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*Camp Fremont and WWI* ■ *Stanford's Creative Writing Program*

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**Above:** Soldiers in training at Camp Fremont, a World War I Army cantonment located, in part, on land that the U.S. War Department leased from Stanford

IMAGE COURTESY OF BOB SWANSON

**Cover:** Edith Mirrielees graduated from Stanford in 1907 and joined the English Department faculty in 1910. A pioneering teacher of creative writing, she inspired many talented, distinguished students, including novelist John Steinbeck.

LONNIE WILSON/STANFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

# “Fremont, The Flirt”

## Unearthing Stanford’s World War I Battleground

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Soon after the United States entered World War I, in April 1917, it began planning for war mobilization on an unprecedented scale. Thirty-two cantonments were established nationwide to train a vastly enlarged army in techniques, such as trench warfare, that troops would encounter on the Western Front. One such cantonment, Camp Fremont, was located, in part, on Stanford land. It was leased by the government and adjacent landowners and occupied tens of thousands of acres, including today’s Dish Hill, SLAC National Accelerator Laboratory, and much of the city of Menlo Park. Few traces of Camp Fremont exist today. One feature that does exist, at least vestigially, is its elaborate mock battlefield, created with gun ranges and underground passages on nearly 1,000 acres of Stanford land so that soldiers could rehearse, with copious live ammunition, the trench battles that were a defining feature of the war.

Stanford was far from alone among U.S. universities in contributing both human and property resources to the war effort. Few, if any, universities, however, went to Stanford’s patriotic extreme of hiring itself out as a munitions range. Unexploded live artillery has turned up near Stanford 93 years later, and sinkholes have opened over former Camp Fremont dugouts with disturbing, if unpublicized, vigor.<sup>1</sup>



This window placard was given to donors to the Camp Fremont Citizens Committee, which paid Stanford and other Camp Fremont landowners for the War Department’s use of the property.

In Stanford’s Camp Fremont episode, two narratives converge that historians consider distinctive to the home front during World War I. First, in offering its land for war games, Stanford exemplified a drive among colleges to put patriotism over good judgment—a trend that historian David Kennedy regards as “not their finest hour.” In accepting money for the deal, which was brokered by San Francisco’s war-contractor mayor among corporate interests and

individual donors, Stanford also illustrated the war's often *laissez-faire* financing. Stanford hosted Camp Fremont to boost its low patriotic credibility and, to a lesser extent, its shaky finances, with little heed to the short- or long-term consequences.<sup>2</sup>

In the months before America's declaration of war, university trustee Herbert Hoover, Stanford's best-known graduate, was renowned for his war-relief efforts in Belgium, and his wife, Lou Henry Hoover, gave the faraway crisis immediacy by fundraising on campus for Belgian relief. Stanford's new president, Ray Lyman Wilbur, was an ardent advocate of U.S. military intervention. He, along with Hoover and several Stanford faculty, would become among many so-called dollar-a-year men drawn into war service by War Secretary Newton D. Baker, who aimed to quash big-government fears by staffing the war effort with temporary, voluntary administrators. In his prewar role with the Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau, Wilbur went so far as to send "preparedness questionnaires" to his own students and faculty "to learn for what service in war each was best fitted." Such "preparedness," as a movement, originated in elite Eastern schools. Its leader, Gen. Leonard Wood, set the tone by calling on Harvard men to emulate the English public-school heroes who were prodigiously offering their lives.<sup>3</sup>

Wilbur's predecessor, Emeritus Chancellor David Starr Jordan, was a renowned pacifist who favored neutrality, and campus opinion was at first

divided. The Stanford *Sequoia* favored neutrality and ran Jordan's articles in support. The *Stanford Illustrated Review*, by contrast, favored intervention and ran pieces by Wilbur, notably the March 1917 "Inescapable Responsibility" speech that called it Stanford's duty, as a repository of the elite, to do all it could for war. "...It now seems clear that if we are to be a part in the future," Wilbur wrote, "we must take a man's part in the present...Our duty is as plain as the fact that we have neglected it..."<sup>4</sup>

The tide was turning. By October 1916, Stanford trustees had earmarked a large lot and funds for a pistol range behind Lake Lagunita. Students voted 590 to 217 that fall for compulsory military training, and Stanford's Academic Council voted on January 12, 1917, to mandate a three-hour weekly drill for men. Ninety-eight faculty members signed a January 31 telegram to Wilson urging intervention. Since Jordan spent much of this time away from Stanford, barnstorming on a national level for a negotiated peace, he was less able to influence events at home.<sup>5</sup>

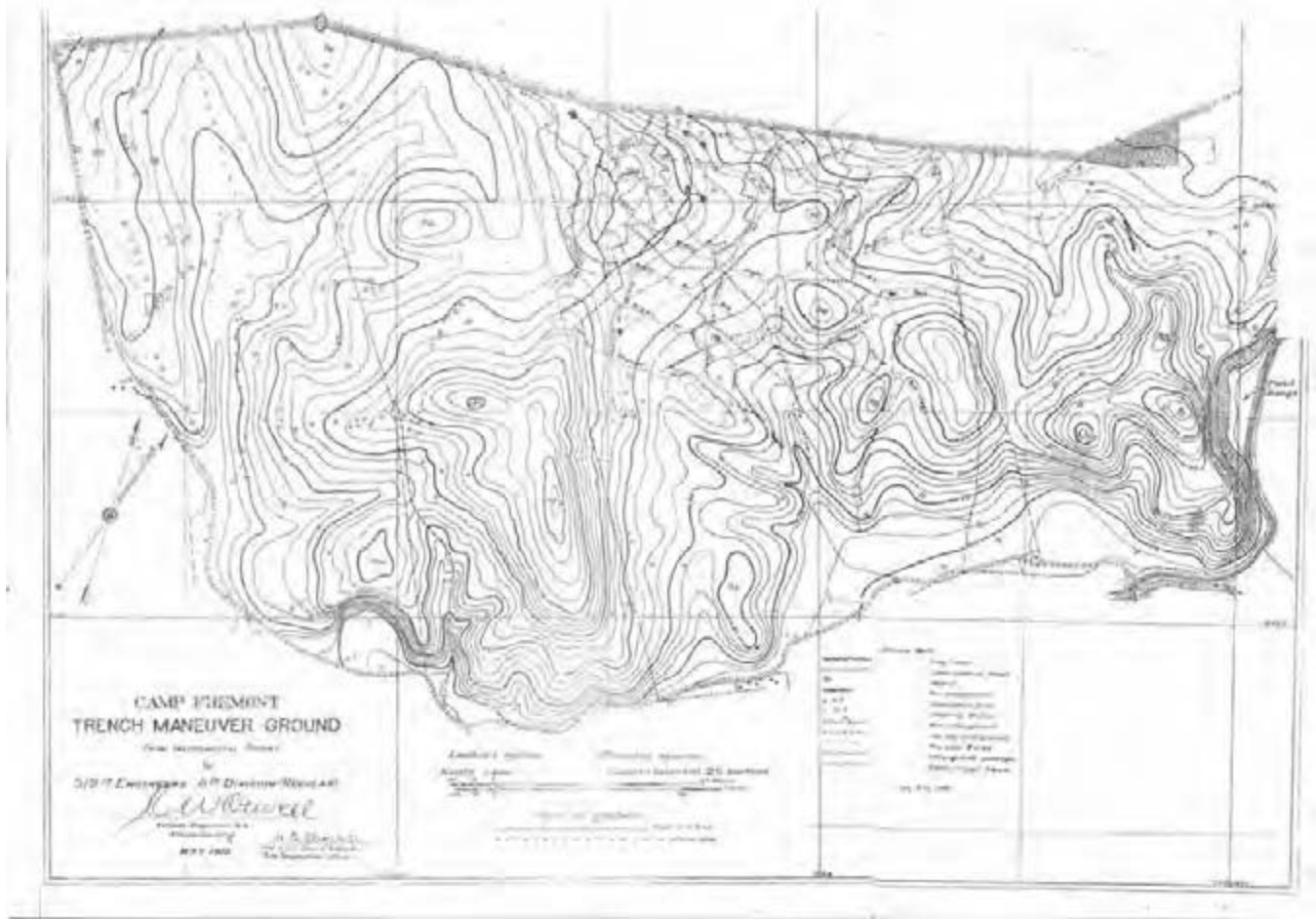
As war fever deepened, in fact, Jordan's pacifism became a liability. "Trustees and administrators could not shrug it off," wrote a contemporary, Stanford English instructor Edith Mirrielees, who described her colleagues being booed at speeches and pilloried in the press. By March, Jordan's East Coast speeches were met with unruly protests; Princeton's president barred him from the podium there, and Cornell alumni sought to revoke his degree. On March 30, Stanford trustees voted to guarantee full salary, for the looming war's duration, of any faculty member joining the war effort. On April 9, at a special meeting three days after Wilson's war declaration, they sent the Associated Press a seven-point memo listing this and other patriotic efforts in answer to the "(m)any inquiries... received by authorities of Stanford University concerning its attitude toward war and the national preparation." The trustees asserted that "(e)very element of Stanford—faculty, alumni, undergraduates and trustees—is united in support

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This 1918 map details Camp Fremont's Trench Maneuver Grounds, for which the War Department had sought at least 300 acres. The northern border is Sand Hill Road.

of...the active prosecution of the war." According to Mirrieles, "Few acquainted with the situation failed to understand the reason for there being a statement at all." On April 10, the university chaplain blessed the colors of Stanford's Student Officer Training Corps in Memorial Church.<sup>6</sup>

Just weeks later, as groups of civic boosters throughout America were lobbying to host the cantonments planned for the soldiers, U.S. Sen. James D. Phelan of San Francisco was dismayed to learn that his home region was not among the discussed sites. Criteria included proximity to railroads; warm climate, since the government hoped to save money on barracks by housing as many soldiers as possible in tents; and, if possible, terrain similar to that of the Western Front. On May 25, Phelan telegraphed San Francisco Mayor James Rolph, who rushed to the Presidio the next

day—a Saturday—and secured Western Department Commander Maj. Gen. Hunter Liggett's blessing "to submit any possible locations for a camp."<sup>7</sup>

After brief looks at Contra Costa County and Millbrae, the government accepted the following offer:

*San Francisco offers to procure for the War Department one year lease, rent free, on approximately 25,000 acres of land in the vicinity of Palo Alto, California....This property to be used by the War Department for Army training purposes for approximately a division of troops....Also agrees to cause a suitable water supply to be piped from the limits of the cantonment....Also to deliver sufficient gas and electrical....Also to provide ample outfall sewage line from limits of Camp.*

*Respectfully, James Rolph, Jr.  
Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco<sup>8</sup>*

The War Department sought at least 300 acres for training trenches and other military maneuvers; Stanford, with its largely undeveloped 8,800-acre grounds, augured many times that amount. On July 6, the selection of the Camp Fremont site was announced.<sup>9</sup>

### PROFITS AND PATRIOTISM

Days after the bid was granted, but before Stanford signed its lease, state health officials moved to block Camp Fremont's construction on the grounds that the Army's planned latrine system was unsanitary. Stanford Trustee Timothy Hopkins quickly wired Phelan, urging his personal intervention: "Latrines out of the question in thickly populated district with a porous soil from which water supply is pumped....You are familiar with the locality and the community and myself personally would appreciate your seeing Secretary Baker that proper instructions may be issued to prevent danger of contamination of the soil." Perhaps not coincidentally, the Army's original plan called for waste from camp kitchens and showers to drain into San Francisquito Creek, bordering Hopkins's Menlo Park property downstream. Federal money was duly promised to connect the latrines to sewerage. Stanford civil engineering professor Charles D. Marx, already one of three men tapped to design the camp's water system, took on the sewerage as well. Marx was not a dollar-a-year man. Said the War Department's telegram: "Suitable compensation will be arranged." The sewer outfall eventually built from Camp Fremont to San Francisco Bay seems to have run under Hopkins' property as well. Its \$55,000 cost, part of the system's estimated total of \$140,000, was guaranteed by a citizens committee led by Rolph, fueled by public donations, and managed by San Francisco City Clerk J. S. Dunnigan and Pacific Gas & Electric Vice President John A. Britton.<sup>10</sup>

On July 26, 1917, Stanford trustees leased 6,200 acres, which excluded only the immediate vicinity of campus buildings, for \$40,000 a year. Although

this sum was to be guaranteed to Stanford by the citizens committee, the committee had trouble raising the funds, and the fee was reduced to \$25,000. The government paid to build the actual camp. Construction of this cantonment, like the others, was not put to competitive bid; instead, the War Department worked with firms recommended by local civilian advisers.<sup>11</sup>

Camp Fremont's water, for example, came from the Peninsula watersheds of the Spring Valley Water Co., San Francisco's municipal supplier before Hetch Hetchy was completed. Spring Valley lands west of Menlo Park and Stanford were uninhabited

IMAGE COURTESY OF BOB SWANSON



A hungry soldier after chow time at Camp Fremont

by statute, making them ideal for the War Department's needs. The power came from PG&E, another San Francisco vendor. The owners of the land, leased "rent free" to the War Department, were actually to be compensated and their property taxes paid, if applicable, by the citizens committee. Any camp infrastructure, such as sewers and pipes, was to revert at war's end to the property owners. Besides Stanford and Spring Valley, they included Stanford trustees James Leroy Nickel and, on a much larger scale, Timothy Hopkins.<sup>12</sup>

Camp Fremont, therefore, enmeshed Stanford and its principals from the start in what twenty-first century observers would regard as egregious conflicts of interest. It is not easy now to tease out the love of country from the love of gain that motivated civic boosters who approached Stanford to host the camp. Doubtless it was not easy then. A piece in the *Stanford Illustrated Review* deftly unwinds the entwined lures of patriotism and profit that Camp Fremont offered: "Owners of land near the camp began to look up the new automobile numbers" while praising themselves for welcoming "the Great Adventure" to their doors. The piece is headlined "Fremont, the Flirt."<sup>13</sup>

The truth is, Stanford needed the money as well as the patriotic rehabilitation that Camp Fremont so seductively offered. Though Stanford's endowment surpassed \$20 million, most of it was in remote ranchland that was difficult to monetize and in railroad bonds, some of which failed to pay dividends during the labor unrest of the war years. Trustees struggled to reconcile the late founders' earnest but contradictory wishes that Stanford remain tuition-free and sustained by land rentals. The university had \$162,897 cash on hand at the end of fiscal 1917–18; its faculty payroll averaged \$47,000 a month. In that fiscal year, the \$25,000 that Stanford ultimately received for Camp Fremont was equivalent to the total allocation for the university library. Throughout the war, trustees who had joined the board after the founders' deaths urged the sale of many Stanford

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properties, including two large ranches and a plot that became Palo Alto High School, and the reinvestment of the proceeds. In short, the \$25,000 Stanford got for leasing its grounds was hardly game-changing, but it was a helpful boost until trustees could create other income streams.<sup>14</sup>

The lease money dribbled in to the citizens' committee slowly, however, sometimes in gifts of a single dollar. This pace of funding, along with the sewer issue, delayed planning and construction of the camp. In particular, Stanford officials seem to have given little thought to how 28,000 soldiers could be brought alongside a mixed-gender campus with the propriety that the age demanded. They were caught up short in July 1917, when Liggett reneged on his vow to use Stanford land for maneuvers and drill rather than soldiers' quarters. These were to be across the creek in Menlo Park, but Liggett now wanted to quarter an artillery brigade on 200 acres less than a mile from the Roble women's dormitory. Troops would be separated from Stanford women by two Army companies patrolling the camp's long border. Trustees seethed, but they were committed, pressured by business partners with nonpedagogical motives. Trustee W. Mayo Newhall paid an "agitated" visit to Stanford's Dean of Women, Harriet Bradford, who appears to have cut short her summer break when she learned that the camp was filling with men.<sup>15</sup>

As classes opened in October 1917, she imposed unaccustomed restrictions on women students. They were ordered to be in their houses by 10:30 p.m. seven days a week, and there was to be “no walking in the hills after dark,” even in areas well clear of the munitions grounds. Finally and perplexingly, Stanford women were banned from riding or driving in motor vehicles after dark, even their own automobiles. This was a hardship on a campus that was more than a mile away from the nearest trolley or train stop. As an indignant *Daily* editorial asserted, “A woman could protect herself vastly better by taking a taxi” than by traveling at night on foot. Moreover, the “motor rule” was a slap to women who were used to being treated as equals, even in many aspects of the war effort.<sup>16</sup>

A possible explanation emerged several months later, when Rolph was called into a February 11, 1918, meeting with Camp Fremont officials to discuss “floaters, chippies, the use of motor vehicles, for purposes of prostitution.” It seems that women were meeting men for assignations in vehicles driven to the borders of the camp. It would have been unconscionable for Stanford girls to be confused in any way with such women, particularly by law enforcement. Marx, acting president of Stanford

during Wilbur’s war-related absences, was a likely instigator of the meeting. He was involved with Camp Fremont’s branch of the federal War Camp Community Service, which saw that camps met appropriate standards and offered “relaxation and entertainment of a proper character.” The camp’s provost marshal informed those assembled that prostitution reigned “because the soldier has no place to go....Any campaign of repression will do more harm than good.” Insofar as Rolph was troubled by the issue at all, he would have concurred. Later in his mayoral term, he owned a “pleasure palace” for associates at 21st and Sanchez and famously escorted San Francisco madam Tessie Wall to a city Policemen’s Ball. Rolph was told that the \$1.30 round-trip train fare to his city was rough on an enlisted man’s \$30 monthly pay. So he prevailed on the Southern Pacific Railroad to run three discounted-fare trains a week from Camp Fremont to San Francisco and, presumably, its pleasures.<sup>17</sup>

Another of the “numerous troubles” Camp Fremont brought to Stanford, in its war historian’s words, was the challenge of uplifting the camp’s moral and mental tone. Baker and his fellow Progressives in Washington had envisioned the war cantonments as an opportunity to educate the men,

STANFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES



Stanford received \$25,000 for leasing its property for Camp Fremont. The government paid to construct the camp, working with firms recommended by local civilian advisers.





This cartoon illustrates the challenge Stanford faced in keeping its coeds away from Camp Fremont soldiers. As one infantryman recalled, there were only a few sentries between the cantonment and campus, and it was “not hard to slip through the line on a dark night.”

enlarge their sympathies, and equip them for life in a strong, vital America as well as for winning the war. The first order of business was to keep troops disease-free and morally upright. This objective, as historian Nancy Bristow points out, led local leaders to introduce troops to respectable young women. As “recreational commodities to be dispensed to the soldiers,” they were wholesome alternatives to the brothel and bar. Bradford, Dean of Women, fought tooth and nail against involving Stanford coeds in this effort. Marx infuriated her by proclaiming that Camp Fremont soldiers were welcome on campus, and she refused to let sororities “keep open house” for “men whom they do not know, except (that) they are the American army.” Thanks perhaps to her tact, only one woman appears to have left Stanford for reasons of conduct during Camp Fremont’s tenure. Cheeky chapter notes to sororities’ national headquarters, however, testify to Stanford women’s skill in working around the rules.<sup>18</sup>

#### **DRAINING FACULTY, STAFF, AND STUDENTS**

The camp also tapped the university’s academic resources. Marx and Wilbur asked faculty to provide “wholesome and relaxing” diversions, such as

lectures, and to teach the nearly one in four soldiers who were illiterate or deficient in English. An education professor supervised 20 remedial-English instructors at Camp Fremont in addition to teaching a full Stanford course load. Other faculty who taught at the camp included six of the seven Stanford English instructors, out of a department of 14, who had not gone overseas. One of them estimated that the war added 30 to 50 percent to the workload. By war’s end, more than two dozen Stanford faculty and staff were working at the camp.<sup>19</sup>

Other faculty and staff took up trustees’ salary guarantee for anyone joining the war effort. Stanford Athletic Director Harry Maloney left to lead Camp Fremont’s sports program, taking an assistant with him. Stanford detailed a library staffer at university expense to run Camp Fremont’s library. Two more professors joined Marx in the War Camp Community Service to help keep an eye on the men, as did Stanford trustee Charles P. Eells. The head of the Romance Languages department led seven of his colleagues and other instructors as the camp’s “director of French.”<sup>20</sup>

It is not always easy to discern whether these individuals were true volunteers or were pressed into

service by their superiors. Wilbur asked his German department to teach without pay any Camp Fremont officers who might want German for such tasks as interrogating prisoners. The instructors seem to have been relieved when few troops took them up on the offer. It is clear, though, that the camp competed with the Farm for resources, particularly when Stanford had to replace faculty it was paying to perform their war service at Camp Fremont. It was only with difficulty that Stanford was persuaded to fund a replacement instructor for the “fair number of candidates in journalism (who) are women.” A female history major left Stanford for Occidental College because no one was on campus to teach the courses she needed. Baker had modeled the camps on “the analogy of the American college,” and now Camp Fremont was competing for resources with the college that it partly occupied.<sup>21</sup>

It was also competing with Stanford for students: ever “the flirt,” it beckoned male students to enlist, which they did in such numbers that entire programs and departments were threatened. Thanks to articulation agreements between Stanford and the Army, 15 officer candidates and 26 privates—roughly 4 percent of Stanford’s male enrollment in 1918—went straight from Stanford into the camp in a single month. Stanford’s enrollment plunged 28 percent in 1917–18 over the previous year, more than the nationwide wartime decline of 20 percent and much more than almost any other coeducational school. The effect of enlistment, Wilbur observed, was to

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*Ever the flirt, Camp Fremont beckoned male students to enlist, which they did in such numbers that entire programs and departments were threatened*

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“practically eliminate the senior class and to deplete the junior and sophomore classes.” Students saw Camp Fremont troops as “recruiting posters come to life.” The camp was, one wrote, “a monument to the great work of war, set in a background of shimmering green...oaks and grass and hills which seem to glory in being just so much more splendid in the face of war...” The pounding of artillery behind campus day and night was a constant reminder that other, presumably more courageous, men were carrying on the battle for civilization.<sup>22</sup>

The nearby University of California, whose president was also an ardent war supporter, did not host a large military presence and saw its enrollment drop only 14 percent. By November 1917, Wilbur, who had intoned in June that “upon America rests much of the burden of replacing in the line those who die in battle,” was begging students not to enlist. “The greatest ultimate service to the nation [is] through development of brain power, personality and ideals of good citizenship,” he argued. “This is best accomplished in the University.” Marx desperately pulled strings to have science and engineering majors deployed back to campus as reservists so that these departments would have enough students to operate. As plans were made to lower the draft age, Wilbur and other college presidents lobbied Baker to put “certain students and highly trained men in one of the later draft classifications.” They were told, however, that “such an arrangement would not be in the public interest.” As Wilson conceded to MIT’s president, the man on the street could not see the benefit of college training. “It might,” in fact, “be necessary to close the colleges,” Wilbur recorded Wilson as saying. Like other college leaders who had urged students to leave school for war service, Wilbur had fallen victim to his own zeal.<sup>23</sup>

The country’s depleted colleges were rescued in the war’s final weeks. In September 1918, Wilson foresaw a huge need for officers and technical specialists. As a result, 516 schools, including



The YWCA commissioned Julia Morgan—future designer of Hearst Castle and the first woman architect in California—to design this “Hostess House” for Camp Fremont visitors. The Craftsman style building opened in May 1918. A year and a half later, after it was moved to a new location near Palo Alto’s railroad station, it became the first municipally owned community center in the country. Since 1981, it has housed MacArthur Park Restaurant.

Stanford, were paid to militarize their male undergraduates into a federal Student Army Training Corps (SATC) that kept high-potential prospects in college until they were called up. The SATC paid students the enlisted man’s wage of \$30 a month, as well as a larger direct subsidy to colleges of \$1.48 per man per day. It also reimbursed schools for any expenses related to sequestering SATC men under military discipline. The latter provision funded Stanford’s Encina dining hall, for which the university billed the government \$50,000. For roughly six weeks’ participation in SATC—from the opening of fall quarter 1918 to the November 11 armistice—Stanford received a total of \$95,790.65, more than it had received for Camp Fremont during a much longer period. Unlike the rent for the camp, moreover, the federal money for SATC arrived promptly and without fuss, according to university officials.<sup>24</sup>

Stanford thus learned it was more fruitful to deal directly with the federal government than with proxies such as Rolph’s citizens committee. It was an ironic lesson, given the emphasis that U.S. World War I mobilization placed on voluntarism. It was also one of the more lasting legacies of Stanford’s Camp Fremont dalliance. Earlier than at most universities, defense and federal contracting became factors in

Stanford’s economic plan. After Hopkins died, in 1936, his land passed to Stanford and was largely sold to the federal government. Some of it was used for a World War II-era military hospital, then repurchased by Stanford from the War Department. Some of Hopkins’s Camp Fremont land ultimately became the defense-contracting Stanford Research Institute, which spun off from the university amid Vietnam War protests in 1970.<sup>25</sup>

Another lasting legacy of Camp Fremont was the five million rounds of World War I-era ammunition fired in a four-month span on the foothills where the camp conducted its war games. Many of these lands remain restricted or undeveloped for various reasons—SLAC’s site because it is managed under license from the federal Department of Energy, the Jasper Ridge Biological Preserve because of its ecological significance, and the city of Palo Alto’s Foothills Park and Pearson-Arastradero Preserve because of the potential of human overuse. Still, the former use of these lands as munitions grounds must be included in conversations about their development, especially because, in some cases, hazards remain.<sup>26</sup>

Despite assurances that the War Department would restore leased properties to their pre-Camp Fremont appearance, the government does not seem to have comprehensively cleared and demined all

Camp Fremont troops engage in mobile artillery practice, near what is now Dish Hill. The guns—almost certainly 75mm field guns of British or American manufacture—are aimed toward Foothills Park and Portola Valley, where 75mm shells were unearthed as recently as November 2010.



the maneuver grounds. That task would have been huge: three tons of bullets were extracted from a single lot in December 1918. More ammunition was collected during World War II-era scrap-metal drives, according to Laura Jones, university archaeologist and director of Heritage Services.<sup>27</sup>

On lands abutting Stanford, efforts are ongoing. The most recent unexploded shell was detonated by a bomb squad November 24, 2010, at a residential construction site between the Palo Alto Country Club and Foothills Park. Remnants of some 60 75mm shells, some with shrapnel balls still attached, were unearthed in this one- to two- acre area. Another 75mm UXO was detonated in February 2008 off nearby Alexis Drive. Given the roughly 3.6-mile maximum range of a 75mm field gun firing shrapnel-filled shells, their likely origin is Dish Hill, where a photograph shows artillery practice in 1917–18.<sup>28</sup>

Camp Fremont's trench maneuver ground, likewise, resists consignment to oblivion. Though most of the site was graded for the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center in the early 1960s, at least one trench-field dugout reappeared as a sinkhole in 1990 after heavy rains, while another threatened to do so. A third, according to the secretary of the Menlo Park Historical Association, swallowed a small tractor that was mowing grass outside the Addison-Wesley

publishing firm. A 2010 magnetometric survey by Stanford archaeology students appears to have located one such dugout off the Camp Fremont trench field's "Boyau of Florida," a zig-zagging communication passage to the practice front line that was grandly named in the French manner on a 1918 map. The three-quarters of a mile of underground passages remain, sealed but apparently not backfilled by the university in the 1940s. Several Menlo Park old-timers remember playing in them as boys. "The tunnels," as they are locally called, are today perhaps the best-remembered aspect of Camp Fremont's legacy, and locals regard them with protective affection and a bit of wonder.<sup>29</sup>

The history of Camp Fremont is illustrative of the U.S. World War I home front as a whole as well as of its particular location. Some aspects have been convenient to forget. These include flagrant conflicts of interest—no-bid contracts with favored vendors brokered by San Francisco's mayor, and the sewerage and tax relief offered Camp Fremont landowners who were Stanford trustees. As Kennedy remarks, one phenomenon of the home front was "the great profitability of the war to America." Another was the realization that "voluntarism had its perils." For Stanford, they included 17 months of headaches over sewers, prostitution, and delinquent rents for the sake of \$25,000 and patriotic bragging rights. They



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## Hosting Camp Fremont led to 17 months of headaches over sewers, prostitution, and delinquent rents for the sake of \$25,000 and patriotic bragging rights

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also included what, by today's standards, would be unacceptable demands on faculty as well as the war mania that swept academia, turning scholars into propagandists. Other partners in the Camp Fremont venture undoubtedly drew more benefit than Stanford, with less nuisance.<sup>30</sup>

Still, hosting Camp Fremont helped the university pay its bills during the difficult transition from its founders' nineteenth-century mandates to modern economic reality. Almost immediately after the war, the trustees imposed tuition, sold the vast Stanford ranches for investment in commercial loans, and sought independent clarification of their fiduciary role in relation to the university's educational mission.<sup>31</sup>

It is tempting to think that the Camp Fremont experience added impetus for these moves. Perhaps just as crucial to many people at the time, Stanford could consider itself absolved of any charges of anti-patriotism. Eventually, "sniping at the university fell off," Mirrielees wrote. Following the sentiments of the era, much of this redemption derived from the shed blood of Stanford's war casualties, "the

evidence of Stanford's first Honor Roll." Yet some people in the community praised Stanford's leasing of its grounds as a comparable physical sacrifice, a pledge of the corporate body. Hosting Camp Fremont allowed Stanford, until then relatively isolated, to have "something to do with the shaping of the character of thousands." It also enabled Stanford women, while sacrificing a certain amount of personal freedom, to raise their horizons. A Kappa Kappa Gamma sister who bragged offhandedly about "a French lieutenant" she had cultivated at the camp not only learned how to skirt parietal rules, but also gained a vivid, personal insight into the global conflict. In many ways, Camp Fremont brought the larger world, in all its complexity, to Stanford's doorstep and augured the university's growing role in national and global affairs.<sup>32</sup>

### ENDNOTES

- 1 Miele, Martin J., Norcal Geophysical Consultants, Inc. Letter to Gordon I. Ratcliff, SLAC, 30 April 1990; Peterson, Christina. "Rangers Find World War I Shell in Park." *San Jose Mercury News* 8 Feb 2008: B1; Hauser, Caleb. Interview with the author. 15 Dec. 2011.
- 2 Kennedy, David. *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*. New York: Oxford UP, 1980. 57–59, 73–74; Coffman, Edward M. *The War to End All Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I*. New York: Oxford UP, 1968. 29.
- 3 Duniway, C.A. *War History of Stanford*. Dec. 1938, 12. Typescript in Stanford War Records, Stanford University Archives (hereinafter SUA); Kennedy 58, 96; *Stanford Illustrated Review*, Dec. 1917: 90; Duniway 26; Coffman 14–15, 17, 55; Ford, Nancy Gentile. *The Great War and Civil-Military Relations During World War I*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2008, 6–8, 12, 21; Coffman 15. Wood led the first preparedness camps for college men in July 1913. Harvard's president, via the U.S. ambassador to France, later imported French military officers to train interested civilians from Harvard and elsewhere. Training models developed by Wood and these French officers were adopted by the U.S. War Department for its own camps, reinforcing the prevalent idea that colleges were leaders of the war effort. See also Kennedy 146–149, 179–180.
- 4 *Stanford Illus. Rev.* March 1917: 5; Duniway, preface.
- 5 Duniway 20–22.
- 6 Mirrielees, Edith R. *Stanford: The Story of a University*. New York: Putnam, 1959, 183–84; Jordan, David Starr. *The Days of a Man*. Vol. 2. 1900–1921. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1922, 722; Duniway 62; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 30 March 1917. SUA; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 9 April 1917. SUA; Mirrielees 188; Duniway 24.
- 7 Coffman 29; Kennedy 96; Phelan, James D. Telegram to James Rolph. 25 May 1917; Rolph, James. Telegram to James D. Phelan. 26 May 1917; Dunnigan, J.S. "Memoranda regarding Camp Fremont." 15 Feb 1919. All in James Rolph, Jr. Papers, MS 1818, California Historical Society, San Francisco.
- 8 Dunnigan n. pag.
- 9 Strobridge, William S., *Golden Gate to Golden Horn: Camp Fremont, Calif., and the American Experience in Siberia of 1918*. San Mateo, Calif.: San Mateo

- County Historical Association, n.d. [1973?], 2; *Mountain View Register-Leader* 6 July 1917.
- 10 Hopkins, Timothy. Telegram to James D. Phelan. 19 July 1917. Charles D. Marx Papers, SUA; Littell, I.W. Telegram to C.D. Marx. 6 July 1917. Marx papers, SUA; Elliott, G.A. Letter to Charles Gilman Hyde and C.D. Marx. 27 July 1917. Marx papers, SUA; Hopkins, Timothy. Letter to C.D. Marx. 25 Aug. 1917. Marx papers, SUA. Hopkins, unlike most Stanford trustees but like the university itself, was cash-poor in 1917. A protégé of Leland Stanford's and adopted son of Stanford's Big Four partner Mark Hopkins, he lost several income properties in the 1906 earthquake and struggled thereafter with debts. The quake also damaged his Menlo Park mansion beyond repair, and Hopkins summered in his own gatehouse on the grounds. See also Gauvin, Peter. "Timothy Hopkins." *Palo Alto Weekly* 8 March 1995, and Lewis, Oscar. *The Big Four*. New York: Knopf, 1944, 143-44, 147; Hopkins, Timothy. Letter to C.D. Marx. 18 Sept. 1917. Marx papers, SUA. A U.S. Surgeon General's inspector insisted after the war that the Camp Fremont latrines were never, in fact, connected to the sewer line (*Annual Report of the Surgeon-General, U.S. Army, to the Secretary of War*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919: 252). By 1929, however, a San Mateo County surveyor's map shows that several new residential subdivisions had sprung up in the vicinity of the line.
- 11 Duniway 43-44; Dunnigan op. cit.; Coffman 30-34.
- 12 "The Bourns Build Filoli," <http://filoli.org/explore-filoli/history/the-bourns-build-filoli.html>. Accessed 2 Dec. 2011; Dunnigan op. cit.; *Map of San Mateo County 1909*; Smith, R.L. and Elliott, G.A. *Map of Menlo Park and Vicinity Showing Areas, Boundary Lines and Ownerships of the Several Tracts of Land Constituting the Government Reservation for Camp Fremont Base Hospital and Remount Depot*. Feb. 1918.
- 13 "Fremont, The Flirt." *Stanford Illustrated Review* Oct. 1917. 11+.
- 14 Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 25 May 1917: 8-9, SUA; Kennedy 260-65; *Annual Report of the President, 1917-18*: 24; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1917-18; Supp. Docs to Minutes of the Board of Trustees, SC 27, Box 12, Folder 19, April 27, 1917, SUA; Letter Vanderlynn Stow to Leon Sloss, 25 April 1917, Supp. Docs. to Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 27 April 1917, SUA; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 26 Jan 1916 *passim*; Newhall, W. Mayo. Letter to Trustees. 19 Oct. 1917. Supp. Docs. to Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1917-18, SUA.
- 15 King, L.M. Letter to Ralph McLeran, Jan. 13 [1918]. Rolph papers. Rolph himself gave \$1,000, as did William Randolph Hearst (Gullixson, Paul. *Camp Fremont*. Palo Alto, Calif.: University National Bank and Trust Co., n.d.). Not until April 1918, however, was enough money raised to close all the leases (Dunnigan, J.S. Letter to James Rolph. 1 May 1918. Rolph papers). In the end, the committee fell \$11,000 short of the \$150,000 pledged (Britton, John A. Letter to James Rolph. TS. 6 June 1918. Rolph papers); *San Francisco Chronicle* 13 Aug. 1917: 3; Liggett, Hunter. Letter to Stanford Board of Trustees. 27 July 1917, SUA; Stow, Vanderlynn. Letter to Wilson & Wilson [trustees' attorneys]. 27 July 1917, SUA; Bradford, Harriet. Letter to R.L. Wilbur. 30 Aug. 1917. President Ray Lyman Wilbur papers, SUA.
- 16 "New Rules In Force Now, Asserts Dean of Women," *Daily Palo Alto* 12 Oct 1917: 3; *Daily Palo Alto* 16 Oct. 1917: 2; *Annual Report of the President, 1917-18*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University. 1918: 127. Of 10 women disciplined by the Women's Student Council in 1917-18, eight broke the "motor rule," with one to three hours added to their graduation requirements. One violated the new 10:30 curfew, and one exhibited general "defiance of rules" and was suspended.
- 17 "Statement of Maj. Benjamin H. Pope." 14 Feb. 1918. Rolph papers.
- Though under War Department jurisdiction, the camp appears in many ways to have been run as an administrative outholding of San Francisco, with people of all ranks feeling free to complain directly to Rolph when events displeased them. For example, a Camp Fremont colonel who banned his men from putting on a minstrel show he considered harmful to military discipline got an inquiring phone call from the mayor's office (Frick, E.B. Letter to Mr. Benedict, Mayor's Office. 6 June 1918. Rolph papers); Jacks, Noel H. "The Story of Camp Fremont." Memorial Number, *Daily Palo Alto Times*, n.d. [1919?], 6; Bristow, Nancy K. *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering During the Great War*. New York: New York UP. 1996, 36; Letter C. D. Marx to Vanderlynn Stow, 2 March 1918. Wilbur papers; Pope; Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America 1900-1918*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1983, 28; Starr, Kevin. *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s*. New York: Oxford UP, 1997, 142; Strobridge 24; Gullixson op. cit.
- 18 Duniway 44; Kennedy 185; Bristow 14-16, 18-23, 96; *Daily Palo Alto*, 4 March 1918: 1; Bradford, Harriet. Letter to R.L. Wilbur. 30 Aug. 1917; Bradford, Harriet. Letter to R.L. Wilbur. 16 Nov. 1917. Both in Wilbur papers; Bradford, Harriet. Letter to C.D. Marx. 11 Sept. 1918. Wilbur papers; Ames, Katherine. "Tete-a-Tete." *The Trident of Delta Delta Delta*, Nov. 1917: op. cit. "(W)e're true to the soldiers of Camp Fremont," Ames wrote her executive office. "So true, in fact, that the campus men arose in arms and announced they were going to give an 'Import Dance' at the Women's Clubhouse...and that no Stanford girl — past, present or future — was to be invited!" She urged "the other chapters to profit by our experience and beware of showering too many attentions on the soldiers." See also *The Key of Kappa Kappa Gamma* 35, Menasha, Wisc., 1918, 324 and *The Hexagon of Alpha Chi Sigma* 1917, op. cit.).

- 19 Duniway 15; Haven, Cynthia. "The Lolita Question." *Stanford Magazine* May–June 2006; Kennedy 157; Carruth, W.H. Letter to R.L. Wilbur 15 Oct. 1918. Wilbur papers; *Annual Report of the President, 1917–18*: 41 *passim*; *Annual Report of the President, 1918–19*: 54 *passim*.
- 20 *Daily Palo Alto*, 21 Feb. 1918: 4; *Ibid.*; Wilbur, Ray Lyman, and Paul Carroll Edwards. *The Memoirs of Ray Lyman Wilbur, 1875–1949*. Stanford UP, 1960: 239; Bradford, Harriet. Letter to R.L. Wilbur. 30 Aug. 1917. Wilbur papers; *Palo Alto Times*, 14 Aug 1917: 1; *Annual Report of the President, 1917–18*: 43–44.
- 21 *Annual Report 1917–18*: 45; 1918–19: 106; *Annual Report 1917–18*: 59; *Annual Report 1917–18*: 53; *Annual Report 1918–19*: 106; Carruth, W.H. Letter to R.L. Wilbur 15 Oct. 1918. Wilbur papers; Bradford, Harriet. Letter to R.L. Wilbur. Dec. 6, 1918. Wilbur papers; Kennedy 185.
- 22 *Annual Report 1917–18*: 94; *Stanford Illus. Rev.* May 1918: 296; Thwing, Charles Franklin. *The American Colleges and Universities in the Great War: A History*. New York: Macmillan, 1920: 46–48. Among 63 schools Thwing surveyed after the war, only Purdue among mixed-gender schools reported a greater enrollment drop (29.9 percent) than Stanford. Princeton and Harvard lost roughly half their enrollments, while most women's colleges gained slightly; *Annual Report 1917–18*: 17; *Stanford Illus. Rev.* Oct. 1917: 11; "At Our Gates," *Stanford Illus. Rev.* May 1918: 287.
- 23 *Stanford Illus. Rev.* Oct. 1917: 11; "At Our Gates," *Stanford Illus. Rev.* May 1918: 287; Thwing 47; Wheeler, Benjamin Ide. *War Service Record for the Academic Year 1917–1918*. Berkeley: U of California Press, 1918: 35; Ford 8; *Daily Palo Alto* 21 May 1917: 2; *Daily Palo Alto* 5 Nov. 1917: 1+; Minutes of the Academic Council, 4 Jan. 1918: 185, SUA; *Annual Report 1917–18*: 42; *Daily Palo Alto* 6 Nov. 1918: 1; Wilbur and Edwards, 245–247.
- 24 Gruber, Carol S. *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America*. Baton Rouge: U of Louisiana Press, 1975: 213–31; Thwing 55, 72–80. Duniway 79–80; Minutes of the Board of Trustees 27 Sept. 1918; Letter Ray Lyman Wilbur to the Board of Trustees 19 Dec. 1918; both in SUA; Duniway 66; Duniway 43; *Annual Report 1918–19*: 20.
- 25 Price, Donald R. "A Tale of Winged Beasts: The History of the Stanford Griffins." *Sandstone and Tile* 33:1 [Winter 2009], 14; "The Roots of the Stanford Peace Movement." *Sandstone and Tile* 35:1 [Winter 2011], 18.
- 26 Svanevik, Michael. "Menlo's Metamorphosis by the U.S. Army," *San Mateo Times* 18 July 1986: B3+; Bocek, Barbara, and Elena Reese. *Land Use History of Jasper Ridge Biological Preserve*. Stanford: Jasper Ridge Biological Preserve Research Report 8. 15 Aug. 1992. 2, 88–89; Lawrence, Jerry, and Brian Bondurant. "War Relics in the Valley of Heart's Delight." *Foothills Nature Notes*, City of Palo Alto Community Services Department, Open Space, Parks and Golf Division, n.d. [1995?].
- 27 Bocek 85; Jones, Laura. Interview with the author. 23 Sept. 2011.
- 28 Pelling, Dick, USA Environmental, Inc., Oldsmar, Fla. Email to Caleb Hauser of Tincher Construction Co., Redwood City, Calif. 9 Dec. 2011; Hauser, Caleb. Interview with the author. 15 Dec. 2011; Peterson, *op. cit.*; *Handbook of Artillery: Including Mobile, Anti-Aircraft and Trench Matériel*. Washington: Gov. Printing Office, 1920: 99.
- 29 Miele, *op. cit.*; Helfrich, Frank. Interview with the author. 20 Sept. 2011; Crook, Nigel. *Camp Fremont Trench Maneuver Ground: 1918 Map with Contemporary Google Earth Overlay*. 2010. PDF file; Crook, Nigel. *SLAC — Geophysical Survey Summary: Arch115/315 Class Exercise*. 18 Nov 2010. PowerPoint presentation; Harbaugh, Dwight W. Interview with the author. 4 Nov. 2011; Cords, Annette. "Camp Fremont: Trench Warfare in Menlo Park." *The Interaction Point*, Jan. 1992: 5; Helfrich *op. cit.*; Gulker, Linda Hubbard. "One Building — and a Web of Tunnels — Is All that Remains of Menlo's Military Past, Camp Fremont," InMenlo.com. 31 May 2010. Accessed 11 Nov. 2011; Cords, Annette. *Ibid.*
- 30 Kennedy 139, 143, 57–59; Gruber 146–52.
- 31 Klink, Bean and Co. [auditors], Memorandum. Supp. Docs to the Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 28 March 1919, SUA; referenced in cover letter by William Bourn to Wilbur and the Board of Trustees dated 13 Aug. 1919, SUA.
- 32 Mirrilees 188; Jacks 8; *The Key of Kappa Kappa Gamma* 324.