but also reinforced ideals of American democracy at all levels of education. In examining the war's impact upon higher education, Dorn uses Stanford University to show the campus's adaptation to wartime: the decrease in student

enrollment, the accelerated schedule of classes, the implementation of engineering, science, and management war training (ESMWT), and the acceptance of the university as a host for the Army Specialized Training Program.

While Kandel and Dorn offer a broad analysis of the impact upon higher education, others provide microhistories of their universities during the war. Horton B. Knoll's *A Record of a University in the War Years, 1941-1945* (Lafayette, IN: Purdue University, 1947) examines Purdue as a war-training center, describing the military and industrial training programs. He argues that from 1941 until 1945, Purdue strengthened its purpose as a lend-lease school specializing in technological and scientific knowledge. While Knoll mentions that Purdue intercollegiate athletics continued, he does not recount the results of the seasons nor analyze the war's effect upon athletics.

LeRoy E. Cowles's *University of Utah and World War II* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1949) claims that the university contributed to the war effort by housing, educating and training about a thousand men in the Army Specialized Training Program, maintaining its status as a center of learning. In his section on sports, Cowles explains how varsity athletics struggled to find opponents; without soldiers supplying talent, boys seventeen years of age composed athletic squads. When the Athletic Council allowed intercollegiate sports to continue at the university, it announced that all sports would bend to the needs of the war effort.

George Lynn Cross's *The University of Oklahoma and World War II: A Personal Account, 1941-1946* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980) asserts that the university contributed to the war effort by hosting the Army and Navy training programs, but his narrative includes his own journey as president and overseer of the substantial

post-war growth and development of the university. In his brief section on football, Cross recognizes that most of the players were Navy men and congratulates them on winning the conference title.

Robert L. Baxter, Jr.'s "Student Life at the University of Virginia during World War II," (Ed.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1990) argues that a number of factors including enrollment, war, and students' interests modified the university's traditions and extracurricular activities to wartime ones. While many universities discontinued their sports programs during the war, the University of Virginia, hosting the Navy V-12 program, could continue its athletic programs.

Baxter's and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr.'s "Higher Education Goes to War: The University of Virginia's Response to World War II," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 100, no. 3 (July 1992): 399-428, describes the militarization of the campus, the accelerated schedule of classes, and the altered curriculum for war training. The war affected student enrollment, where students lived on campus, and their daily activities. In regards to athletics, Wagoner and Baxter explain that the V-12 trainees were the able-bodied men who played varsity football, but again offer no further analysis.

Although some histories of individual universities covered only the war years, many institutional histories broadened the span of time covered while reducing the interpretation of World War II. In addition to writing about Purdue in the war years, H. B. Knoll's chapter on "Expansion," in *The Story of Purdue Engineering* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Studies, 1963) explains the legacy of President Edward C. Elliott whose determination transformed Purdue into a leading war training center. Knoll observes that Purdue's 1943 championship football team benefited from the Navy V-12

program since many men transferred to Purdue in 1943. Robert Topping's *A Century and Beyond: The History of Purdue University* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1988) also examines the Elliott years at Purdue, emphasizing the administration's role in implementing military and vocational training programs. Topping argues that Purdue became one of the nation's leading research and training facilities.

Historians, who analyze the broad sweep of the history of higher education, also diminish the interpretation of World War II. Helen Horowitz's *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) argues that throughout the development of American higher education, "outsiders" and "rebels" made up some of the student population, creating a counter culture. She explores how these marginalized students contrasted with the traditional model of college life. Horowitz observes that during and immediately following the war, the feelings of patriotism and influx of the veterans kept the influence of the counter culture on campuses at a minimum.

John R. Thelin's *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) traces the development of American colleges and universities from the seventeenth into the twenty-first century. According to Thelin, higher education has endured the changes in constituencies and fields of academics and athletics, built new institutions, and sustained a relationship with the federal government, proving its resilience and strength. When analyzing education during World War II, Thelin demonstrates that colleges and universities proved their usefulness in the national war effort by hosting military training programs. While Thelin acknowledges that intercollegiate athletics was a substantial part of the historical memory in higher

education, he only explores the political and economic factors to illustrate the relationship between university administrations and athletic directors and coaches.

Although some scholars include athletics in their discussions of higher education, they do not discuss intercollegiate athletics at length. Therefore, sport and football historians fill this gap by discussing the relationship between intercollegiate athletics and higher education throughout the twentieth century. Jack Falla's *NCAA: The Voice of College Sports* (Mission, KS: National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1981) tracks the inception of the NCAA in 1906 through the 1970s. Falla discusses how the cry for football reform created the need for rules and regulations, which led to the founding of the NCAA. He argues that because of the reformers' plea for safer play, the sport became more successful as well as safer. However, he does not explain the relationship between the armed forces and the NCAA other than that they worked together over the course of the war.

John Sayle Watterson's *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000) follows the development of college football from the rise of the game at the end of the nineteenth century to the top rung of spectator sports in the twentieth century. Watterson argues that the commercialization of football created alumni support as well as a collegiate identity that enticed prospective students. He also finds that the critics of the game, who believed that the sport undermines the educational purpose of colleges and universities, pushed constantly for reform. Although the media allocated much space to college football, it also voiced the critics' disapproval of some college administrators, who exploited students, created celebrities, and glorified the sport rather than devoted their attention to education.

Wanda Ellen Wakefield's *Playing to Win: Sports and the American Military, 1898-1945* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997) examines the relationship between the military and sports to understand how American culture defined masculinity during this period. She asserts that integrating sports into the American military raised soldiers' morale during wartime. She shows how the playing of sports on military bases strengthened soldiers' skills in combat as well as alleviated boredom during the idleness of war.

Murray Sperber's *Onward to Victory: The Crises that Shaped College Sports* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1998) explores how the media, fans and the NCAA saved college sports from the crises that threatened to push athletics into the background of American society. During World War II thousands of college-aged, able-bodied men enlisted in the armed forces, and although many varsity programs dissolved subsequently, college sports maintained their existence in American society and culture. In his footnotes Sperber acknowledges that the Navy's and Army's contrasting policies affected wartime college football but offered no explanation for the policies themselves.

Michael Oriard's *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies, and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001) examines the relationship between football and the media from the 1890s through the age of television in the 1960s. He argues that the media created an American football culture in mainstream American culture. Through newsreels, radio and film in the 1920s and 1930s, football reached viewers and listeners outside the stadium, increasing the numbers of football fans although they could not

travel to the games. While Oriard mentions football during World War II, he analyzed little of the media's influence upon college football.

J. Douglas Toma's *Football U.: Spectator Sports in the Life of the American University* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2003) investigates the cultural impact of college football upon institutions of higher education, claiming that football was central to the cultural identity of universities. Football connected the external and internal relations of alumni, students and local constituents and displayed a unique culture of symbols, language, narratives, and practices in university communities. Although Toma is not a historian, he synthesizes a comprehensive history of the culture of American higher education.

Economist Paul R. Lawrence's *Unsportsmanlike Conduct: The National Collegiate Athletic Association and the Business of College Football* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1987) explores the relationship between the NCAA and its most marketable sport, claiming that the NCAA turned college football into big business. Lawrence also argues that the monetary success of the NCAA allowed the continuation of college football during World War II.

John R. Thelin's *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994) examines the place of college sports within the university. He argues that from the 1930s through the 1980s, colleges and universities failed to enforce rules in intercollegiate athletics. This attitude encouraged non-enforcement across higher education. Like Lawrence, Thelin acknowledges a disruption in college sports during World War II because of the student enlistments.

Very few historians have devoted their efforts exclusively to college sports during World War II. Donald Rominger, Jr.'s "The Impact of the United States Government's Sports and Physical Training Policy on Organized Athletics during World War II" (Ph.D. diss., Oklahoma State University, 1976) argues that the government used intercollegiate and intramural athletics to prepare the country's youth for war. Rominger analyzes how the sport policies adopted by the federal government created a debate between officials if trainees in the college training programs should play intercollegiate sports (football was the most popular among the debate). After describing how the Army banned soldiers from participating in sports while the Navy allowed it, Rominger Jr. does not provide any further analysis; instead he turns his attention to professional sports.

Nine years later, Rominger's "From Playing Field to Battleground: The United States Navy V-5 Preflight Program in World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 12, no. 3 (Winter 1985): 252-264, demonstrates how the Pre-flight cadets were assimilated into the college community as well as the program's effect on organized intercollegiate athletics. Rominger asserts that since the Navy believed that the skills involved in athletics produced better service men, the Navy saved intercollegiate athletics from disbandment. Rominger shows how LTC Thomas Hamilton of the U.S. Navy persuaded the NCAA to continue athletics as part of military training.

Wilbur Jones, Jr.'s "*Football! Navy! War!*": *How the Military "Lend-Lease" Players Saved the College Game and Helped Win World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., Inc., 2009) tackles the topics of military training and intercollegiate football. Like Rominger, Jones asserts that the Naval training programs on select college campuses saved college football from extinction, and in return the skills learned in

football practice helped create better service men. The media's coverage on college football showed how the sport even thrived at some universities.

Two works written specifically on Purdue football include Bob Collins's *Boilermakers: A History of Purdue Football*, (Lafayette, IN: Haywood Printing Co., 1976) and Raymond Schmidt's "The Purdue Marines," *College Football Historical Society Newsletter*, 1, no. 5 (August 1988), 12-14. Schmidt claims that if not for World War II, Purdue would not have had its stellar 1943 season. He observes that this football season was different because of the Navy V-12 trainees who transferred to Purdue. Collins presents a historical narrative of Purdue football from its inception until the 1970s. He mentions that sailors and marines from other universities joined the 1943 and 1944 teams because Purdue hosted training programs during the war. Like Knoll, Collins describes these training programs, but also includes play-by-play accounts of some of the games. Although Collins's recollection of the undefeated 1943 season was vivid and descriptive, he does not provide historical context nor the analysis needed to understand how Purdue football fit into the larger college football narrative during the war.

These historians of higher education, college football, and military training programs have analyzed their individual topics, but few scholars have attempted to interlace them. With their unique approach to wartime college football, Wilbur Jones, Jr. and Donald Rominger, Jr. have provided stepping stones for future scholars. Although they present a history of how the Navy V-12 Program saved college football, further analysis fusing higher education, intercollegiate football, and the armed services can explain the role of college football during World War II, exposing a new angle upon the World War II American home-front.

## Appendix A

**Table A.1**

Purdue Wartime Student Enrollment for Nonessential Areas of Study				
School	Fall 1941	Fall 1942	Sept. 1943	Nov. 1943
Agriculture	606	569	61	208
Forestry	77	70	5	16
Pharmacy	155	145	45	80
Home Economics	858	792	413	633
Science	873	808	595	570
Physical Education	117	99	10	46
Total	2,686	2,438	1,129	1,553

**Table A.2**

Purdue Wartime Engineering Enrollment						
Engineering Departments	Fall 1941 civilians	Fall 1942 civilians	Sept. 1943 civilians	Sept. 1943 military	Nov. 1943 civilians	Nov. 1943 military
Chemical	354	401	111	218	119	150
Metallurgical	95	92	18	25	19	25
Civil	143	162	41	124	43	189
Electrical	412	420	136	163	145	302
Mechanical	1,201	1,049	226	255	231	449
Aeronautical	0	44	18	26	22	40
Public Service	50	50	9	8	7	11
Freshman Engineering	1,179	1612	562	708	513	956
Total	3,434	3,830	1,121	1,527	1,099	2,122

**Table A.3**

Civilian Student Enrollment at Purdue, 1941-1943				
Civilian Student Enrollment	Fall 1941	Fall 1942	Sept. 1943 Semi-term	Nov. 1943
Men	5,190	5,370	1,489	1,549
Women	1,385	1,308	794	1,201
Total Civilian Students	6,575	6,678	2,283	2,750

**Table A.4**

Total Purdue Wartime Student Enrollment				
Student Enrollment	Fall 1941	Fall 1942	Sept. 1943 Semi-term	Nov. 1943
Total Military Enrollment	-----	950	3,091	3,747
Total Civilian Enrollment	6,575	6,678	2,283	2,750
Total Industry Training Enrollment	14	131	213	307
Total Student Enrollment	6,589	7,759	5,587	6,804

Sources for Tables A.1, A.2, A.3, and A.4: For November 1943, see Purdue Univ., "Document 977, Report Re Enrollments as of November 20, 1943," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, January 19-20, 1944, 645; and for 1941, 1942, and Sept. 1943 see Purdue Univ., "Enrollment of Students," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, October 22-23, 1943, 576-577.

## Appendix B

### Letters from Purdue servicemen

All the servicemen's letters published in *The Purdue Alumnus* deserve to be reprinted; but I could only use a sample of them in order to demonstrate how much football and Purdue meant to these men fighting overseas. Therefore, I include the following excerpts that I believed too interesting to remain in my stack of sources without anyone else reading them. Hopefully, you will see how strongly the Boilermaker connection was all over the world.

**From "Letters from Our Readers," *The Purdue Alumnus* 30, no. 8 (August 1943): 21.**

Lt. Victor G. Raphael (1943): "I visited one of the seven wonders of the world and that was the famous Taj Mahal here in India. I'll try and see if I can send a local nearby city newspaper to you and you'll be amazed at the advertisements in it. I remain as ever a true son of Purdue.

**From "Purdue Pick-Ups," *The Purdue Alumnus* 30, no. 9 (September 1943): 5.**

"Dave Rankin, (1941): Purdue's All-American end, broke into the nation's press recently with his decision that fighting Jap planes is 'something like shooting ducks.'" <sup>1</sup>

**From “The Boilermaker Letterman,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 31, no 2 (November 1943): 4.**

Ensign William “Dutch” Fehring (Football, Basketball, Baseball, 1934): “Several of those who came here at the same time have already gone on to other bases. John Wooden is leaving soon for Williams College.”

Staff Sergeant William Shimer (Football, 1943): “I am now in the South Pacific theater of operations. Had quite a time setting up camp the first couple of nights in the jungles. We were in Australia for several days—long enough to get acquainted with the money and spend quite a bit.”

Sgt. Joe Fitzgerald, (Football, 1938): “We have been over here in the S.W. Pacific for 16 months and are longing for the day when we can return to the good old U. S. A. We are resting now after a seven week campaign on an island. I came out O.K. even though the Jap snipers did their best. You know I am a pretty big target.”

**From “Letters from Our Readers,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 31, no. 4 (January/February 1944): 8.**

James H. Clay, (1942): Cristobal, Canal Zone [Panama]: “I have met several Purdue men in my travels through South America, especially at Lima, Peru, I just perchance made acquaintance with five ex-Purdue men, which only goes to show how really small this world is.”<sup>2</sup>

**From “The Boilermaker Mail Bag,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 31, no 6 (May/June 1944):  
10-11.**

Lt. Joe Fitzgerald (Football 1938): “I haven’t seen George Bell or heard from him. Guess he is too busy winning the war all by himself.”

Lt. Fred Smerke, (Football, 1943): “Some parts of India are much more modern than I ever imagined, but much of it fulfills my expectations. I never thought I would eat fried chicken and banana splits here but I have.”

**From “Letters from Our Readers,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 32, no. 1 (October 1944):  
16.**

Lt. Tony Ippolito, (1939): “Playing with the Chicago Bears last year certainly did put me in fine shape for this sort of life. It was a sort of pleasure playing against Lou Brock (he’s as good as ever) and it was even more of a pleasure beating Green Bay. I have not met any of the boys as yet, and I hope I do not get to meet any as [sic] my official capacity as a surgeon.”

**From “The Boilermaker Letterman,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 32, no. 2 (November  
1944): 6.**

Cpl. Tony Butkovich, (Football 1943): “The heat out here on this Island is really terrific. If you know anyone who would like to reduce, just send them out here.”

**From “Letters from Our Readers,” *The Purdue Alumnus* 32, no. 3 (December 1944):  
11-12.**

Lt. Paul V. Miller, ’38, c/o PM, Seattle, WA: “Won’t Complain Again—Your Christmas greetings finally caught up with me. I had heard from the chapter house that

the Army had more or less taken over Purdue but hadn't realized that there were that many. I've been out on these islands for the past 18 months. Never again will I ever complain about Indiana weather. Our main occupation is swearing at the weather."

**From "Letters from Our Readers," *The Purdue Alumnus*, 32, no. 6 (May/June 1945):**

**4.**

Lt. Jack V. Kinsey, '41, US Naval Reserve, Arlington, VA: "Proud of Purdue—Purdue is an excellent university and I am proud to have had the privilege of attending there. Having attended Minnesota and 'Cal Tech' I can honestly say that Purdue's engineering school compares very favorably and advantageously with them. It is gratifying to meet so many Purdue alumni everywhere you go in the Navy."

**From "Letters from Our Readers," *The Purdue Alumnus* 33, no. 1 (October 1945):**

**7.**

"Hear Purdue Song In Japanese Port—The strains of 'Hail Purdue' bring back the memories to someone almost anywhere it's played, even in far-off Yokohama. Lt. C. R. Starbuck, '41, now serving with the US Navy on the USS Hansford, tells in a letter to his parents of the thrill it brought him recently when an air-borne band made a stop on his ship and honored the Purdue men aboard with Purdue's song. Lt. Starbuck, whose home is in Wilmington, OH, said, "I imagine it ('Hail Purdue') goes on record as being the first college song played in Yokohama since the war."

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<sup>1</sup> In 1967, the track and field at Purdue was named in honor of Rankin who coached track and field at Purdue after the war.

<sup>2</sup> Clay was a former flight officer for the Army Air Corps, but because of a “bad sinus condition in [his] head,” he was given a medical discharge. Then, he became an employee of the Curtiss-Wright Corporation, working as a field service representative.

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*The Delta Democrat Times* (Greenville, MS)

*The Football News: The American Collegiate Sports Weekly* (Detroit, MI)

*Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, IN)

*The Lowell (MA) Sun and Citizen Leader*

*New York Times*

*The News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI)

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*The Purdue Alumnus*

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## Curriculum Vitae

Karen Marie Wood

### Education:

- MA, History, Indiana University-Indianapolis, 2011, (thesis: “Gridiron Courage: The Navy, Purdue and World War II”)
- BA, History, Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Purdue University, 2008

### Professional Experience:

- Contract Editor, Indiana Historical Society Press, July 2011-present
  - Fact and source-checked articles for *The Hoosier Genealogist: Connections*.
  - Worked on illustrations for two children’s books, finding the right images, writing the captions for them, and obtaining permissions to publish said images.
- Intern, Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, Indiana, June-July 2011
  - Worked on a historical marker review team, where in weekly meetings we reported on what we accomplished and discussed what we still needed to do
- Teaching Assistantship, Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis, Department of History, August 2010-May 2011
  - Evaluated students’ knowledge of historical material of the early American history
  - Worked with a diverse group of students and have been accommodating to their needs in order to help them understand the required material
- Editorial Assistantship, Family History Publications, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, August 2009-August 2010
  - Assisted in administrative processes, ordering and organizing office supplies, and typing up and mailing correspondence for the editors
  - Served as exhibitor coordinator for Midwestern Roots 2010, a genealogy conference sponsored by the Indiana Historical Society in August 2010
  - Researched and wrote a biographical article for the fall/winter 2011 issue of *The Hoosier Genealogist: Connections*
  - Researched and wrote articles for Online Connections and understood the process in the workings of a press
- Intern, Westfield-Washington Historical Society and Museum, May-August 2009
  - Researched with a team on the Underground Railroad in Indiana focusing on Westfield, Indiana, to design a downtown walking tour for the public

- Worked in a single-staffed museum, being the secretary, tour guide, cataloguer of collections, and photographer
- Intern, Public Programs and Education, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, August 2008- May 2009
  - Served as assistant coordinator for National History Day in Indiana, 2009
  - Collaborated with team to create programs designed for the public in which ascertain a positive experience enhancing the public's knowledge of and appreciation for history
  - Researched various topics pertinent to Indiana history and demonstrated efficient writing skills

**Skills:**

- I have sufficient knowledge in Microsoft Office Professional.
- I am bilingual in Spanish.
- I have efficient research skills and know where and how to find sources pertinent to any topic.
- I adapt well to various situations by clarifying each circumstance and then figuring out a solution.

**Publications:**

- Adams, Wendy L. and Karen M. Wood. "Pike County, Account Book of Robert Logan, Highbanks, Indiana, 1850." *Online Connections* (<http://www.indianahistory.org>), 2011.
- Dorrel, Ruth. "Morgan County Newspapers, *Mooreville Midget: A Retrospective Look in the Year 1881.*" Transcribed and with an introduction by Karen M. Wood. *Online Connections* ([indianahistory.org](http://indianahistory.org)), 2011.
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