

THESIS

OF BUILDINGS AND BELONGING: RE-STORYING THE STUDENT VETERAN'S
HISTORICAL IMPACT ON PLACE AND PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT

OF BUILDINGS AND BELONGING: RE-STORYING THE STUDENT VETERAN'S HISTORICAL IMPACT ON PLACE AND PROGRAM

This research explores the student veteran's material effect upon the land grant university, particularly on the campus of Colorado State University, as seen in the development of both places and programs. The signing of the Morrill Act in 1862, while creating America's land grant universities, also established the connection of the land grant university to military training, a thread which can be traced from CSU's founding in 1870 until today. Using a theory of the rhetorical meaning of physical place, as well as an acknowledgement of the power of collective memory surrounding these spaces, this study restories the narrative of the student veteran's physical impact upon Colorado State University's campus during wartime and post-war, from World War I until today. Using rhetorical methodology for archival research, this study explores the physical and programmatic changes upon the CSU campus in order to demonstrate the generative power of the student veteran upon the university, both historically and at present. By analyzing archived texts, the impact of student veterans, through both their agentive force and the government funding their GI Bills contribute to the university budget, is shown to have produced a material impact that has gradually shifted over time. This material impact has shown increasing focus, as developments have evolved from places to programs, from groups to individuals. Re-storying the forgotten narrative of the history of the student veteran upon the land grant university campus suggests the material agency of the student

veteran, and provides a frame through which to view their effect on curricular programs/offerings and physical plant improvement.

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DEDICATION

*For Patrick,
Emma, Ellie, and Henry*

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Chapter One: Introduction

The Bonus March

America's first major GI Bill, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, brought thousands of student veterans to America's universities after World War II. Yet the kairos that placed the student veteran upon the university campus began long before the first major GI Bill. The post-World War II student veterans who attended universities across America, including at Colorado State University (then known as Colorado Agricultural College, or CAC), benefitted from the agentive force of veterans of the first World War. Throughout United States history, it was customary, after a war, for soldiers to receive payment of some combination of land and/or money, notes educator John J. Chiodo in "The Bonus Army: A Lesson on the Great Depression" (par. 3). Keith W. Olson, in *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, writes that the British Parliament first offered benefits to those who established its first American colonies (1). Colonial government, notes Olson, also offered these benefits to veterans, yet many of these bonuses were really pensions, meant for veterans who had been injured during warfare. Benefits offered to uninjured veterans, "land grants, cash bonuses, and pensions," were less predictable, and frequently were only given when a veterans group campaigned for this funding after a war (Olson 1).

World War I ended in late 1918, and six years later, Congress passed the World War Adjusted Compensation Act in 1924, writes Chido (par. 5). The World War Adjustment Compensation Act offered veterans a cash bonus for their service, the soldiers had every reason to expect to be paid this money. Under the 1924 bill, World War I soldiers were issued certificates of payment based upon the number of days served, but these certificates could not be

cash until 1945 (Chiodo par. 5). Soldiers could borrow up to 22.5 percent of the value of their certificate before their full payments were to be issued. In 1932, the amount that veterans could borrow on their certificates was increased to 50 percent, as is noted in the *Encyclopedia of the Veteran in America* ("Bonus Army" 106). Still, by 1932, veterans, desperate for the money owed them by the government and jobless because of the Depression, pressured the government to pay them what they were owed. Though much of Congress supported paying these men their bonuses, President Herbert Hoover opposed it, fearing that these payments would drain the national budget and halt the social programs he had begun (Chiodo par. 6). Hoover warned that the Bonus Army veterans would spend this money on "wasteful expenditure," and that financial assistance would "(break) the barriers of self-reliance and self-support in our people" (Hoover as cited in Chiodo par. 6).

Once the veterans realized that the government was not going to pay them, they organized a march on Washington, D.C. ("Bonus Army" 106). Veterans and their families needed little persuasion to join the movement; they were living in Depression-era poverty, had borrowed all that they could from their certificates, and desperately needed an advance on their bonus money to survive. This march to Washington, D.C. offered them a way to advocate for themselves and for all veterans. Once the first protesters arrived, masses of veterans began to flood Washington, many bringing their families and the few items they owned with them. These veterans "dubbed themselves the Bonus Expeditionary Force," Chiodo notes. This protest was called the "Bonus March" by newspapers, thus making these veterans the "Bonus Army" (Chiodo par. 1). Once they arrived in Washington, the 15,000 veterans and their families built temporary as they continued to march for their bonuses, write Paul Dickson and Thomas B. Allen in "The Bonus Army: An American Epic" (115). It was the largest shantytown in the

United States, and it was a well-run Army town, of sorts (Dickson and Allen 84-85). The shantytown had a library, a post office, and a variety of living spaces, including fully-enclosed shacks, cars, train cars, and those who slept out in the open (109-111). Unlike the rest of American society at the time, note Dickson and Allen, the Bonus Army's shantytown did not practice Jim Crow segregation laws. Instead, races lived alongside one another, inspiring a black writer who toured the camp to write in a NAACP magazine "the Bonus Marchers gave lie to the notion that black and white soldiers—ex-soldiers in their case--couldn't live together (118-119).

The House of Representatives passed a bill on June 15 that would pay these veterans, causing much celebration amongst the veterans, but the Senate defeated it (Chiodo, par. 9). The government hoped that the veterans would return home once the bill failed, but many veterans remained in their makeshift town. President Hoover, frustrated by the Bonus Army's insistence, sent policemen to oust them from their shanty town (Dickson and Allen 136). The eviction was at first peaceful "until someone threw a brick, the police reacted with force, and two bonus marchers were shot" (Dickson and Allen 141). When President Hoover heard of the shootings, he sent active duty Army soldiers into the makeshift town to force the veterans to leave (Chiodo par. 10). The police returned with the Army and cavalry, and when the Bonus Army saw the troops, "they began cheering, believing that the display was in their honor" (Chiodo par. 11). Instead, notes *The Chicago Tribune's* Ron Grossman, the Army troops gave the veterans just a few hours to pack and leave, and then, waving bayonets, fired tear gas at them. The marchers, their wives, and their children fled to safety across the nearby river. The Army then set fire to the marcher's camp. The Army again charged the veterans, this time crossing the boundary of the river, where President Hoover had ordered them to stop (Chiodo par. 11-12). In this battle, "(h)undreds of veterans were injured and several were killed" (Chiodo par. 12). Americans

across the country watched newsreel footage of this attack against peaceful World War I veterans (Siegel). Dwight D. Eisenhower, then the Army's liaison to the Washington police, later wrote, "The whole scene was pitiful. The veterans were ragged, ill-fed and felt themselves badly abused. To suddenly see the whole encampment going up in flames just added to the pity" (Lisco, as quoted in Choido par. 12).

The Bonus Army, and the other World War I veterans they represented, were part of a kairotic moment that began the narrative of the American student veteran. The agitative force of the Bonus Army veterans would eventually birth the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. The Serviceman's Readjustment Act, World War II's GI Bill, was neither a "reward" or a "free hand out," nor was it the gift of a grateful nation. Instead, the GI bill was the U.S. government's attempt to avoid another Bonus March by lessening the devastating economic effect of a sudden influx of 15 million veterans into America's workforce, writes scholar and historian Milton Greenberg (47). The GI Bill, as American Legion radio ads reminded listeners, was the least the American government could do for service members who had "borne the brunt of a score of Pearl Harbors, Salernos, and Tarawas" ("Suggested" from American Legion Archives, as quoted in Altschuler and Blumin 61).

The lasting effects of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, better known as the GI Bill, upon society have been well documented. The GI Bill had a tremendous impact upon America's society, economy, and education, notes Greenberg (50). This bill created "upward social, educational, and financial mobility," which resulted in a more educated workforce and increased technological advances (Greenberg 50). This newly educated class, many of whom also became homeowners using the GI Bill, slowly became America's middle class, a new phenomenon never before seen in this country (Fischer, Greenberg, "The GI Bill"). These

stories, however true, frequently position the World War II GI Bill as a single, kairotic moment within United States history, the gift of a thankful nation to service members at World War II's end (Greenberg 2008, par. 6). Although the GI Bill undoubtedly changed the face of America, it is part of a much larger narrative of the military veteran. This bill, and the resulting presence of generations of student veterans on land grant campuses across the nation, produced an economic boon that benefitted the university and resulted in the expansion of the university's size and scope.

This research seeks to reframe the positionality of the student veteran within post-secondary education as inherently generative rather than deficient, wounded, pathological, or in some way "other." Viewing student veterans as dangerous or incapable of post-secondary academic work is not a new phenomenon. In a 1944 article for *Collier's* magazine titled "The Threat to American Education," University of Chicago president Robert Maynard Hutchins warned that post-World War II veterans would not be capable of college-level work, and that universities would be unwilling to expel them because of the funding they provided the schools, writes Keith W. Olson in *The GI Bill, the Veterans, and The Colleges* (33). Today, seven decades later, student veterans face many of the same assumptions regarding their "other-ness" when they enter post-secondary education. Judie A. Heineman, in "Supporting Veterans: Creating a 'Military Friendly' Community College Campus," notes that today's student veterans likely to be "male, non-white, over the age of 24, married... (and) financially independent," which, when combined with their former military status, makes them a specific subpopulation of adult learners, one that is greatly misunderstood by both peers and instructors (219-220). Holly A. Wheeler, in "Veterans' Transitions to Community College: A Case Study," cites research demonstrating that many veterans do experience social isolation from their peers in post-

secondary education due to social stigmas or a lack of understanding of their former military service (par. 7). Contributing to this isolation, student veterans may also face Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and/or Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI), notes Wheeler, which, if not addressed, may make their transition to post-secondary education more difficult (par.5). Despite the growing numbers of student veterans attending college using the Post-9/11 GI Bill, writes Kevin C. Jones in "Transition Experiences of Combat Veterans Attending Community College," there is a lack of scholarly research exploring the transition of these student veterans from active-duty service to civilian post-secondary education (par. 8). This shortage of research negatively impacts the lens through which university instructors and administrators understand the student veteran, as "only 37% of colleges and universities serving student-veterans provide transition assistance, and only 47% provide training opportunities for both faculty and staff to enable them to assist student-veterans with transition challenges" (Heineman 220). Thus, the struggle the student veteran may experience when transitioning into post-secondary education, suggests Jones, is not an indicator of the student being unfit or unready for college, but of the difficulty of transitioning into an unknown educational surrounding and civilian identity from those the veteran formerly inhabited in the military, as well as the lack of research on this transition and dearth of instructor education (Jones par. 7, Heineman 220).

To address the lack of research surrounding the student veteran in post-secondary education, this study seeks to restore the forgotten narrative, or "restory," the history of the student veteran at the land grant university, and at Colorado State University specifically, tracing the developments of both physical spaces and university programs that have been built for and with veterans. In doing so, this research demonstrates the rhetorical meaning of these spaces, reclaiming the kairotic moment of culture and history to which these spaces give physical

presence, and reframing the modern-day student veteran presence within the university as one which has been, both historically and currently, financially beneficial and leading to material growth of both places and programs.

In exploring the history of the military veteran within the American university, I argue that the military veteran's agentive force during the Bonus March led to the provision of American GI Bills, first the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, and later, other versions of GI Bills. Such GI Bills then provided educational opportunities for generations of student veterans. As these student veterans returned to American universities, their presence, and the government dollars that their GI Bills provided, led to the creation of material spaces. This material impact can be traced through physical and programmatic changes that have expanded the land grant university's size, as seen in the building of physical spaces, and curriculum, as seen in programmatic changes. The agentive force of the student veteran, and the resulting impact of the student veteran seen upon the land grant university campus, as revealed in material and programmatic improvements, is examined within this research as evidence of *kairos*. This study embraces an idea of *kairos* as not just "right time, right place," as it is commonly defined within rhetoric, but also as a force capable of creating physical spaces and programs. The physical spaces that were built upon the land grant university campus for student veterans, whether they still exist or not, are meaning bearers, symbols of the force of an incoming group of students often considered to be ill-equipped for post-secondary education.

Greg Dickinson et al., researchers on the memory of public spaces, note that the memory surrounding public places cannot simply vanish, even if it has been widely forgotten. Instead, the meaning surrounding a place is embedded within it, leaving "traces of past memories" behind, even as new meaning is rewritten over it (Dickinson 18-19). The creation of these spaces and

programs demonstrates the kairotic force of the veteran in expanding the scope, size, and focus of the land grant university. The student veteran, historically, has created a kairos that draws attention to physical need for material spaces, and, later, for embodied, programmatic space. Kairos, then, is seen throughout this history, as military members and student veterans become a force capable of generating spatial realities, traceable kairotic moments of history and circumstance capable of reshaping the American social structure, economy, and its universities. By using archival records to restore a forgotten narrative of student veteran agency and its effect upon the material spaces and programs of the land grant university, this study follows the traditions of rhetoric and composition in its reevaluation of history through a new lens.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

A History: The Land Grant University and ROTC

The particular inheritance of the land grant university, and its ongoing relationship to the military and those who serve within it, is evidenced in its birth, the Morrill Act of 1862. The Morrill Act is named for the Vermont Congressman Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, a veteran, who sponsored this bill in Congress. (Olson 405). Signed by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862, this act “Donat(ed) Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts” (Transcript, capitalization in original). The Morrill Act gave each state 30,000 acres for each congressman or senator they had. Section 4 of the Morrill Act established the “endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college *where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts*, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life” (Transcript, italics added). For the first time in U.S. history, post-secondary education was no longer a privilege exclusive to the upper class. The Morrill Act created more equitable post-secondary educational opportunities by establishing state colleges for all people and offering practical studies for employment, notes Alan I. Marcus et al in *Service as Mandate: How American Land-Grant Universities Shaped the Modern World, 1920-2015* (4). Marcus notes that land grant universities “open(ed) up higher education to the American masses” (4). The Morrill Act’s inclusion of language regarding teaching which “*include(s) military tactics, ... (and) related to agriculture and the mechanic arts*” established the university’s

acknowledgement of the integral place of veterans and those in military service within the land grant university. Within the land grant university, CSU included, the Morrill Act's requirement to teach military tactics meant that military drills were required for all male freshmen, sophomores, and juniors.

In 1870, six years before Colorado became a state, "Colorado Territorial Governor Edward McCook signed the bill establishing the state agricultural college in Fort Collins as Colorado's Morrill Act college" ("A Chronology"). By 1878, Colorado State University, initially called Colorado Agricultural College, constructed its first building, the Main Building, later called Old Main. The Main Building held classrooms, offices for instructors, and an auditorium, as well as serving as the residence of the college president, as noted by local Colorado journalist Barbara Fleming. While the first graduating class of CSU, in 1884, had three graduates, CSU's enrollment numbers grew slowly but steadily--by 1904, it had fewer than 300 students ("A Chronology"). By 1914, it had more than 500; "by 1925, 1,000; and by 1940... (it had) 2,000", notes James E. Hansen II, professor of History at CSU and the creator of CSU's archives in *Democracy's College in the Centennial State: A History of Colorado State University* (263).

CSU's early history makes its military ties evident. From its beginnings, CSU required male students to participate in military drills for their freshman, sophomore, and junior years, writes Hansen. Drills were only optional for seniors. This was not uncommon in America during this time. Since 1819, many colleges had been conducting military drills, notes Brigadier General Sean A. Gainey, the 2016-2017 Deputy Commanding General of the U.S. Army Cadet Command in "Cadet Command History" (par. 1). These drills were based on the training methods of Captain Alden Partridge, former superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, New York (Gainey, par. 1). In 1918, Partridge founded the American Literary,

Scientific and Military Academy in Norwich, Vermont upon the belief that civilian post-secondary universities should also provide military training to “able-bodied men” (Gainey, par. 1-2). The training that Partridge implemented allowed the students to seek civilian employment after graduation, and also provided the nation with individuals with officer training who, if needed, could be quickly called into military service (Gainey par. 5). Partridge’s military training drills gained popularity, and between 1819 and 1861, other colleges began to incorporate his drills into their curricula. By the early 1900s, 105 American colleges were incorporating military training into their courses for young men, notes Gainey (par. 3-5).

In the years prior to World War I, Hansen writes, many land grant universities had grown lackadaisical in their enforcement of this requirement (272). Agricultural colleges blamed the War Department for poor participation in drills, noting that it provided few officers to supervise student drills (Hansen 1977, 272). The ongoing conflict of World War I in Europe prior to U.S. involvement drew the government’s attention to the low participation numbers in military drills at America’s land grant colleges. Land grant universities had previously trained many of the Army’s future officers, so Congress, hoping to ensure adequate numbers of officer candidates for national defense purposes, passed the National Defense Act in June 1916 (Hansen 1977, 272). This legislation, signed under President Woodrow Wilson, consolidated these training regiments under a “single, federally-controlled entity,” the Reserve Officers Training Corps (Gainey, par. 1). The Reserve Officers Training Corps, or ROTC, and “provided the first coherent scheme for military training at participating civilian schools” (Hansen 1977, 272-273).

Colorado’s State Board of Agriculture applied for the establishment of an ROTC unit at Colorado State University in December of 1916 (Hansen 273). Under the new rules, all male students were required to participate in ROTC for their freshman and sophomore years, one year

less than their previous non-ROTC drill requirement. CSU archivist Douglas Hazard explains that after two years of ROTC service, these students could decide if they wanted to continue their military training in addition to their studies. If so, these students enrolled in the ROTC's "advanced program" during their junior and senior years at CSU. The ROTC advanced program was considered an officer training program. Students within the advanced program participated in military training and drills and received a stipend (see fig. 1). After they graduated, they were commissioned and became active duty military officers. Two years of ROTC enrollment continued to be mandatory for male students at agricultural colleges until it was made voluntary in 1961 (Hazard). ROTC rules allowed women to enroll beginning in 1973 (Gainey par. 11). Military drills, which later became the ROTC program, have been a part of the land grant university since its formation, and the presence of the student preparing for military service or returning from it has been a commonality in the more than 140 years since CSU's founding. Although this research focuses on the effect of the student veteran upon the material spaces and bodies upon the land grant university, it also acknowledges the importance of ROTC within the land grant university tradition and its continuation of the land grant university's dedication to military readiness.



FIGURE 1: A 1923 CSU military drill near the foothills; those in front fire machine guns;

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Military Spring Camp," 26 May 1923,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/22893/UHPC_3093.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Today, Colorado State University is a research university with a campus that occupies 586 acres in Fort Collins, Colorado, along the front range of the Rocky Mountains. While CSU had three students in its first graduating class in 1884, today, it has 33,058 students enrolled ("Campuses"). The university is known for its business, veterinary medicine, and journalism schools, as well as its STEM programs. CSU is part of a system of Colorado universities which include Colorado State University Pueblo and CSU Global Campus, an online public university ("Campuses"). Today, it has both Army and Air Force ROTC programs on its Fort Collins campus. This research focuses on student veterans, former military members who have returned to post-secondary education after separating from military service. ROTC students are traditionally students who are training in ROTC units to become active-duty officers upon

graduation from college, when they receive their commissions. Yet there may be some overlap within these communities, as some enlisted soldiers, upon separation from military service, return to the university to further their education, and also enroll in ROTC and train to return to military service as an officer.

The Student Veteran Population: Both Old and New

This study explores the material impact of the student veteran upon the land grant university campus using archival research. In restorying the narrative of student veterans, this research demonstrates their agentive force in carving out both places and programs within the land grant university. It is crucial to recognize that this agentive force, capable of constructing material realities, is evident in today's student veterans, as well. The material impacts of today's student veteran are seen in different spaces and programs than those of World War I and World War II, as these programmatic and physical impacts have shifted, expanded and contracting, being overwritten with other meanings due to time and social change. Yet the narrative of past generations of student veterans upon the land grant university campus is a continual one, which can be traced through history onto the modern-day campus as the story of today's student veteran. By restorying the narrative of the student veteran's historical role upon the land grant university, we restore a lost narrative which demonstrates the generative power of the student veteran on physical place. The Post-9/11 student veteran faces the same central challenge of the student veterans of generations ago, a struggle to exert agency within a university system which has, at times, welcomed student veterans' GI Bill funding, yet made minimal efforts to provide for the veterans themselves. This is necessity of such a narrative today. The historical narrative reminds the modern-day student veteran, and, even more importantly, others within the university, of the veteran's history and impact upon the land grant university. This literature

section focuses on research surrounding today's student veterans, in order to suggest that there is still a great need to examine the student veteran as both student and veteran, a particular intersection of two distinct worlds, part of a narrative that has been evolving for generations.

While during World War II, 12% of Americans served in the U.S. military, today, military service members comprise less than .5% of America's general population (U.S. Census Bureau 2000, Eikenberry and Kennedy 2013, par. 3). Because of this, much of the academic community, and the civilian community at large, has had little, if any firsthand contact with a service member. Because of this lack of firsthand experience, university personnel training often approaches working with student veterans from a deficit model by focusing on the potentially negative challenges veterans may face as they enroll in post-secondary courses. (Hart and Thompson 2013). Today, much of the research surrounding student veterans addresses common misconceptions regarding the student veteran's place within the university (Doe 2014; Mallory, Downs 2014; Hart, Thompson 2013; Cook, Kim 2009; Branker, 2009, Hadlock 2012).

The need for research of student veterans within rhetoric and composition was confirmed in an address by conference chair Marilyn J. Valentino at the March 2010 College Composition and Communication Conference (Valentino 368). In this address, Valentino discussed the need for attention to the pedagogical needs of student veterans (Valentino 368). Valentino's speech, given just nineteen months after the August 1, 2009 launch of the Post-9/11 GI Bill, acknowledged the changing numbers in university enrollment due the generous educational benefits of the Post-9/11 GI Bill (Valentino 368, "VA and the Post-9/11 GI Bill"). The first academic year after this GI Bill took effect, Valentino noted, approximately 500,000 veterans enrolled in universities, an increase of thirty percent since the previous year. Within the changing landscape of the composition classroom, Valentino insisted that composition

instructors, as student veterans' "first point of contact," must address the needs of these students (368). This is of particular importance at Colorado State University. Valentino's study demonstrates the positive impacts of the student veteran upon the programmatic developments of the university. This call to the importance of research of student veteran issues is echoed by other scholars. In recent years, scholarship on the growing number of student veterans in U.S. colleges and universities suggests the greater our understanding of military culture, the more likely we are to provide robust support to student veterans (Doe 2014; Mallory, Downs 2014; Hart, Thompson 2013; Elliot 2011; Cook, Kim 2009. Branker 2009, Hadlock 2012). Valentino's appeal drew attention to the need for scholarship within rhetoric and composition studies that would benefit this influx of Post-9/11 GI Bill student veterans.

In answer to Valentino's call for increased veterans research, D. Alexis Hart and Roger Thompson conducted a two-year study of student veterans within composition classrooms (Hart Thompson 2-3) Their study, the result of a 2011 CCCC research grant, was published in June 2013 as "'An Ethical Obligation': Promising Practices for Student Veterans in College Writing Classrooms" (Hart and Thompson 1). This study addresses key issues within student-veteran studies, its findings "drawn from a national survey of writing instructors and a series of site visits and interviews with writing faculty, staff, administrators, students, and Veterans Resource Center (VRC) staff" at 46 institutions from 2011 to 2013 (1). In their findings, Hart and Thompson suggest that composition instructors create more veteran-friendly classrooms by crafting both syllabi and assignments that consider the needs of the student veteran (3). The researchers determined that the student veteran population is largely underserved by colleges and universities, especially by two-year and online universities. Their research notes that most writing instructors have received no "formal training on veteran issues, military culture, or

military writing conventions,” an observation which further emphasizes the need for greater understanding of military culture in a period when few Americans have a military background (4). Though most instructors describe former student veterans as “mature, serious students who seek frank, direct guidance as they develop as writers,” Hart and Thompson note that the majority of “campus trainings about student veterans tend to be based on a deficit model” (4). Their study notes weaknesses within the field of composition in working with student veterans, while proposing recommendations for universities. These recommendations include: that syllabus statements acknowledge the challenges of veterans and point them to the campus VRC, that classroom assignments acknowledge that veterans may or may not want to disclose their military experiences, that writing centers hire veterans to work with the student veteran population, and that instructors begin to see veterans as a benefit, not a deficit, to their writing classes (12).

Further courses of study are also recommended by Hart and Thompson. They encourage research of online writing courses’ attention to veterans’ needs, veterans’ writing groups, and degree completion rates, among other issues. This study’s findings are broad, offering observations of issues in need of improvement and further study, but failing to offer more concrete examples of ways in which the university and writing instructors can shift perceptions of the veteran and create a new framework through which to view the needs of the veteran. These researchers urge “each institution (to) consider its local context as it develops strategies for responding ethically to its student veteran population” (14). To address this “local context” urged by Hart and Thompson, this study examines the history of the veteran within the context of the land grant university, and specifically Colorado State University, to add to current

scholarship on student veterans by demonstrating, through the historical record, the veteran's role in the university as materially generative.

In addressing the material presence of the veteran upon the university campus, of vital importance is consideration of the drastic shift in physical locations, from military post or battlefield to a university campus, that the student veteran experiences in this transition. The difference in military and civilian life, and the difficulty of transitioning from the former to the latter, is a major factor in student veterans' post-secondary educational experiences. Sue Doe and William W. Doe, III, in "Residence Time and Military Workplace Literacies," frame this transition using the scientific terminology of "residence time," which "explains the amount of time it takes for an object or particle to move through a physical system" (2). Within a new career, residence time is "the period of time needed to complete a full transition, or induction, into that workplace's culture and expectations." In the same way, residence time is required for veterans, as they exit the military environment in which they are fully integrated, and enter a civilian, academic community, in which they must learn the new "literacies" required in this environment before they can fully engage in it (3). Doe and Doe cite N. K. Schlossberg's transition model as a demonstration of this theory of "moving in, moving out, and moving on" (3). Their theories of the varied times it may take for veterans to adjust to a new environment, such as that of the university, grounds this study in understanding transition into new literacies, as well as explaining the student veterans' unfamiliarity with the individuality of post-secondary education as a transition into a new site. Both the individual nature of post-secondary education and the new genres of writing and learning expected of the student are a demonstration not of a student unready for this environment, but as a student learning the performance expectations of an environment very different from the one the student veteran knew as a service member.

Schlossberg's transition theory is also utilized in research by Holly A. Wheeler. In "Veterans' Transitions to Community College: A Case Study," Wheeler suggests that Schlossberg's theory of adult transitions is a useful frame with which to understand the study of veterans' transition from an environment of stability into one that is new and thus, unstable (777). Wheeler's study utilizes qualitative data through the anonymous collection of data through interviews, which were then coded for analysis (779). Through this analysis, Wheeler demonstrates the slow process of "moving out, moving through, and moving in" as the veterans surveyed adjusted to civilian life and academia (789). The author describes the support network that veterans need when assimilating into the academic community, and like Hart and Thompson, describes needs such as a campus VRC and veteran tutor/mentors to aid in the acclimation process (790). Wheeler's recommendations are more place-specific, as her study notes the university's need for a veteran-centered orientation, a community meeting area for veterans, and medical personnel who can address both the physical and emotional issues these individuals may have (790).

In this study, Wheeler reminds the reader that changes that continue to take place within the university as the number of veterans returning to college rise. Today, "(o)ver 1.7 million soldiers have served overseas in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq and Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, roughly one million of whom have since left military service" (Randall, as noted by Wheeler 775). After separating from the military, many veterans choose to use the GI Bill to enroll in college (775). Yet once they are in a university setting, many veterans struggle to reintegrate into civilian life while also acclimating to the academic environment. Current research demonstrates that many university instructors have little experience with veterans, and have little connection to the resources that their campus Veterans' Resource Center

(VRC) could offer. Because of this, many instructors tend to view veterans from a deficit model that assumes that most of these students enter composition classes with classic war wounds, little writing experience, and skill sets that are incompatible with an intellectual community. The drastic increase in student veteran populations creates a site of cultural discourse within our composition classrooms, as student veterans enter the university with distinctive experiences, strengths, and challenges that defy labels of strictly non-traditional students.

In what ways can university composition classes better meet the needs of student veterans? What combination of pedagogical approaches can be used to create a new, hybrid framework with which instructors can help veterans acclimate to the academic discourse community, overcome the challenges of reintegration, and implement the skills they gathered in the military? Would seeing veterans, and their positionality within post-secondary education, through a framework that acknowledges student veterans' contributions to material and programmatic changes within the land grant university produce more beneficial discourse surrounding student veterans? In their preface to "Veteran's Voices" in the October 2016 edition of *Pedagogy*, D. Alexis Hart and Roger Thompson write that they "hope to encourage language, literature, and writing faculty to rethink their preconceptions of war, warriors, and military culture—to ask hard questions about what we know about the wars, the people who fight them, their families, and the public narratives that have controlled our access to "combat operations" (515). This is the aim of this study; to demonstrate the positive impact of the student veteran on the physical and programmatic imprint of the university.

Considerations of Archival Research Within Rhetoric and Composition

Philosopher Jacques Maritain wrote that "the history of philosophy is not the history of its books," and neither is the history of student veterans limited to what has been written about

the wars in which many of them fought. Historian Pierre Nora's description of the loss of public memory, and its inferior replacement with history, as noted in "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," speaks of this limitation of written histories (7-9). Written books, as well as millions of pages of online data, are merely rhetorical responses to an exigency, attempts to explaining the results of agentive forces. While wartime accomplishments are certainly worthy of remembrance and recognition within the historical narrative, so too, are the rhetorical actions of veterans after battle, as they returned to America and, in many cases, American universities. Their impact upon American post-secondary universities cannot be overstated. As Jacqueline Jones Royster suggests in "Reframing Narratives of Nation: Women's Participation in the American Civil War," there is a tremendous "opportunity to use the mound of now well-documented information to recast stories of involvement, active engagement, leadership, and impact" (18).

This research uses historical narrative to reclaim a history that has been largely forgotten, an erasure driven unconsciously by American's lack of communal memory surrounding individual narratives. This American outlook tends to view history as a broad, sweeping national narrative that practices erasure of individual agency. The power of this historical narrative as a framing mechanism, notes Jerry Won Lee in "Re/Framing Transnational Collective Memories: Dokodo/Takeshima, Korea/Japan," is that this singular narrative is "capable of producing nationness" (143). To counter this singular history, this research reclaims the historical narrative of the student veteran using archival research, in order to restore the forgotten collective memories surrounding this past history. In doing so, this narrative demonstrates that the veteran is not an actor devoid of agency, a mere recipient of a G.I. Bill from a grateful country. Neither is the veteran an outsider to the university, one who, either historically or presently, has been or

is to be welcomed onto campus despite the obvious shortfalls which this student veteran may possess. Instead, the student veteran has been, and continues to be, a generative member of the land grant university since its inception, as demonstrated by the physical and programmatic improvements which student veterans' presence has produced upon these campuses. By addressing the forgotten history of the veteran's contributions to the land grant university, this narrative serves to reframe and reposition the student veteran within the land grant university as an agentive force capable of effecting kairotic changes, which have since altered the shape of American education.

Framing Theory

I employed framing theory for this project. As a theory, framing is based upon Kenneth Burke's description of humans as "symbol-making" beings, and of language as a symbolic action (*Rhetoric* 20-25). The symbolic capabilities of language can be used rhetorically, Burke notes, to identify, and in doing so, also to divide (*Rhetoric* 21,22). The use of language for the purposes of identification is inherently control-driven, as we seek to direct and deflect the attention of those with whom we interact. Burke notes that "however 'pure' one's motives may be actually, the impurities of identification lurking about the edges of such situations introduce a typical Rhetorical wrangle of the sort that can never be settled once and for all, but belongs in the field of moral controversy where men properly seek to 'prove opposites'" (Burke 1969, 26).

Using language to direct and deflect attention can be the result of a quest for power, Burke explains, and is particularly individualistic, as each person "can be expected to 'identify' the subject differently, so far as its place in a total context is concerned" (Burke 1969, 27). Framing differs from Burke's theory of identification in that these frames are not as individualistic, but are culturally created "terministic screens" through which members of that

culture see and interpret reality (Burke 1966, 48). This research adopts this cultural view of framing, one which sees frames as assumptions or beliefs unwittingly held by members of a particular culture within a specific point in history (Burke 1966, Goffman 63). These frames are built, reinforced, and communicated in a variety of ways, almost always unspoken, within a society (Burke 1966, Goffman 63). “There is no such thing as an ‘individual frame’” (Van Gorp 2005, 487). This research seeks to address the generally held cultural frame surrounding the role and agency of the student veteran upon the land grant university campus through archival research, so that it may be contrasted with the frames surrounding the student veteran today.

Reese defines frames as “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (19). Yet, frames can shift. Just as cultural context can, and does, shift and change over time, as values, beliefs, and perceptions change. Frames reflect and enforce the ideology of the culture in which they take place, therefore they are broader than any specific topic. Instead, frames “organize and structure” how individuals interpret information (Reese 19, Burke, Language, 48). As Reese notes, researching the specific analysis of what is being encompassed within a frame “encourages an analysis that delves into the contextualization of topics--social(ly), historically, culturally” (20). Determining what is being framed, and how this frame is functioning, allows the researcher to uncover the social and political context which created this cultural event. Frames, explains Robert M. Entman in “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” determine what aspects of reality we notice, and have the capacity to “define problems..., diagnose causes..., make moral judgments..., and suggest remedies...” (52, 54). Framing theory is utilized by drawing conclusions regarding the “dominant meaning” within a culture, meaning “the problem, causal, evaluative, and treatment interpretations with the highest probability of being noticed,

processed, and accepted by the most people” (Entman 54). Frames exist in a variety of locations, usually moving “from textual structures to mental structures,” as Stephen D. Reese notes in “Finding Frames in a Web of Culture: The case of the war on terror” (22). Frames, then, are frequently evident in public discourse, as these culturally held viewpoints are built and reinforced through their continued use by a multitude of participants (Reese 22). Baldwin Van Gorp, in “The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back in,” defines framing as a “form of metacommunication,” as it signals how to interpret information as it is relayed (65). Frames, then, can shift over time as culture, and the meanings it creates, also shifts.

Because frames are firmly rooted in the time, place, and culture in which they originate, finding and identifying these specific frames can be complicated, explains Baldwin van Gorp in “Where is the Frame?” (Van Gorp 2005, 488). Though what is seen and unseen is still reliant upon the author’s particular lens. Analyzing a scientific, quantitative data set, such as a search for specific words, will not reveal frames due to their unspoken yet culturally understood nature. When analyzing framing, “reliability often stands in the way of validity,” Van Gorp notes (2005, 488). Instead, the researcher must search for implied frames, the result of messages that are suggested by a corpus. While Entman suggests that a single research paradigm can “(inform) most scholarship on the operation and outcomes of any particular system of thought and action,” Paul D’Angelo, in “News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman” offers a more situationally nuanced view of framing (Entman 56-58, D’Angelo 871-873). D’Angelo suggests that evaluating frames using a single research paradigm can be limiting and self-directing, instead suggesting that frames must be evaluated from a variety of perspectives, which include the text, the receiver, and the surrounding culture (2002, 872). The study of the student veteran’s history upon the land grant university is multi-layered. In

examining this history, this research will thus utilize multiple layers of theory to demonstrate these cultural frames, as seen in both physical locations and programs upon the land grant university campus, in order to suggest a more useful reframing through which today's student veteran should be viewed (D'Angelo, Van Gorp).

A challenge within framing theory is that, as Van Gorp notes, "coming up with the names for frames itself involves a kind of framing" (Van Gorp 2007, 72). Yet, to accomplish framing analysis, it is necessary for the researcher to compile a list of a series of possible frames within a particular research. These frames must allow enough generality to be applied to related research, so that study results can be generalized and replicated (Van Gorp 2007, 72). When viewing the textual or narrative discourse being analyzed, this network of framing terminologies can then be used as a fixed data set, allowing the researcher to examine these texts for instances of these implied frames. This analysis is highly interpretive, as it relies on inductive, qualitative analysis based upon the researcher's interpretation, and thus, is also heavily influenced by the researcher's own terministic screen (Van Gorp 2007, Burke). Reframing, then, is a "persuasive invitation, a stimulus," to think about a cultural event in different way, and to consider a new interpretive lens through which to view this cultural moment (Van Gorp 2007, 72-74). Framing, as a cultural construction, also offers a tool through which audiences can begin to reshape both their concept of local history, and their own framework of how these histories then reconfigure their interpretations of modern day issues.

Framing uses qualitative analysis, thus "incorporat(ing) the subjectivity of the researcher into the final product," as explained by Jim A. Kuypers in "Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective" (287). I am aware of my own subjectivity within this study, as the spouse of an Air Force pilot who served in wartime, but also as a military dependent of an officer, far removed

from some of the struggles of enlisted life. My experiences within military culture have shaped much of the worldview through which I view this data. My husband served in the active duty Air Force for almost ten years. We lived in four different states, bouncing between them during nine moves for various pilot training programs, temporary moves, and permanent moves. As a military spouse, I have felt the reaction of locals to our military status; the too-frequent civilian view that those who join the active duty military do so because of their lack of academic abilities, or that military families are too impermanent in any one community to be worth getting to know. My husband's military career exposed me to other military branches, as well. In North Carolina, he was stationed at Pope Air Force Base, a small base within massive Fort Bragg Army base in Fayetteville, North Carolina. We were there during 9/11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and my friends and neighbors there were spouses of Army paratroopers and infantry. After active duty life, my husband served in the Navy Reserves for four years. Settling into a small town felt strange; we found that, despite our almost-civilian status, the novelty of our prior lives made finding community among locals challenging. Even as a military spouse returning to graduate school, I feel this disconnect. The academic world, in particular, is often so far removed from the struggles of the average military veteran and military family. Instructors within post-secondary education often have assumptions of what a military spouse brings to the classroom, and assume that they will be an ill fit, a novelty, in a classroom of more traditional students. Too often, I have felt that my perspective is considered a hindrance in the classroom rather than a very real perspective from a very underrepresented portion of society. Because of these experiences, I am particularly interested in exploring the historic role of the student veteran, and of challenging misperceptions and deficit models surrounding the student veteran that still exist within post-secondary education. Kuypers notes that all researchers view their inquiry through a

particular lens, but they must not allow this perspective to become a foregone conclusion (297). The goal of framing, or reframing, is to use language persuasively to create new, more productive framework through which culture can contextualize a particular event or phenomenon, in this case, the student veteran within the university (Burke 1966, Reese 2009). By using constant comparative analysis, I have attempted to analyze the data contained within these historic texts without overt subjectivity.

Although this research primarily utilizes framing theory, the analysis of material spaces and programs also must be informed by theories of space and place. When discussing theories of space, Henri LeFebvre's concept of space, detailed in *The Production of Space*, is essential. LeFebvre defines space as a social product, created in combination with politics and knowledge, (9). This active view of space as both product and value offers metaphorical richness to the many buildings and programs that have expanded, both literally and figuratively, the size and scope of Colorado State University's campus. The integral role of the veteran within the creation of C.S.U.'s campus and programs was used to demonstrate the essential nature of the student veteran within the land grant university. The history of place, termed "space" by LeFebvre, "would explain the development, and hence temporal conditions, of those realities which some geographers call 'networks'" (116-117). LeFebvre argues that time and space are intricately interwoven, offering physical place "representational" meaning, as well (118). In this way, an exploration of the history of places upon the campus of CSU is also an exploration of the forces of time and history which helped to shape its buildings, campus layout, and programs.

Social spaces, Lefebvre argues, are discursive texts which communicate through practice and usage. This suggestion that the practical use of spaces, and indeed, even public memory, are part of the meaning of space, argues that the inherent value and meaning imbued within these

spaces by their production histories has been forgotten, overwritten by a society whose values and culture have changed. Geographers Kenneth E. Foote and Maoz Azaryahu explain that physical constructions “reflect and expose for study social tensions, political realities, and cultural values” of the time in which they were built (125). Using LeFebvre’s concept of the inherent meaning of space, as well as Foote and Azaryahu’s research on the social meaning of spaces, I suggest that a space whose meaning has been overwritten, shifted by various forces and public forgetfulness, can also be renewed through a reawakening of understanding of the meaning woven into the core of these very public spaces. To accomplish this shift in meaning, I utilize historian Pierre Nora’s view of restoration of memory as the goal of the archivist, as in this way the lost meaning of place can be renewed (Nora 11-13). A renewed, or restoried, narrative of place can return vital forgotten memory of place to a community, memory acting as a “redemptive force,” as is noted by Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott in “Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials” (18). This restorying can reframe the actor, here the student veteran, in the collective memory surrounding these physical spaces.

Historical study of physical spaces is not without precedent within rhetorical scholarship. Richard Leo Enos, in "Recovering the Lost Art of Researching the History of Rhetoric," encourages the expansion of rhetorical research to include more than just literary, alphabetic texts. Enos argues that an “archaological approach” to the study of rhetoric must include sources “that are not only visible but tangible” (65-66). We must reinvigorate rhetorical events, Enos writes, and make them both “vivid and meaningful” by incorporating an archaeological model of ethnography in our research (68). Such a model includes an expansion of our research beyond literary texts, a willingness to study physical places and educational programs as cultural artifacts. This research is using a definition of “artifacts” as defined by Paul Prior in

Writing/Disciplinarity, in which he describes artifacts as “material objects fashioned by people (e.g., written texts, furniture, instruments, and *built environments*)” (30, italics added). Prior explains that there is a complex interdependency between “persons, artifacts (semiotic and material), institutions, practices, and communities” (30). Thus, this research seeks to examine both physical buildings and programs and to determine the communities responsible for such physical developments upon land grant campuses. By incorporating a methodology that acknowledges the multiple factors responsible for the creation of these spaces, physical buildings are demonstrated to be modern-day artifacts which represent far more than their current usage. Instead, these physical locations are symbols of the forgotten generative nature of the student veteran, evidence of a *kairos* which produced, and still produces, both meaning and matter.

In examining both places and programs upon the post-secondary university, this research examines the history of Colorado State University, specifically, as an example of the student veteran’s effect upon the land grant university. Margaret M. Strain advocates for the study of local place to “convey a more comprehensive sense of the intricacies which comprise the historical moment” (58). Much has been written about the GI Bill and its effects upon society (Greenberg, Olson, Altschuler and Blumin), yet few scholars have studied the physical effects of the student veteran upon the university.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Method

Methodology

THE ACCELERATION OF HISTORY: let us try to gauge the significance, beyond metaphor, of this phrase. An increasingly rapid slippage of the present into a historical past that is gone for good, a general perception that anything and everything may disappear-these indicate a rupture of equilibrium. The remnants of experience still lived in the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral, have been displaced under the pressure of a fundamentally historical sensibility. Self-consciousness emerges under the sign of that which has already happened, as the fulfillment of something always already begun. We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.

Pierre Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire*

French historian Pierre Nora describes memory, not history, as the goal of the archivist. History, Nora explains, is the antithesis of memory, as it insists upon a singular, official version image of the past. Memory, instead, can maintain multiple interpretations, its veracity intact despite a multiplicity of remembrances from actors from differing worldviews. Because of memory's positionality as a "perpetually actual phenomenon," it alone is true. History, Nora insists, is mere reproduction (7-9). "Museums, archives, cemeteries,...monuments, sanctuaries—these are the boundary stones of another age, illusions of eternity. It is the nostalgic dimensions of these devotional institutions that makes them seem beleaguered and cold—they mark the rituals of a society without ritual..." (Nora 12). This study seeks to reawaken the memories of the buildings upon the land grant university, and restore the narrative of the student veterans whose physical presence caused the creation of these material spaces.

The importance of historiography to the study of Rhetoric and Composition has been addressed by many scholars. Foundational work within Rhetoric and Composition historiography was forefronted at the 1988 Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) national meeting, the first of three Octalogs over the course of more than a decade. Here, a “roundtable composed of eight distinguished historians of rhetoric gathered to discuss the methods, subjects, and purposes of scholarship in rhetorical history,” write Lois Agnew et al. In “Rhetorical Historiography and the Octalogs” (237). At this eight-person roundtable, termed an “octalog,” researchers discussed the role of historiography within Rhetoric and Composition, and expressed hope that their dialogue would push the field into new and underexplored spaces, such as local histories and historiography’s method and meaning, including what texts “count,” historical narratives’ importance, and methodologies for conducting research (Agnew 237-239).

But these discussions were about far more than methodologies, noted moderator James J. Murphy (Murphy 5). Instead, these discussions explored “varying perceptions of what ought to be discovered for the good of the community” (Murphy 5-6). The exigency of historical research demands careful consideration of the corpus and methodology employed by the researcher, as well as the importance of positionality (Murphy 6). An honest self-analysis of the researcher’s positionality requires an acute self-awareness of the lenses with which the data are being viewed and interpreted (Murphy 6). Berlin described historical narrative itself as “a dialectical interaction between the set of conceptions (the terministic screen) brought to the materials of history and the materials themselves” (6). There can be “no definitive histories,” Berlin cautioned, as some perspectives and narratives will never be told. Sharon Crowley reinforces this idea of historical narratives as a construction which reflects the researcher’s lens and interests (Murphy 7). As noted by Robert J. Connors, historiography is based upon “three

elements: the historian's perceptions of the present, her assemblage of claims based on study of material from the past, and an ongoing internal dialogue about cultural preconceptions and prejudices and the historian's own" (15). The construction of historical narratives by rhetoric and composition scholars is still relevant and exigent, as current culture is directly influenced by the past (7).

Historical moments themselves are another lens, or terministic screen, Berlin noted at the Octalog discussions (Murphy 11). Rhetorics must be described within their cultural moments, because "to understand a rhetoric, it is thus necessary to examine its position in the play of power in its own time. This means looking at it within its material conditions" (Murphy 11-12). As such, the story of service members and, later, student veterans, and the buildings created for these students, must be told to demonstrate the agency of the student veteran upon the university campus, historically. This new narrative acts as a "restorying," a "corrective" narrative, as Berlin describes, to counter the dearth of knowledge which currently surrounds the history of the student veteran (Murphy 12). In doing so, this research suggests that this historical narrative offers a framing of the student veteran which, if adopted as a reframing, could benefit the current view of the student veteran, as well (Berlin, Connors).

Traditionally, archivists and historians considered themselves reporters who delved into archives to discover hidden truths, then brought them into the light through their findings, note John C. Brereton and Cinthia Gannett in "Learning from the Archives" (677). This perception saw truth and fact as stable, and positioned the researcher's findings as unquestionable. Brereton and Gannet explain that rhetorical analysis of archived records acknowledges that every interaction with the archives, from selection to research to interpretation, is a re-forming of a "dynamic" relationship (677). These interactions shape and reshape what is seen and how it is

interpreted by the researcher. As episteme, archival research both guides the methodology of archival research and, as research progresses, it also shapes the findings (Johnson in Murphy, 17). By viewing archival research as “archaeological, ... it mitigates against intellectual righteousness,” notes Johnson (Johnson in Murphy 17). If, in fact, archival findings have a myriad of varying interpretations, then my role is that of an interpreter, telling a story the best that I can while acknowledging my own positionality, letting the archive speak for itself while also shaping the history into a connected narrative (Johnson in Murphy 17-18). Within the rhetorical tradition, historiography has frequently been viewed through the lens of poststructuralism, as the product of a singular lens of observation in which there exists no single, “correct” narrative (Berlin 1988, Murphy 1988, Crowley 1988, Johnson 1988). Alexis E Ramsey et al., in “Working in the Archives: Practical Research Methods,” remind the historian that “perspective is enormously important. A good historian can breathe new life into dead documents, making them useful again for a new audience with new purposes” (252). Richard Leo Enos encourages a break from traditional rhetorics, and an expansion into “new sources of evidence and methodologies,” defined by Susan C. Jarratt as “texts currently ‘held’ by other disciplines, which, despite their names, concern rhetorical issues” (Enos, in Murphy 9, Jarratt, in Murphy 9). By analyzing “new” texts in new ways, even texts which are traditionally used by other disciplines, rhetoric and composition “could step into its role as a meta-discipline and create opportunities for dialogue” between various departments (Jarratt, in Murphy 9).

This thesis, and the archival research it entails, bridges various interdisciplinary studies of military service members and student veterans by tracing their historic and current impact on the physical and programmatic development of U.S. campuses, especially those in the land grant tradition. The contribution of this historicizing is to posit the importance of military service

members and veterans to the development of the modern land grant university, restorying the current student-veteran, who is more often than not characterized as an outsider being allowed a place within the land grant university rather than an integral part of the land grant university since its inception. At Octalog II, Roxanne Mountford urged rhetoricians to “look for rhetoric where it has not been found” (Enos 33-34). In this research, viewing the overlooked history of the student veteran through the lens of rhetorical study may offer a new framing, one which could provide a meaningful and beneficial framework through which to consider current and future resources and pedagogical methodologies meant for the student veteran.

Katherine Tirabassi, in “Journeying into the Archives: Exploring the Pragmatics of Archival Research,” delineates the four stages of archival research (172). First, the researcher must observe the “principle of selectivity” by deciding which archival texts will be included in a study, and which will not. To accomplish this sorting, the researcher must be well acquainted with the archive to know what it contains and what access procedures it requires (Tirabassi 177). Familiarity with the archive one is researching makes it possible to select the most useful material for one’s research. Next, the research must utilize cross-referencing to fill in gaps within the archive and to confirm observations, as described by Tirabassi (172). The historian can cross-reference the same event to corroborate or draw into question the validity of the initial data. Cross-referencing can be conducted using multiple archival documents and outside specialists’ research. The use of outside, secondary sources to fill in blanks within the archive is also recommended by Ruth M. Mirtz, in “WPAs as Historians: Discovering a First Year Writing Program by Researching Its Past” (121). As the researcher explores the archival record, Tirabassi recommends that she ask the following questions when cross-referencing data. “Who is included this document in the archival record, and why? Why is this document included in this location?

Who created this document originally and for what purpose/audience? What gaps do I see in the archival record that might be filled in other places in the archive or in other unofficial archive sites? And, what gaps can't be filled?" (Tirabassi 172-173). These questions help the researcher to investigate what is seen within the archive, as well as what is not. As a third step, Tirabassi recommends categorization, in which the researcher uses "keywords and finding aids" to locate needed texts within the archive. Finally, she recommends closure, so that the researcher knows when to step away from the archive, regardless of gaps in the data, and complete the research (Tirabassi 172-173). Even in the closure stage, Carol Steedman, author of *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*, reminds the archivist that she "will not finish, that there will be something left unread, unnoted, untranscribed" (18).

Through this archival research, I sought to recreate a narrative surrounding these spaces and programs, but also to utilize open coding to analyze the data contained in these texts. To conduct this data analysis, I used constant comparative analysis, in which "data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another," as defined by Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin in *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (12). I used this method as it allowed me to use my data set itself to suggest a theory, as I analyzed and coded the archived texts I used (12). Using comparative analysis allows the researcher to analyze, code, and compile data, then return to the primary texts, where new data are compared against the emerging codes and the findings these suggest, explains John W. Creswell in *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (86). Strauss and Corbin note that "(g)rounding theories, because they are drawn from data, are likely to offer insight, enhance understanding, and provide a meaningful guide to action" (12).

Methods

Journey into the archive

To expand this conversation by encouraging other scholars to conduct archival research, this methods section provides details about how this archival work was conducted. Numerous rhetoric and composition scholars have encouraged the use of both methods and methodology sections within archival research. Kirsch and Sullivan “distinguish between methods and methodology (though the two terms are often used interchangeably) to give equal emphasis to the practical and philosophical issues associated with composition research... (W)e are defining *method* as a technique or way of proceeding in gathering evidence, and *methodology* as the underlying theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed (Kirsch 2). L’Eplattenier also describes the need for a methods section, separate and more specific than a methodology, in archival research papers, while Kirsch and Sullivan suggest that methods and methodology be enmeshed within the research, each informing the other (L’Eplattenier 67-74, Kirsch 2). Brereton and Gannett, too, encourage “archivists... to acknowledge their own definitions and agendas in the ongoing creation or use of any archive” through the inclusion of both methods and methodologies (677). By detailing “the narratives of archival construction itself,” a methods section would provide stronger documentation for other researchers to study to gain insight regarding the choices that selected data sets and the specifics of how to begin archival research (677). A detailed methods section can also increase the researcher’s ethos, as it reveals details about how and why the research was conducted in a specific manner (L’Eplattenier 67-68).

Jim A. Kuypers notes that rhetorical framing analysis is qualitative, and is frequently initiated by “vague questions, or even a hunch” (287). In this study, this is certainly true. This research began as an inquiry into the evolution of the teaching of writing to veterans throughout

the history of Colorado State University. Yet, as I entered the CSU archive, I discovered that almost no historical data existed that explained what was taught, and how it was taught. Instead, I learned from a volunteer researcher in the library, Gordon Hazard, that many of the buildings upon the Colorado State University campus were built for student veterans. Intrigued, I began this study to determine what the physical effect of the student veteran has been, historically, upon the land grant university campus, and to explore what this history demonstrates, rhetorically, regarding the framing of the veteran. I wondered how this could impact the way that we think about the student veteran today, which, coincidentally, would also impact how we instruct the student veteran, which was the main goal of my initial inquiry question. After several more visits into the archive, each lasting three to six hours, I began to gain a better understanding of the creation of many of the buildings upon CSU's campus, and these buildings' ties to military veteran or service member use.

Collection

To determine the past framing of the student veteran, during World War I and World War II war and post-war periods, this research reconstructs a historical narrative using archival documents. Many scholars in rhetoric and composition have called for a return to the study of primary, historical documents within rhetorical studies (Enos 1999, Johnson 1988). This research utilizes triangulation by accessing both primary and secondary sources in order to construct the narrative of the student veteran using historical documents from the CSU archive. Secondary documents include *The History of Colorado State*, by James Hansen, as a guide to determine the dates and locations of building projects during and after World War I and II at Colorado State University, and the detailed notes of CSU archival researcher Gordon Hazard, who provided his notes on the dates of buildings constructed at CSU, and when and where each location is

referenced within the archive. Using these sources to choose my data set, I chose two main sources for my data. I examined Colorado's State Board of Agriculture minutes, which recorded the government legislation which authorized the construction of these sites. I also used archived editions of *The Rocky Mountain Collegian*, the college's newspaper, during the years of each building's construction and later usage, to study the public narrative surrounding these buildings. I have chosen to use the *Collegian* as a primary source because it describes, in weekly editions, changes taking place upon campus. These newspaper articles offer weekly updates on the planning, construction, and usage of these places/programs. In a pre-digital age, newspapers were the most common source of information regarding campus life, and offer the most detailed information regarding changes which occurred on campus as new buildings and programs were formed, as well as hinting at social perception of these spaces. Using both legislative records and campus newspaper articles provided two very different perspectives on these spaces, which allowed me to reconstruct what I hope to be a more realistic and complete narrative of the exigence for and usages of these buildings.

I used the CSU archive's extensive collection of newspapers and government document to study the language that surrounded the creation of these buildings, and to trace their history upon CSU's campus. Though I initially assumed I would also use archived yearbooks within my data, upon closer examination I realized that the data contained in yearbooks is related to people, and many of these historic buildings were only featured in the background of photos that highlight students in the foreground. These archived yearbooks tell a story that is parallel, but not directly related, to this research, and thus, they were not included as data.

Analysis: constant comparative analysis

As one enters the archive with questions, to fully explore the archived texts found there, Robert J. Connors, in “Dreams and Play: Historical Method and Methodology,” reminds the researcher of the importance of triangulation (51). Triangulation within archival methodology requires that a narrative told through primary, archival documents also be authenticated through the inclusion of credible secondary sources, as well (Connors 51-52). Archival texts provide primary research material, while secondary sources allow cross-checking of data, while the third perspective necessary to achieve proper triangulation is the perspective, and acknowledged prejudices, of the researcher (53). To maintain this triangulation, “(a)rchivists need to acknowledge their own definitions and agendas in the ongoing creation or use of any archive,” whether in a separate methods section, or interwoven within the text’s analysis (Brereton 677).

To achieve this triangulation of data sources, I here detail my use of grounded theory methodology to create a coding scheme. With a goal of tracing the development of buildings and programs upon the campus of Colorado State University, a land grant university, I gathered a collection of historical documents from CSU’s archive to follow the production of specific spaces and programs. Though I originally planned to trace the creation and histories of all the buildings and programs developed during and post-World War I and II on CSU’s campus, the number of these buildings forced me to limit the scope of my research. Using Tirabassi's "principle of selectivity," I chose to trace the history of two buildings from each period. From the World War I-era, I chose to examine the Biltmore (Commissary Storage building), as it was built by and for military students, and the Barracks, as it was the largest World-War I structure built at CSU. To follow the narrative of the Barracks, I also traced the formation of the Military Sciences building, which was built as a replacement for the Barracks building after it was destroyed by a

fire. Two of these buildings, the Biltmore and the Military Sciences building, were permanent and had extensive histories of use. To avoid suggesting that many buildings built for military training or student veterans were similarly permanent, which they often were not, I chose to examine two very impermanent structures from the World War II era. I examined Veterans' Village and Veterans' Trailer Camp, two of the most impermanent lodging facilities ever built upon CSU's campus, to better examine how these quickly and cheaply built structures functioned upon the campus. Exploring impermanent structures forced me to examine these narratives within their time periods using archived records, and challenged any desire I might have had to suggest that a structure's physical permanence is a suggestion of its rhetorical importance.

I chose to narrow my selection of texts to two sources, both of which provided constant information on these buildings. Colorado's State Board of Agriculture minutes provide a governmental perspective on these buildings. These minutes include the specific language surrounding the creation of each building, and offer evidence of the source of funding for these buildings. I also chose to use *The Rocky Mountain Collegian*, the college's weekly newspaper, as my second source. Although much of the information contained in *Collegian* texts most likely originated in the same government sources, the reframing of these articles for a public audience of university administration and students provides greater insight into the public perception of these spaces and, at times, of the student veterans who would use them. Using these texts, I closely study the language use surrounding the creation of new buildings and programs developed for or with the military service member or student veteran. I then corroborated this evidence using secondary sources, including written histories of CSU by Dr. James E. Hansen II, and the notes of CSU archive researcher Gordon Hazard. Both Hansen and Hazard's research, which is drawn from a wider variety of archival sources, provides more narrative insight

regarding these specific buildings and programs, allowing me to confirm or challenge my own findings.

I initially created codes to record what was being demonstrated in the text—this was first an acknowledgement that most of these archived documents, even when commissioning a new building or describing its progress, referred only to the building. Any mention of bodies in these texts was as a group, as in “for the expected numbers of incoming veterans” or “for boarding 400 student veterans.” Even photos of individual student veterans or their families seldom offers a name for those shown, instead referring to them in very vague labels, such as “a veteran” or “a veteran and his family.” As I reevaluated the archival records, I began to note small shifts within these provisions which showed increasing attention to the individual needs of returning student veterans. Once I thoroughly examined the texts that I used to recreate this narrative, a coding scheme emerged which had three major categories of *place/space*, *bodies*, and *agency*. Within these themes, which are charted as categories, codes emerged which demonstrated increasing degrees of individualism. Within the category of *place/space*, I have analyzed these archival texts for mention of specific buildings or locations, coded *place*, which indicates the creation of material place for the incoming student veteran; *program* for references to specific programs, which shows both more specificity and more attention to the needs of the individual student; and finally, *therapies*, for instances in which specific rehabilitative or therapeutic services are provided to the student veteran. *Therapies* is the most specific, individually-oriented code within the analysis of *place/space*, as it demonstrates efforts to assist the student veteran at reaching maximum functionality and achievement within both an educational setting and in the broader civilian world post-service.

Within the category of *bodies*, I analyzed the archival texts for references to service members as a collective group, coded *group*, the broadest lens within the theme of bodies. This category notes references to student veterans as a large group, as in “the veterans,” or “these new students.” I also coded for mentions of individual service members, coded *individual*, a more specific acknowledgement of the individual as having distinct needs; and for *disability*, in which texts reference post-war injury or the need for rehabilitation or therapies. This is the most specific code within the theme of bodies, as it recognizes the student veteran not only as an individual, but also as one who may have specific bodily or mental needs due to warfare that may require more specific therapies and services to achieve maximum independence and success. Through much of this research, I also had a code of *gender* within the category of bodies, which was meant to demonstrate shifts in which veterans were acknowledged to be not just male, but also female. There was so little mention of gender within these texts that I had to eliminate the *gender* code from this research.

Finally, I analyzed the category of *agency* by noting moments within these narratives when military service members or student veterans self-advocate for needed places or services, demonstrating their rhetorical agentive force. I have chosen to integrate the results of constant comparative analysis coding within this narrative so that the narrative itself can demonstrate the findings that coding revealed. This is not to suggest that other researchers might not find more themes or coding schemes within these texts—these texts are sorely under-examined and offer vast possibilities for rhetorical study. Furthermore, as a researcher who has some associations with the military veteran, I also admittedly analyze these texts with my own lens of bias. Yet I do not, and cannot, speak for the military veteran, and merely examine these texts as an observer who, through my own positionality as the spouse of a Post-9/11 veteran, seeks to determine what

the role of the student veteran has been upon CSU's campus, historically, and what this demonstrates rhetorically regarding student veterans' impact upon material spaces, both places and bodies, in post-secondary education.

TABLE 1: Coding Definitions

CATEGORY	CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTION	RHETORICAL MEANING
Place/Space	PLC	References to specific buildings, locations	Sees the provision of place as a primary need for student veterans
	PRG	References development/improvement of specific programs for the student veteran	Demonstrates an attention to programs that will benefit student veterans.
	TPY	References provision of rehabilitation and/or therapies	Specialized programs provide therapies for whole individual, seeks to help them return to full functionality
Bodies	GRP	References service members as a collective group; no mention of individuals	Sees service member as member of a group, specifically (and only) as a veteran; can also erase both injury and ability
	IND	References to individual service members and their individual needs	Sees the service member as not just a member of a group, but as an individual human
	DIS	References post-war injury or need for rehabilitation	Demonstrates an awareness of the individual needs of individual bodies, especially those that may require therapy to achieve maximum functionability. This may be based on historical awareness of disability.
Agentive Force	AG	Veteran/Student veteran self-advocating for place/services	Demonstrates the rhetorical agency of the veteran

TABLE 2: Coding Scheme

TIME PERIOD	PLACE/PROGRAM	CODING
WWI	PLACE: The Biltmore, Barracks	GRP, PLC,
	PROGRAM: veterinary science, mechanics	GRP, IND, DIS, PRG
Post-WWI	Military Science Building	GRP, PLC, IND, DIS, AG
WWII	PLACE: Veterans' Village, Veterans' Camp	GRP, PLC, IND, AG

	PROGRAM: Gladys Eddy - Business Department mechanics, vet, stenography	GRP, PRG
Korean War	Building projects	--
Vietnam War	Fires and vandalism at military buildings Vietnam plaque	--
Post-9/11	PROGRAM: Occupational Therapy program for vets ALVS (Adult Learners and Veterans Services)	PRG, GRP, IND, DIS, AG,

TABLE 3: Frames

FRAMES
"meeting the physical needs of a group"
"military training as mutually beneficial"
"the university doing just enough"
"veterans making their own provisions"
"wounded returning warriors"

Chapter Four: Narrative and Findings

Robert Connors, in "Dreams and Play: Historical Method and Methodology," describes the archival researcher's goal as "seeking to be better acquainted with the sources themselves;... looking for unexpected treasures; and ... seeking those conjunctions of historical evidence with sudden perception...(that)... reveal a whole world whose genesis and current realities have been subtly reshaped..." (24). As a researcher, then, I wanted to immerse myself in these documents, long stored in the CSU archive, so that I could weave the narrative contained in them into a cohesive story of building and expansion, created by and for the student veteran. The historical narrative that emerged in these archival documents revealed the forgotten past of many physical spaces upon CSU's campus, some of which are still in use, and all of which helped to shape and enlarge the size and capacity of the university. A narrative of the buildings and programs that were built for and by the veteran within the land grant university, and at Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Colorado specifically, recasts the role of the veteran as one that is generative by framing the kairotic moment that created these spaces and programs. These physical spaces, both their physical creation and their expansive role in the university's size and enrollment, demonstrate previous generations' provisions for student veterans at this land grant university, yet also display modern society's shift in attention to the individual. Historical narrative is reconstructed here to demonstrate the physical and rhetorical significance of these spaces, as well as the student veterans whose presence made these spaces and programs possible (Dickinson, Blair). As this narrative emerged, the coding I was using shifted what I saw happening within these texts, allowing the textual data to form the theory (Connors 32-33).

In each subchapter, the historical narrative is interwoven with analysis using grounded theory methodology. Using a coding scheme revealed generalizable conclusions regarding the student veteran's material impact upon Colorado State University's campus during and post-World War I and World War II. This chapter focuses on the restored narrative of the student veteran upon the land grant university campus of Colorado State University, and the framework of understanding of the veteran which these categories reveal. While reading this history, let us also remember that the kairos that set all of this into motion, and which led to every future GI Bill, was the Bonus March. There, American military veterans insisted upon adequate post-war provisions from the government, recognizing that the failing economy was due to the government's lack of response to the vast numbers of returning soldiers post-war. The Bonus Army was a single kairotic force, whose effects were felt by generations of student veterans who have been "aided" to various degrees by the U.S. government. Though the GI Bill was initially an economic project intended to slow the flood of returning veterans into the job market, the material impact of this investment in the student veteran has far exceeded all expectations, resulting in the development of buildings and programs that have increased the size and space of the land grant campus, and enriched the education of both the student veteran and the general student population.

World War I: Place

In reconstructing the narrative of World War I active duty military and student veterans upon the campus of Colorado State University using archived documents, the categories of *place/space* and *bodies* were the most evident in these texts. When discussing theories of space, Henri LeFebvre's concept of space is necessary, as it offers a view of space as a social product that is the product of both politics and knowledge (Production 9). This active view of space as

both a product and a statement of value offers metaphorical richness to the many buildings and programs that have expanded, both literally and figuratively, the size and scope of Colorado State University's campus. However, the third category of *agentive force* also emerges within this narrative. Here, I offer both the narrative history of the creation of these spaces and programs during and after World War I, as well as analysis using grounded theory.

When the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917, officially joining its allies in war, the effects of wartime were instantly felt upon college campuses throughout the nation. By the fall of 1917, many colleges, including what is now CSU, had so few male students that they cancelled their athletic programs for the year. By the spring of 1918, 149 students from Colorado State University were serving overseas, while many more would soon join them. On April 30, 1918, one year after the United States entered World War I, and almost two years before it would end, Colorado's State Board of Agriculture Committee approved a U.S. War Department contract with Colorado State University. The government contract provided funding for a new Students' Army Training Corps (SATC), to improve the training of its soldiers before they were sent to the battlefield. The creation of the SATC provided funding to train sixty automotive mechanics, seventy general mechanics, forty telegraph and buzzer operators, and thirty cement workers. It also funded the purchase of the equipment needed for these programs, the building of a machinery shed, and the building and equipping of a mess hall, which was also to be used as temporary housing for service members (State Board Minutes, 50-51).

The document authorizing this funding demonstrates a recognition of the need for both *places* (a machinery shed and a mess hall) and *programs* (automotive mechanics, general mechanics, telegraph and buzzer operators, and cement workers) for the training of service members. By early fall of 1918, the barracks and mess hall were under construction (see fig. 2).

CSU administration soon realized that more food storage capacity was needed in order to feed the large numbers of incoming service members. In October of 1918, construction began on a frost-proof vegetable storage facility to be attached directly to the mess hall kitchen. This provision of space also became program; the construction of this 50x21 foot building was completed as a training project by 30 U.S. Army soldiers studying cement work at the college. Above its lower story of twelve-foot tall concrete walls, a second story, a wood-framed structure, was added. Originally referred to as “Cafeteria Annex” and “Commissary Storage” within the college, this small, non-assuming building occupied many roles in its history at CSU. It served as a food storage building, a dormitory, a clubhouse, a classroom and a parking garage. Its later uses and name, as well as their rhetorical significance, are addressed later in this chapter.



FIGURE 2: CSU's new barracks in 1918;

CSU Libraries University Archives, “Barracks,” undated,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/21704/UHPC_20006.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

In 1918, World War I was the largest war the land grant university had known since its founding. Thus, the university's response to this sudden increase of active duty military members on its campus formed the initial framework through which the university would view military

members. French philosopher and sociologist Henri LeFebvre argues that space is intricately interwoven with time, offering physical places such as those formed in during this time “representational” meaning (118). Analyzed using LeFebvre’s theory of space, the 1918 government contract which authorized the building of the barracks, mess hall, and machinery shed demonstrated, foremost, attention to the need for very functional spaces. For this reason, I have coded the creation spaces as “place,” the broadest code within the category of place. The history of place, termed “space” by LeFebvre, “would explain the development, and hence temporal conditions, of those realities which some geographers call ‘networks’” (116-117). At CSU (in 1918, called CSU), this history included the nationwide creation of the Students’ Army Training Corps (SATC), which brought a sudden influx of Army soldiers for specialty training programs on the CSU campus. Two hundred soldiers arrived on the campus in June of 1919 for training in mechanics (Hansen 1977, 274). A second group of 250 soldiers soon followed (Hansen 1977, 274). Yet the legislation authorizing the construction of these spaces makes no references to bodies – the legislation’s wording provides strictly for the creation of spaces to house, feed, and educate an unnamed group. I have thus coded this stage of building as “group,” as these spaces were clearly being built for incoming Army soldiers, though actual bodies, whether as groups or as individuals, are not mentioned within the text. Using LeFebvre’s theory of space, the national importance of training soldiers in practical skills for battle during this time, as well as the land grant university’s role as a supporter of the national war effort and provider of military training are evident in the creation of these spaces. Yet the creation of these spaces without specific mention of any group or individual is telling. These buildings were built to meet the needs of the war effort, and of the U.S. government, not for any specific individual need, and this is reflected in the lack of language referencing bodies. The frame surrounding the creation of

these buildings is one of “meeting the physical needs of a group.” This frame, though unwritten and unspoken, reflects a practicality that may reflect historical sensibilities, but which also demonstrates an attention to the immediate, most basic needs of a large group of people who arrival was sudden.

The programmatic developments during this time, however, do reference *bodies*, though only slightly more specifically. The government’s creation of the Students’ Army Training Corps, or SATC, demonstrates an awareness of the need for nationwide, specialized education for active duty military members. The SATC contract provided of funding to train sixty automotive mechanics, seventy general mechanics, forty telegraph and buzzer operators, and thirty cement workers. The language usage in this legislation is very specific; the war effort required certain numbers of military members trained in certain skills for the battlefield. Burke’s theory of terministic screens, and a use of language to display and to divide, is seen here. These orders may designate workers, as seen in “mechanics,” “operators,” and “workers,” but the human labor providing these jobs is unseen. Instead, this language is product-driven, and authorizes the land grant university to teach this work to military members who will provide such products. Under the category of *Place/Space*, I have coded this authorization as *program*, as this work demonstrates the awareness of the need for specialized education for these military members to better equip them for the battlefield. This programmatic development viewed students as a group of service members rather than as individuals, thus, it has been coded in the category of *Bodies as group*.

By mid-October, the barracks were expected to be occupied by incoming service members, members of the Students’ Army Training Corps assigned to CSU training by the Army (RMC, Oct. 10, 1918). Instead, the 1918 influenza pandemic, also called the Spanish Influenza,

reached the CSU campus, and the barracks were instead used as a hospital to treat and quarantine infected service members (see fig. 3). The construction of physical spaces, seen here in barracks and mess hall, demonstrates the provision of place, by both government (here, the War Department and the State Board of Agriculture Committee), and land grant university (here, Colorado State University, at the time called Colorado Agricultural College) to meet the physical need for space to house and feed military members in training for war.



FIGURE 3: Barracks used as a hospital for returning soldiers with influenza;

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Hospital-interior," 1917,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/19789/UHPC_1520.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

That the university once helped train active-duty military members for war may seem shocking when viewed through a cultural lens of today's political and social climate. Reese defines frames as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (19). Yet, frames can shift. Just as cultural context can, and does, shift and change over time, as values, beliefs, and perceptions

change. Frames reflect and enforce the ideology of the culture in which they take place, therefore they are broader than any specific topic. Instead, frames “organize and structure” how individuals interpret information (Reese 19, Burke "Language" 48). As Reese notes, researching the specific analysis of what is being encompassed within a frame “encourages an analysis that delves into the contextualization of topics--social(ly), historically, culturally” (20). Determining what is being framed, and how this frame is functioning, allows the researcher to uncover the social and political context which created this cultural event. This historical view of the creation of space demonstrates a value that the land grant university once placed on both nationalism and on war-readiness, an awareness of material bodies, and their need to be trained in wartime skills.

World War I ended on November 11, 1918, leading to the demobilization of the Students’ Army Training Corps on December 10, 1918. The President of Colorado State University at the time, Dr. Charles A. Lory, announced to students that he wanted them to “salvage the remainder of the year” now that the war had ended, and noted that since a large amount of the college’s building fund was used to construct buildings for military training, he intended to use them to benefit the school. By January of 1919, the college and the U.S. government were still negotiating how the barracks would be repurposed. By the spring of 1919, CSU was authorized to remodel the two barracks - one to be used for ongoing military use, and the other for other purposes (RMC, Dec. 19, 1918; RMC, Jan. 2, 1919; State Board, March 25, 1919). While CSU planned to use one of the barracks for classrooms, a housing shortage in Fort Collins in the summer of 1919 left many faculty members without lodging, so the State Board of Agriculture gave faculty permission to temporarily live in vacant war buildings on campus (State Board, June 11, 1919). By the end of the summer, the faculty members found long-term housing

solutions, and the barracks were now being used by the Vocational Education, Animal Husbandry, Athletic, and Military departments (C.A.C. Alumnus, Aug. 1919).

Fires were a major concern regarding the wooden structures of this period. In February of 1921, the War Department reimbursed CSU for the insurance policies it had carried to cover the loss of military equipment. To continue to prevent fires, CSU administration agreed to purchase two fire axes and to have the military barracks inspected regularly by the building superintendent. By September of 1922, a water main was installed near the barracks to further protect from the risk of fire. The barracks were again remodeled in 1924 to provide the Animal Husbandry Department more room, at a cost of \$3,000 for remodeling, and \$1,089 for new equipment. The fire prevention measures taken by CSU were of no use; by February of 1927, both barracks burned to the ground in a fire that, it was rumored, was caused by spilled ether in a laboratory (see fig. 4).



FIGURE 4: The barracks fire of 1927;

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Barracks-fire," 1927,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/25585/UHPC_4887.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Despite efforts to put out the fire, it quickly consumed both barracks. ROTC cadets rescued as much furniture and military equipment as they could from the burning buildings (see fig. 5). At an emergency meeting of the State Board of Agriculture Executive Committee to discuss the fire, members authorized the immediate procurement of laboratory replacement equipment and furniture. The Executive Committee expressed their thanks to one Major John P. Lucas, the commander of CSU's ROTC unit, for "saving from destruction by fire property and material of the value of \$250,000. The loss of which with their contents would have been a calamity hard to overcome" (State Board, Feb. 6, 1927).



Figure 5: Furniture and equipment rescued from the fire

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Barracks-fire," 1927,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/25583/UHPC_4885.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

CSU desperately needed to replace the lost buildings, as they made up ten percent of the college's square footage. The State Board of Agriculture Executive Committee soon wrote a letter to Colorado Governor Adams about the barracks fire to appeal to the governor to provide funds for a replacement building (State Board, Feb. 6, 1927, State Board, Feb. 20, 1927). By October of 1928, the fire insurance company issued payment to CSU for the loss of the barracks,

so President Lory announced his authorization for the construction of a military office building (State Board, Oct. 20, 1928). The new Military Science building was to be built at the current site of the military supplies building and gun shed. It was planned to be one story tall and measure 48x132 feet. It would be made of light-colored brick, and was designed to be fireproof. A second story was planned for the future, and the building was designed to allow a second story to be added above the current roofline without disturbing the classes on the first floor (RMC, Nov. 14, 1928). The careful planning of this building, and the awareness that it must be long-lasting (by making it fireproof, rather than wood or thin metal), demonstrates the perceived value of the ROTC, here coded as *group*, to the campus. The plan for a future addition shows the university's understanding that ROTC military training would continue to be an important element of campus life, and one that would require additional physical space, here coded as *place*, for programmatic developments. I have not coded for *program*, for though the Military Science building was created specifically for ROTC usage, the programmatic planning was neither provided nor overseen by CSU. I coded references to bodies here as *group*, as this building's creation views its users simply as "ROTC members."

On January 30, 1929, CSU held a ceremony as the cornerstone of the Military Science building was laid (see fig. 6). Nine months later, at the beginning of October, classrooms were already in use as the last details of construction were completed (see fig. 7). Two of the classrooms had sliding doors so that Howitzers and French 75s could be brought into the rooms.



Figure 6: Jan. 30, 1929 Military Science Cornerstone Ceremony (cornerstone hanging from a pulley)
 CSU Libraries University Archives, "Military Science Building- Cornerstone Ceremony," 30 January 1929,
https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/19772/UHPC_5840.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y



Figure 7: Military Science Building Completed in 1929 (phase 1, one story)
 CSU Libraries University Archives, "Military Science Building," 28 November 1931,
https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/35418/UHPCSNP_12808.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

The Military Science building remained a one-story building filled with classes until late 1940, when construction began on its second floor. This addition was finished by late May of

1941, and it provided offices for military staff and an auditorium that could seat 500 (see fig. 8). Seven months later, when the United States entered World War II, all military equipment and buildings on campus, including Military Science, were under armed guard at night. This detail suggests the importance of these military structures to the land grant university campus, and the awareness that the physical buildings represented the American military upon a civilian space. Despite the creation of the space upon a public, land grant university campus, the military members and ROTC students in training recognized the military/civilian division, and felt the need to protect these buildings and their contents from anyone who would seek to enter them unlawfully.



Figure 8: Military Science Building (phase 2, second story added 1940-1941)

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Military Science Building," May 1941,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/35129/UHPCSNP_9612.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Today, CSU's Military Science building is still used by the ROTC program for classes (see fig. 9). Yet walking by, few students realize the history of this building, or are aware of the generations of ROTC students who have studied or prepared for war within it. Addressing this

lack of historical awareness, Peter Ehrenhaus, in “Memorials and Other Forms of Collective Memory,” suggests that postmodernism has created a “cultural crisis of memory,” as an increasingly individualistic and fragmented society. Rather than rendering this building less important, a forgotten history of place increases the exigence of its rhetorical meaning (Blair 2001 par. 11-13). As Blair suggests, the examination of the rhetoric of the physical—the rhetoric of place and bodies—has been a largely overlooked area of rhetorical study, and one which deserves attention as scholars question the meaning of these collective spaces (Blair 2001, Ehrenhaus). Indeed, old buildings such as this suggest to passersby that surely there is some importance to this building, a meaning of which they should be aware. French historian Pierre Nora notes that sites such as this are where “memory crystallizes and secretes



Figure 9: Military Science Building today

Photo by the author. 2 February 2018.

itself” (7). These sites, when viewed through the lens of this postmodern moment in history, suggest to the passerby both “a break with the past...bound up with the sense that memory has been torn--but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain

sites where a sense of historical continuity persists” (7). The loss of this collective memory is a societal loss, as the narrative of past history can both strengthen its future, and offer cautionary warnings of mistakes to be avoided (Nora 7). A postmodern society, though, mistakenly sorts shared history into categories of fact and myth, losing the humanity of narrative, collective memory which binds bodies and cultures, past and present together (Nora 7, 8). While there can be many memories, representing many people groups, history “belongs to everyone and no one, whence its claim to universal authority.” Thus, memory resides within the physical, while official histories are merely manmade mental constructions that are revised with time and changing political climates (Nora 9). Today, the Military Science building, first constructed in 1929 to replace the burnt World War I barracks, still is used for ROTC classes. Two shades of brick delineate specific periods of history during which the service member’s presence upon the land grant university campus created physical spaces, and suggests a building plan that predicted the increasing importance of military training upon CSU’s campus and allocated funds to meet this physical need for space (see fig. 10).



Figure 10: Military Science Building, side view

Photo by the author. 2 February 2018.

As the Military Science Building's second story was being added in 1940, the World War I-era Mess Hall to which the Commissary Storage building was attached was torn down. Though there was a proposal to salvage materials from the Mess Hall to build a new dormitory to house approximately thirty students, it was never approved. As the Mess Hall (also called the College Cafeteria) was torn down in the summer of 1940, the usable lumber was salvaged, stacked to the side to be used for other campus projects. The June 1940 *Colorado State College Alumnus* reported that one floor board from the building was inscribed with "To Hell with the Kaiser," a remnant of World War I sentiment (CSCA vol. 20). Two years after the Mess Hall was destroyed, America entered World War II. Campus administration expressed regret that the building was no longer standing, as it would have been useful for feeding WWII soldiers, as well as for feeding or housing post-WWII student veterans and their families.

One year before the Military Science Building was completed, an article appeared in CSU's newspaper, the *Collegian*, in October of 1939. It featured the Commissary Storage building, built 21 years before by the campus' Army members in the concrete construction program as a food storage building for the neighboring Mess Hall (see fig. 11). The detail of the Commissary Storage building's creation, though small, points to a provision I have coded as *place* in the *Place/Space* category, as it is meeting a very specific need for food storage, so that large numbers of service members could be fed in the mess hall without having to transport food from the main campus cafeteria. In the *Bodies* category, I have coded this building as *group*, as this building was made to store food for World War I soldiers dining in the attached mess hall. Yet the creation of this space points to a frame that is reoccurring within the historical narrative of the military member or student veteran upon the land grant university campus. The frame of "active military/veterans making their own provisions" is seen here, as Army soldiers studying concrete construction built the Commissary Storage building themselves. No other students within the university would be expected to build their own buildings, to create their own physical spaces, yet military members and student veterans frequently have done so.



Figure 11: The Biltmore, also known as Commissary Storage (1918-1960)

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Biltmore building," 1954,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/180071/UHPC_B5916B.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

The 1939 *Collegian* article noted that the Commissary Storage building, which was no longer used for food storage, had since been used as military barracks, classrooms for the forestry department, and a campus restaurant. By 1939, the building was being used as a campus hotel. The *Collegian* article humorously detailed the Commissary's new name, given by its current residents, nine young men who were students at CSU. They had hung a sign in front of the building, declaring it "the Biltmore," a reference to the luxurious North Carolina estate. The naming stuck. By World War II, campus maps listed the building as the "Forestry Packing House," though students still referred to it as "the Biltmore." Following World War II, the Biltmore was used as additional housing for student veterans, as 26 men lived in its second story. The memory of its earlier residents' joke continued – residents referred to the building as "the

Biltmore,” while campus maps still insisted on more formal terms for the building, a published history resisting and rewriting the understood collective memory of the place. Its communal name, the Biltmore, belied the meager housing that it provided to these post-WWII student veterans. No other period recorded such crowded living conditions within the Biltmore. Here, I’ve coded for *place* and for *group*, while also noting a frame of “the university doing just enough” and “veterans making their own provisions.” That almost thirty student veterans lived in this primitive housing, uncomplaining, reflects a determination to obtain an education, regardless of the inconveniences.

By the 1950s, the Biltmore building was being used as classrooms for the Home Economic Department. This is the first period during which the written history of the building reflected the collective memory surrounding it. Campus maps during the 50s labeled the building “Temporary Home Economics Classroom – Biltmore.” Unwilling to fully embrace a name which mocked the ramshackle building’s modest design, campus administrators who assembled the map instead first labeled the building its practical name, reflecting its use, “Temporary Home Economics Classroom.” Yet, faced with a collective memory that had grown stronger since the building was jokingly renamed more than a decade before, the map also acknowledged the building’s more colloquial name, “Biltmore,” though placing it second, so as to maintain a more professional nomenclature. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the collective memory surrounding the building’s name had become too widely known to be ignored. Campus maps referred to the building simply as “Biltmore.”

World War I: Program

Analysis for programmatic developments shows substantial growth made necessary by wartime military training. Not mentioned in this specific text are the other programs through which service members were already being readied for warfare. World War I warfare still relied on horses for cavalry units, so veterinary and farrier training was provided to service members to teach them to care for cavalry horses. The cavalry used an on-campus stable to house and care for their ninety horses. During World War I, CSU history shows attention to programmatic needs, coded as *program*. These programs display an awareness of the specific skills needed in battle, as America's agricultural colleges swiftly made preparations to teach these skills.

After World War I's end, government policy and university programs demonstrated greater responsiveness to veterans returning from battle, seen in greater attention to individual bodies. Due to medical advances during World War I, writes Ellen Hampton in *The Atlantic*, more wounded soldiers survived and returned home after battle (par. 3,5). With the return of more veterans bearing increased traumatic war wounds, and noted in the 1922 *Silver Spruce*, the U.S. government signed the Original War Risk Insurance Act, signed on October 6, 1917. This legislation established provision for war veterans with "dismemberment and injuries to sight or hearing and... other injuries commonly causing permanent disability or impairment of earning capacity." This act advised disabled veterans to "... follow such course or courses of rehabilitation, re-education or the vocational training as the government might provide or procure to be provided" (1922 *Silver Spruce*). Interestingly, this legislation still placed the agency for rehabilitation upon the disabled veteran, who must "follow such...courses...as the government *might* procure..." (italics added). Reese examines the use of framing theory to draw conclusions regarding the "dominant meaning" within a culture, meaning "the problem, causal,

evaluative, and treatment interpretations with the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by the most people” (22). Though frames exist in a variety of locations, Reese explains that they usually move “from textual structures to mental structures” (22). Framing, then, suggests that the language use within the Original War Risk Insurance Act reflected societal expectations of the wounded veteran, that he would “pull himself up by the bootstraps” by finding whatever help he needed, should the government manage to establish rehabilitative programs. The frame of “veterans making their own provisions” is seen in this expectation. Though the attention to the code *disability* shows awareness of war wounds and disability, it can also reflect a frame of “wounded returning warriors,” which sees veterans as bearers of signature war wounds. This frame can carry negative connotations, as woundedness can be seen as “other,” but it also can be a demonstration of the recognition that these returning veterans may carry battle wounds that require particular training to help them achieve functionality.

Despite its vague wording, the Original War Risk Insurance Act appears to have had a tremendous impact upon the post-World War I veteran. In the same 1922 *Silver Spruce* article, the author notes “The Colorado State University has done more for the disabled man than any other institution west of the Mississippi if not in the United States.... The government and college have done much to furnish these men with an education and rehabilitation. The majority of the men are taking work in stock raising or agriculture while no small number are enrolled in the auto mechanics course. ... These men come from twenty-eight different states and eight foreign countries. A large number of the vocational men have not finished the eighth grade; the majority have had some regular high school work; while the remainder are now taking college work.” This is the first mention I found of veterans as individuals within this period’s texts. The recognition of these “disabled aggies,” as the article refers to them, notes not just their wounded-

ness, but also their educational levels, their backgrounds, and their courses of study. These recognitions are coded within the category of *Bodies* as *group*, *individual*, and *disability*, all of which demonstrate a surprising awareness of individual needs for this time period. Within the category of *Place/Space*, these student veterans' experiences are coded as *place* and *program*, and, to some degree, *therapy*. This article demonstrates a willingness to accommodate a variety of bodies, with a variety of injuries and educational levels, in order to help them to succeed in the outside world by receiving training in practical trades. This shows a framework of "meeting the physical needs of a group." The availability of high school courses for veterans who had seventh-grade educations speaks to the framework through which the returning World War I veteran was seen. A frame of "veterans as equals" here is evident, as even the veteran without a high school degree found a place within the university.

A History: World War II and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act

During the latter years of World War II, estimates by the Department of Labor advised that "after the war, 15 million men and women who had been serving in the armed services would be unemployed" ("Servicemen's"). The previous decade's Great Depression, fueled by World War I soldiers who had returned from the battlefield to few job prospects and no government assistance, was a stern warning of what could occur again without swift action. The Bonus March served as a reminder of veterans' rights, of their right to and demand for fair treatment. Remembering the Bonus Army, and hoping not to receive the wrath of thousands of angry veterans again, government agencies "studied postwar manpower needs as early as 1942 and in June 1943 recommended a series of programs for education and training" (Servicemen's). In hopes of avoiding another economic downturn when these 15 million soldiers returned to American soil, "the American Legion designed the main features of what

became the Servicemen's Readjustment Act and pushed it through Congress" (Servicemen's). Surprisingly, "a liberal president and a conservative Congress united in support of the GI Bill," writes David Hackett Fischer. The bill passed unanimously in both the Senate and the House of Representatives in the spring of 1944 (Fischer). President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed it into law on June 22, 1944, just days after the D-day invasion of Normandy" (Servicemen's). After signing the GI Bill into law, the President wrote to the American people: "This bill therefore and the former legislation provide the special benefits which are due to the members of our armed forces -- for they have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems" ("About GI Bill"). The "definite action" which the GI Bill provided was the following list of options: a free education, plus a stipend; a business loan plus business advisors; twenty dollars weekly for fifty-two weeks for unemployed veterans looking for work (called the 20/52); and housing loans with no down payment and low interest, as described in an autobiography by World War II veteran's spouse Stella Suberman (180-181).

Despite its benefits, the GI Bill was still vastly underestimated. Major newspapers didn't run editorials about it, and though they did run stories about its signing, they were overshadowed by news of the Allied invasion of Europe two weeks prior (Altschuler). The GI Bill, rather than being considered a revolutionary piece of legislation, was deemed by a writer for the *New Republic* newspaper to be a "largely temporary measure designed 'to facilitate, as quickly as possible, the readjustment of veterans to civilian life'" (Altschuler 72). To inform service members about the GI Bill, the Veterans Administration had pamphlets available for GIs as they were discharged. Yet, as Suberman and her husband experienced at his discharge, many veterans knew little or nothing about the GI Bill, having only heard vague rumors of its existence. When

her husband came home with an unread brochure about the GI Bill's educational opportunities, Suberman herself read it, then insisted that her husband return to the VA office to learn more about it (183).

There were some who strongly opposed the GI Bill's offer of higher education to all veterans. Harvard president James B. Conant, in a January 23, 1945 article in *The Harvard Crimson*, explained his opposition to the GI Bill clause offering education to returning veterans. Instead, Conant argued, veterans needed to "demonstra(e) ability" before they should be accepted into higher education. The GI Bill, Conant believed, "should provide advanced education for 'a carefully selected group.'" He cautioned that without this clause to filter out less academically inclined students, "we may find the least capable among the war generation... flooding the facilities for advanced education in the United States" (Conant). University of Chicago president Robert Maynard Hutchins was quoted in the same article, and "warn(s) of 'educational hoboes'-- veterans, unable to get jobs, who will be offered a chance to live at Government expense simply by going to school." To avoid this risk, Hutchins "recommended nation-wide examinations to screen out veterans who cannot succeed in or profit by college" (Conant). Though Conant and Hutchins' views can be attributed to their protection of their respective university's standings, there were some who agreed that military veterans were not of university mettle. Willard Waller, a professor at Columbia University, argued that these "veterans, who have 'lost so much time already,' should not risk losing more 'merely in order to live at Government expense.'" As for veterans with families, Willard believed that "the scales are heavily weighted against college attendance. They will do better to give up the idea" (Altschuler 78).

To attract more veterans to the GI Bill, in late 1945, legislators voted to revise the GI Bill, further expanding its benefits. GIs could now begin their education up to four years after

their discharge, versus the previous two, and allowed veterans to use their GI Bill benefits for a nine- year period, versus the previous seven. It also allowed veterans to attend correspondence courses, and increased living stipends for students from “\$50 to \$65 a month for unmarried veterans and from \$75 to \$90 a month for those with dependents” (Atschuler 82). Whether it was because of these improved benefits, because larger numbers of soldiers were being demobilized, or because it took time for word of the GI Bill to spread, soon after these changes were made, hundreds of thousands of veterans began to use their GI Bill (Atschuler 82-83).

“Between August 1945 (V-J Day) and New Year’s Eve, 5.4 million soldiers and sailors were demobilized, double the number officials had predicted for the calendar year,” writes Altschuler (83). Suddenly, the 2,268 colleges and universities that could accept the GI Bill were flooded with student veterans; by early 1946 “300,000 World War II veterans had enrolled, more than three times the number of matriculants in the entire year of 1945,” Altschuler writes. “In 1945, 88,000 of 1.6 million students were GIs,” and within two years, 1.15 million of the 2.3 million students were GIs (Altschuler 86). On campus, the changes in student body numbers were drastic--Purdue’s enrollment increased from “5,628 in 1945 to 11,462 in 1946. The enrollment at Syracuse University in 1945 was 4,391; a year later it had swelled to 15,228” (87). The most immediate issue for universities was housing for these students. Further multiplying the shortage of housing, Harmon adds, many of these returning veterans had spouses and children (153). The Veterans Administration was, at first, unwilling to help provide housing, so Congress passed a series of amendments, allocating 450 million dollars for housing, to be built, purchased, or moved to university campuses. Dormitory construction began at many universities, slowed only by the shortage of building materials due to the sudden housing boom. Trailers were brought onto campus to house students. Other housing options, found at nearby military

facilities, were brought to campus, including Quanset huts and mess tents, to be used as lodging for universities' new student veteran population (Altschuler 87-88).

Classroom space, too, was in short supply. Iowa State University, offers Harmon, held some classes at an army base twenty miles from Iowa State's campus in order to provide relief to their already-full classrooms. This campus, called Iowa State College Camp Dodge annex, enabled 36 instructors to teach engineering and science to 500 freshmen in one year (157). Infrastructure needs such as water and sewage, also unable to keep up with increased campus size, were also rapidly expanded (89). Some worried, as a 1947 *Time Magazine* article asked, what would happen when the GI Bill expired, and the millions of dollars stopped flowing into post-secondary education. Boston University president David Marsh addressed these fears as he justified his choice to relocate Boston University's campus in order to expand. Marsh noted that "While we have been lengthening the ropes of our educational tent to make it larger, we are at the same time strengthening stakes--and strengthening the stakes in every way: teaching and research personnel, library and laboratory equipment, financial security, and physical plant." Administrators hoped that enrollment would continue to remain steady through the coming decade, which would make these physical improvements to university not only justifiable, but necessary (89-90).

This gamble turned out to be well-chosen. Historian Milton Greenberg "estimates that each dollar invested in veteran's benefits brought to the nation an eightfold return" (Suberman xxi). The U.S. Department of State notes that, "in addition to the 2.2 million veterans who attended college under this historic legislation, another 3.5 million took vocational training courses. By the time the initial GI Bill expired in 1956, the United States, according to Greenberg, had gained 450,000 trained engineers; 240,000 accountants; 238,000 teachers;

91,000 scientists; 67,000 doctors; 22,000 dentists; and more than 1 million other college-educated individuals” (The GI Bill). Of equal importance, the GI Bill’s educational opportunities and home loan benefits formed a new, educated middle class of Americans that improved the futures of generations of citizens (GI Bill). Before World War II, only three percent of Americans had college degrees, as universities, mostly private, were exclusive to the wealthy and powerful. Because of the GI Bill, Greenberg asserts, 80 percent of students are enrolled in public universities, and post-secondary education is now “focused heavily on occupational, technical, and scientific education; huge, urban-oriented, suitable for commuter attendance; and highly democratic” (Greenberg 50).

Though the GI Bill changed many veterans' lives, black Americans who served in World War II had less access to the GI Bill’s educational provisions. Historian Milton Greenberg notes that though the pre-war discriminatory practices against Jewish and Catholic Americans finally ended with the GI Bill, many black veterans were still unable to use their GI Bill benefits to attend post-secondary schools (Greenberg 2008, par. 9). America's black population was already underrepresented during World War II, as many who had been drafted or who had tried to enlist were rejected on false "grounds of physical health, literacy, and aptitude," note Altschuler and Blumin (129). Upon their return from war, a larger percentage of black veterans, forty-nine percent, used their GI Bill educational benefits than did white veterans, of whom forty-three percent used their educational benefits (Altschuler and Blumin 129). Since the majority of black WWII service members had less than an eighth-grade education, many attended trade schools and training programs that did not require a high school degree (129). For black veterans who did have high school degrees, enrolling in universities using their GI Bill benefits was still difficult. Although the GI Bill itself contained no racially-discriminatory language, layers of

discriminatory practices still made enrollment difficult or impossible for these veterans (128-129).

Within the South, Jim Crow laws were still in effect, making it illegal for black veterans to apply to "white" universities, explain Altschuler and Blumin (134). Yet the South only had one black college for every five white ones, and these schools were small, teaching fewer than 250 students (135). Due to limited funding, black colleges also had limited programs, offering no "accredited engineering department(s) or... doctoral program(s)" (Altschuler and Blumin 135). Because of these limitations, these black colleges could not accept all of their qualified applicants. About fifty-five percent of black veterans who applied at these schools were not accepted, leaving 20,000 black veterans unable to find a place at which to use their educational benefits. In the North, black veterans also had little ability to pursue higher education. Northern universities instituted quotas limiting how many black students they could admit; "at the University of Pennsylvania, only forty-six of nine thousand students in 1946 were black" (134). Those who were admitted were forbidden to take part in varsity sports, dances, sororities, or fraternities (134). Clearly, though the language of the GI Bill promised educational opportunity to all veterans, institutional forces made this education virtually impossible for most black veterans to obtain.

Despite these inequities, the World War II GI Bill's benefits reached a wider audience, and had longer-lasting effects, than any other GI Bill in U.S. history. "Ten years after WWII," editor David Hackett Fischer writes, "the Census Bureau found that 15.7 million veterans had returned to civilian life in the United States. Of that number, 12.4 million (78 percent) benefited directly from the GI Bill. Even more striking than the scope of this program is the evidence of its impact on individual lives. When surveys asked veterans what difference it made to them, three-

quarters answered, “The GI Bill changed my life.” (Fischer, ix). The kairos of the GI Bill is evident in that those who created it had no idea of its potential, or the ramifications it would have on generations to come. Fischer notes that the GI Bill was not based upon any prior legislation, and was the product of many contributors. Upon signing the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, also known as the GI Bill, into law on June 22, 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote that “With the signing of this bill a well-rounded program of special veterans’ benefits is nearly completed. It gives emphatic notice to the men and women in our armed forces that the American people do not intend to let them down” (“About GI Bill”). The Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944, intended simply to provide economic stability to the American economy, accomplished far more than the lawmakers who helped to pass this legislation ever imagined, as the kairos of the student veteran, through this GI Bill and later bills, as well, carved out material spaces upon land grant university campuses across America.

World War II: Place

On September 2nd, 1945, World War II finally ended. During the war, Colorado State University’s enrollment had decreased from 1,637 students in the fall of 1942 to 701 in the fall of 1943, as noted in “About Colorado State University” (par. 19). During the years of World War II, CSU had more female than male students for the first time in its history (“About” par. 19). The kairos created by the Bonus Army veterans began to be felt by a new generation of veterans. After World War II ended, the numbers of military veterans entering universities swiftly rose, thanks to the opportunities afforded by the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act. CSU enrollment increased from 701 students the previous year, to 1,040 students enrolled in the fall of 1945, as many returned from war. By the fall of 1946, 1,600 students were enrolled, an increase of 900 students, most of them student veterans, in just a few years (“About” par. 16).

In the fall of 1945, CSU's on-campus housing had exceeded its capacity, as homes, single rooms, and basements for rent in the neighborhoods surrounding CSU were completely full. Student veterans, seeking to enroll in CSU by using the GI Bill, were in desperate need of immediate housing. Local residents, noting this demand, had taken advantage of the sudden influx of returning student veterans. CSU's Housing Office surveyed the local community, asking residents to help provide at least 550 rooms for incoming student veterans. They received offers of only fifty. Extreme price gouging was taking place which eventually led student veterans, frustrated by the exorbitant rent prices being forced upon them by Fort Collins locals, to lodge a complaint with local officials. I have coded this complaint as *agency*, as veterans, aware that their housing shortage was being used for financial gain, pushed back against the community by formally addressing this issue with school administration. In doing so, they also placed the exigency of their situation upon university administration. In order to avoid losing these veterans as CSU students, and with them, also losing the significant government funding that their GI Bills provided, CSU administrators were now tasked with finding a solution to this housing shortage.

By fall of 1945, CSU's administration realized that while student veterans who were single waited for the construction of additional barracks and dormitories, many had found temporary housing in small camping trailers they had towed behind their cars, in tourist cabins at the Sylvan Dale Ranch near Loveland, or even in barns at local farms. Yet there was still a great need for housing for student veterans with families. They proposed the creation of a village of Quonset huts as an inexpensive, quick way to create on-campus family housing. Several local citizens of Fort Collins spoke against this plan, as they were concerned that a village of Quonset huts on CSU's campus would be a public eyesore, and that it might block their view of the

mountains (RMC Nov. 15, 1945). The proposed Veterans' Colony (later called Veteran's Village) would also increase available housing options, reducing the need for renting rooms or basements in private homes around CSU, which also reduced residents' opportunities to profit from veteran rentals. By December 13 of 1945, CSU's newspaper, the *Rocky Mountain Collegian*, reported that the first delivery of prefabricated houses, semicircular metal Quonset huts, was bound for campus via train. For several months, the Federal Housing Administration provided more shipments of Quonset huts (see fig. 12). I have here coded the creation of Veterans' Village as *place* in the category of *Place/space*, as it demonstrates the provision of physical space, shown as a village of metal buildings, for the needs of a group, here the student veteran and family. In the category of *Bodies*, I have coded the Veterans' Village beginnings as *group*, as it was built for a specific group of student veterans and their families and makes no references to individuals within its initial records. The frame surrounding the creation of this village is "meeting the physical needs of a group," as this is a purely physical structure meant to provide the basic need for housing for this group of veterans with families.



FIGURE 12: A Quonset Hut in CSU's Veterans' Village

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Veterans Village," 1946,

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By June 1, 1946, the first thirty Quonset huts were ready for families, while another seventy were still under construction (RMC, May 30, 1946). By its completion, the village was comprised of 190 units, including both full-size and half-size Quonset huts. The half-size huts, also known as “pre-fabs,” were purchased from Montgomery Ward. They were built with their flat sides facing west, and were 12’x40’, with a main room, bedroom, and bathroom. The full-size Quonset huts, which were provided by the U.S. government, were 30’x60’, and had four rooms. Both full-size and half-size Quonset huts had wooden floors and small natural gas heaters in each unit. By the fall of 1947, Veteran Village’s orderly rows of Quonset huts received street names - Valley, Mesa, Forest, Woodland, and Orchard - after which each hut had a postal address and could receive mail (see fig. 13). Postal addresses afforded a feeling of permanence for residents of these very temporary structures. Initial residents instituted their own government, which included a Veterans’ Village council and a mayor. The village government provided both representation for its community and self-government. Mayors discussed their housing problems and brought them before the school newspaper (RMC, March 12, 1948). They hosted mayors from other colleges’ veteran villages at a group forum, where they addressed mutual problems and proposed solutions (RMC, Oct. 15, 1948). They threatened to ticket and “banish” reckless drivers within the village, secured diaper and brewery delivery to their village, took neighborhood satisfaction surveys, and campaigned for a village recreation building (RMC Oct. 29, 1948; RMC Oct. 8, 1948; RMC Oct. 22, 1948; RMC Mar. 11, 1949). I have coded the creation of village government as *agency*, as it demonstrates the agentive force of these student veterans as not mere recipients, but also as actors, effecting change for themselves and fellow Veterans' Village residents. This view of student veterans challenges the assumption that the GI

Bill recipient was a mere receiver of an education given by the government. Veterans Village demonstrates the willingness of student veterans and their families to endure four years in cramped, less-than-ideal living conditions in order to obtain a post-secondary education (see fig. 14).

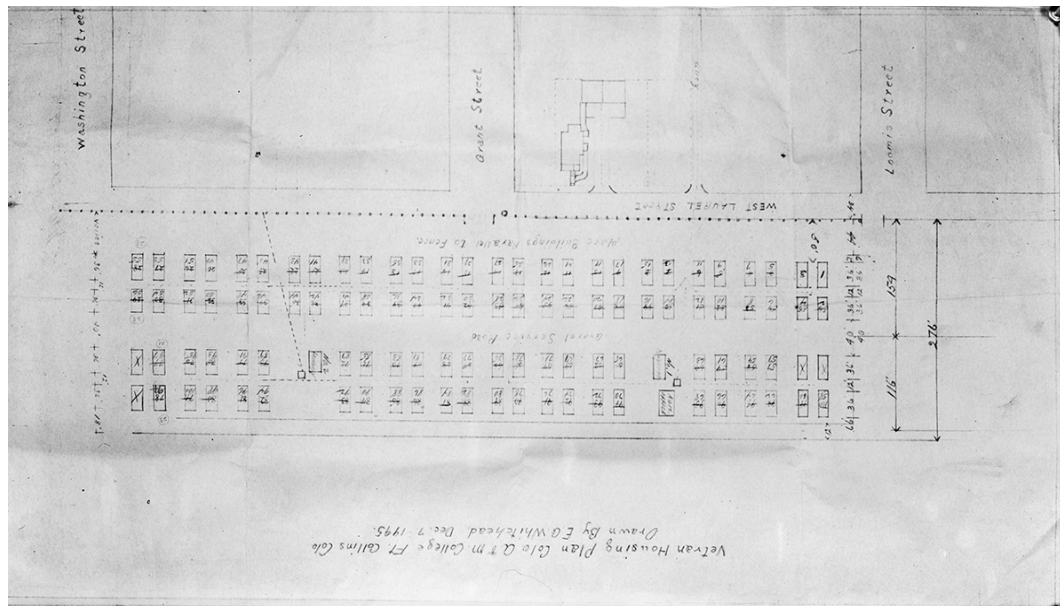


FIGURE 13: Sketch of location of Veterans' Village, located south of West Laurel Street

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Veteran's Village-drawing," 1945,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/177631/UHPC_A179A.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y



FIGURE 14: Veteran's Village

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Veteran's Village," 1947,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/170765/UHPC_B8411.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Married student veterans organized a meeting on December 9, 1946 for all students interested in a trailer camp for veterans on CSU property. Possibly due to the long waiting list of families in need of housing at Veteran's Village, these students asked CSU administration for permission to build their own trailer camp on campus. Student veterans needed school administration's permission to use school property for their trailer camp, and were willing to help build all facilities and provide their own camping trailers. Their appeals worked. By January 31st of the same year, a campsite was being built that could accommodate 72 trailers. The college provided land west of campus, adjacent to Veterans' Village, for the trailer camp, while the Disabled Student Veterans group contributed two Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) buildings, to be used as a washroom and a recreation center. I have here coded this provision of place by the Disabled Student Veterans group as *place* within the category of *Place/space*, and *group* in the category of *Bodies*. The frame surrounding the provision of these buildings is seen

here as "veterans making their own provision," as it is a group for disabled student veterans who provided buildings for the very practical needs of these student veterans. The student veterans who planned to live at the camp provided the labor to build it. Future residents were required to either provide fifty hours of manual labor to help build the campground, or, in lieu of manual labor, they could pay twenty-five dollars to join the Veterans' Camp association (RMC, Jan. 31, 1947). Future residents provided plumbing, masonry, carpentry, wiring, and ditch digging. Since only fifty hours of labor was required, any work beyond that paid fifty cents per hour. I have coded the creation of Veteran's Village as the strongest demonstration of *agency* within the narrative of the World War II student veteran at CSU. Here, the veteran is also seen through a frame of "veterans making their own provisions," as they are actually working with their hands, providing manual labor to create their own place. The skills that these student veterans here used, such as plumbing, masonry, carpentry, and wiring, were all skills they would have learned while in military service. The practical nature of their military service skills, sometimes viewed as part of their "otherness," is here seen as a resource that they are using for the benefit of themselves and other student veterans like them, all of whom needed a location to house their families while pursuing education.

By late February of 1947, before the trailer camp was inhabited by residents, the wives of the student veterans had a second meeting (RMC, Feb. 29, 1947). At this meeting, they hosted Vocational Education faculty, and discuss the challenges of living in a small trailer, and how to run a household on ninety dollars per month. I have here coded this mention both *place* and *program*, within the category of *Place/space*, and *group* and *individual* within the category of bodies. I have coded these wives' actions as *agency*, as they formed a communal group and sought instructors who could help them learn skills that would help them run their homes and

families in a small space on a very small budget. This is one of the first acknowledgements, textually, of the agentive acts of women within the historical record of the student veteran at CSU. This demonstrates a frame of "veterans making their own provisions," though here, it is veterans' spouses who are working to make a very unusual situation more navigable for themselves and their families.

By April of 1947, the trailer camp had electricity, gas, water, and a sewage system, and could accommodate 72 trailers, with utility connections at each space. Student veterans began to move their trailers into the camp, and they began to establish camp government. (RC, Apr. 11, 1947). They called this camper village "Valhalla," a Scandinavian word that means "warriors are back home" (Fort Collins Coloradoan, Apr. 28, 1947). Here, veterans are redefining the frame of "wounded returning warriors." By naming their village "Valhalla," they have defined themselves as "returning warriors," while by advocating for a place for themselves and their families, and building their own Trailer Camp, they demonstrate that many of them can overcome much of the woundedness they bear from battle. By 1950, the Trailer Camp and Veterans' Village housed 260 families and married couples. Although it was the most materially impermanent student veteran housing structure upon CSU's campus and within its history, Veterans' Trailer Camp was also the site of student veterans' most enacted agentive force, as they campaigned for the land, laid the required plumbing and wiring, and also provided their own living spaces.

Veterans' Village and Veterans' Trailer Camp, as part of the forgotten narrative of the student veteran on the land grant university campus, illustrate the importance of reclaiming this lost history. The absolute erasure of the physical history of these spaces starkly contrasts the Military Science building, built in 1929 and expanded in 1940. The Military Science building stands unchanged, and is still used for the same purpose as that for which it was built. It is a

physical reminder of the constant presence of ROTC, active duty military, and student veterans on CSU's campus since its founding. A plaque or other physical reminder of the past location of Veterans' Village and Veterans' Trailer Camp

World War II: Program

Programmatically, during World War II there were many developments at CSU that advanced pedagogy within the university. During World War II, a six-week training program provided mechanics, veterinary, and stenography training courses for active duty service members before they deployed overseas. The short course in mechanical engineering provided its enrollees with skills to repair military trucks, tanks, and mechanized equipment to support the U.S. military in battle. Veterinary training had been offered to World War I Army soldiers at CSU, as well, but during that time it was used for maintaining the health of cavalry horses to be used on the battlefield. During World War II, veterinary science training was intended to equip military members to oversee military encampments overseas, including food safety and adequate sanitation facilities, to ensure that the risk of illness at these encampments was reduced. These two programs were coded as *program* in the category of *Place/space*, and as *group*, as they recognize these military members as in need of these specific programmatic specialties to prepare them for the battlefield, but still see these military members as a group.

During this time, the military also needed more stenographers who could act as clerks. Within the military, the clerk's job was to type the commanding officers' orders, in triplicate, and to distribute, classify, and file all correspondence, as explained on The Military Yearbook Project website ("Clerk-Typist" par. 1). Prior to World War II, Colorado State University offered a secretarial course for women, in which they learned typing and filing skills, but it did not offer stenography. When CSU received the contract to train incoming military members during World

War II, the instructor of the women's secretarial course, Gladys Eddy, quickly realized that CSU was lacking a stenography program for incoming service members. Eddy visited nearby Fort Logan, an Army base in Denver, Colorado. At Fort Logan, Eddy learned the Army's method of stenography. She returned to CSU to teach this method to incoming military members. Eddy's stenography program greatly increased the size of her classes, as Army soldiers were trained there before going to work on the battle front. After World War II, Eddy's program remained larger than it had been in its secretary-school years. It was eventually renamed the Business Department, and Eddy remained its director through the 1970s. Today, CSU's Business Department is consistently rated as one of the top ten business programs in America, as is noted on CSU's Business School webpage, and it offers nine concentrations within its Bachelor of Science in Business Administration program, as well as eight graduate programs ("College of Business"). Though much of the archival record documenting this story has been lost, archivist Douglas Hazard recounted Gladys Eddy's programmatic contribution in an interview. I have coded the development of this program as *program* in the category of *Place/space*, and as *group* in the category of *Bodies*.

Chapter Five: Tracing Space and Program Through Today

Korean War: Place and Program

The years following World War II suggest that much of the production of space surrounding the student veteran came to an abrupt halt. This may be attributed to both a shift in the social climate surrounding the military and U.S. involvement in wars, as well as a drastic reduction in the financial and educational benefits that accompanied these period's GI Bills. The archival record for the Korean War period, from June 25, 1950 to July 27, 1953, is devoid of any mention of the material production of place or programs for or with the military member or student veteran within my coding scheme. This lack of activity surrounding the student veteran was most likely due to the declining numbers of student veterans upon CSU's campus. Though the GI Bill didn't expire until 1956, most post-WWII veterans who wanted to use their educational benefits had already completed their schooling. This lack of veterans upon the CSU campus, and the sudden disappearance of places or programs for the veteran, highlights the frame of "veterans as financially generative." The Korean War years were the first in CSU's history when the university was not financially solvent.

Since the end of World War II, writes James E. Hansen II in his history of CSU, the majority of Colorado State University's enrollment had consisted of student veterans, who were attending CSU using the GI Bill (374). At every university across America, the GI Bill paid for student veterans' education at the higher, non-resident rate (Hansen 374-375). In the years directly after World War II, when the student veteran enrollment was the largest, the government money student veterans' GI Bills provided was the source of most of Colorado State University's income. Clearly, these were the years when the frame of "veterans as financially generative" was

most evident. Once the college's student veteran population, and the dollars they brought with them, began to decline in 1950, the college faced economic struggle, placing in stark relief the previous years' frame of "veterans as financially generative."

The 1949-50 school year saw a sudden decrease in student veteran enrollment, as large numbers of GI Bill recipients had already completed their studies (Hansen 375). The college was suddenly faced with a deficit for the upcoming school year, yet it could not approach the state legislature for emergency funding, as "the legislature met biennially and would not convene again until 1951," writes Hansen (375). Though the State Board of Agriculture was concerned about plans to operate the college with a spending deficit, new CSU president William Morgan "threatened to resign if they did not" approve the year's budget (375). The budget was approved, and the college operated that year with more than a \$70,000 deficit, "deferring the payment of bills until the 1951 session of the General Assembly" in hopes that it would provide additional funding when it reconvened (Hansen 375).

CSU President Morgan still wanted to continue the school's building projects, even without the federal funding that the student veteran population had provided. To procure additional funding, CSU's president, along with other Colorado university presidents, approached Colorado's legislature to seek to persuade them to provide increased financial support to Colorado's colleges. They argued that Colorado's future depended upon the ability of its universities to house and educate students, citing studies that suggested that a new surge of students, children of the wave of student veterans who had gone to college, would also attend college by the 1970s (Hansen 376-377). Although the legislature did provide increased funding, it was not enough to begin to build the dormitories and dining halls that CSU administration felt were needed for the coming decades' projected enrollment boom. The school took out a \$1.5

million loan, to the dismay of CSU's Board of Directors, and construction of new dormitories began (Hansen 377). This great financial risk to CSU's future is demonstrative of the degree to which the university was accustomed to the government's GI Bill funding. CSU administration used this large loan to begin construction of Green Hall, a women's dormitory (Hansen 377).



FIGURE 15: Green Hall, built in 1954 where Veterans' Trailer Camp once stood;

CSU Libraries University Archives, "Green Hall," 1954,

https://dspace.library.colostate.edu/bitstream/handle/10217/177556/UHPC_B5894A.jpg?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Green Hall was constructed on the site where Veterans' Village and Veterans' Camp were previously located, overwriting and virtually erasing the physical space where hundreds of World War II student veterans before had lived (see fig. 15). Veterans Village was one of the sites on CSU's campus where student veterans had demonstrated the most agency – in exchange for a place to live, those in Veterans' Camp used the skills they had learned in the military to

carve a place for themselves into the physical place of CSU. They dug their own sewage lines, ran their own electricity, and brought their own trailers as housing to this location. That this site of great rhetorical agency was the first one demolished, erased, and repurposed by the university, using borrowed funding in an overextended budget, demonstrates the beginning of a cultural forgetfulness. The collective memory surrounding Veterans' Village was soon erased almost entirely. Today, Green Hall is used as CSU's police station.

Vietnam War: Place and Program

The Vietnam War period shows no creation of structures for student veterans, most likely due to cultural movements decrying war at that time. The dominant frame during this time is that of "veterans as shameful." This frame is seen in multiple instances within the Vietnam-era records of CSU. The first story within the Vietnam War narrative which demonstrates this frame is in June of 1967, two years after the United States entered the Vietnam War, when a small plaque was erected on the north side of the Military Science building. Its purpose was to honor CSU students who were killed in the Vietnam War. Though the article in CSU's alumni newspaper calls it a "Vietnam War Memorial," its size and location suggest that some forces may have opposed this memorial (CSU Alumnus, May-June 1967, vol.3, no.3, p. 12). This memorial is a small, metal plaque, only slightly larger than a sheet of paper, mounted onto a boulder, standing at a height below knee-level. Its size and placement suggest insignificance, even public embarrassment, that such a plaque would stand on a public university campus. The plaque was sponsored by the Scabbard and Blade, an ROTC honor society. The frame of "veterans as shameful" is evident here, though interestingly, this framing surrounds a memorial for veterans, erected by ROTC students. This demonstrates how deeply frames are rooted within societal views. ROTC officers, seeking to honor fallen former CSU ROTC students, dedicated this

memorial plaque on CSU's campus, positioning it near the entrance of the Military Sciences Building. Yet the size and placement of the memorial clearly communicates the frame of "veterans as shameful," which may demonstrate an awareness that such a memorial would not be welcomed by much of CSU's student body due to anti-war sentiment at this time. Thus, the place itself, here a memorial, reflects this desire not to attract too much attention with this memorial. This framing remains surrounding this memorial, as it still stands in front of the Military Science Building, a large bush overhanging it, the names of fallen veterans listed in small, neat font on a plaque near the ground.

By 1968, the unrest of the Vietnam War protests was evident on CSU's campus, drawing attention to the general understanding of military places' representation of military members. In November of 1968, three students were arrested for painting on the outside of the Military Science building as part of a protest (CSU Collegian, Nov. 22, 1968). In May of 1970, a fire was started in Old Main, CSU's original classroom building built in 1878, describes Karen Spilman in CSU library archive's "Guide the Old Main Collection" home page (par. 3). Old Main had been used primarily for course classrooms, but it also housed CSU office, the school library, a chapel, and a gymnasium, which was used for military drills (Spilman par. 1-2). Though the fire was suspected to be arson, no arrests were ever made. The same night, a fire was also started in the ROTC Firing Range building, and CSU students helped to guard the other campus military buildings (CSU Collegian, May 10, 1970). By 1972, there were several more protests by CSU students that ended in arrests. In April, vandals defaced the walls of the Military Science, Military Science Annex, Humanities, Social Sciences, Administration, Administration Annex, and Student Services buildings with anti-war slogans (CSU Collegian, April 26, 1972). In May, thirteen protesters were arrested by CSUPD officers after they staged a protest in the office of the

Military Science building and refused to leave. The protestors were found guilty in Fort Collins Municipal Court and fined \$100 each for the charge of trespassing. The archive suggests that many CSU students agreed with the protesters' actions--a booth was established at the Flea Market within the Student Center so that students could donate funds to help the protesters pay the fines (RMC, Oct. 6, 1972). In each of these events, protesters vandalized many buildings which were either built for the student veteran (Student Services had been a World War II dormitory) or used currently by the ROTC member (Firing Range building, Military Science, Military Science Annex). This suggests the rhetorical significance of these spaces as physical representations of the presence of the military member and/or veteran on the land grant university campus. As an understood link which represented student veterans, and the military in which they had served, these spaces became the target of students' protests, as a logical vehicle upon which they could display their message of "veterans as shameful."

Today: Place and Program

In tracing the physical and programmatic changes which have taken place upon the land grant university campus, the physical record demonstrates that, today, there is very little evidence of the production of physical places for the student veteran. My research coded no reference to "place" in the category of place/space. This may suggest that the material development of the land grant university now being complete, the university's size is expansive enough to encompass most programmatic improvements without a need for new construction. Yet coding for the material developments within the categories of place/space and bodies also suggests that there has been a tremendous increase in the development of student-veteran-focused programs, coded as "program," as well as an even more individualistic attention to "therapy." The provision of such programs and therapies also recognizes not just groups of

student veterans, coded "group," but sees them as individuals, coded "individual," and also recognizes the code of "disability," as well. It is this focus on both the individual and on disability which demonstrates a shift in the recognition of specific bodies and their needs, and in the material spaces created by the student veteran's presence, during the present day. Although it would be tempting to suggest that the transition from the material production of space, as seen during World War I and World War II, was a greater contribution than the material production as program, as seen at CSU today, this assumption would be false. Data from today's student veteran programs suggests that student veterans' material effect upon the land grant university campus shows increasing specificity and attention to the individual body and its needs, a theory supported by coding for the categories of place/space and bodies.

On CSU's campus today, the two most prominent programs for the student veteran are Adult Learners and Veterans Services, or ALVS, and the Occupational Therapy department's New Start program. The goal of ALVS is "to support non-traditional students in their transition" by offering "resources to aid in the advancement of adult and veteran students both academically and professionally" ("Welcome"). ALVS offers services for CSU's student veterans, which I have coded as "program" within the category of place/space, which I have coded as "group" within the category of bodies. But by combining the needs of student veterans with the services of other types of adult learners, this program does not entirely fit into my coding scheme for "group," as this program is not solely for student veterans. By combining services for student veterans, a very specific sub-category of adult learners, with services for all other adult learners, this program incorrectly identifies this group (Heineman 219-220). Combining services for these groups also allows government funding for military veterans to also be used for other, non-military adult learners, spending much-needed money intended for veterans on a non-military

community. While this speaks to the generative nature of the student veteran, and the productive force of government funding which often accompanies these students' enrollment, it also suggests that this funding may also frequently be reappropriated to help fund other programs for civilian learners, at times diverting necessary resources from the student veteran.

The largest program developed at CSU for student veterans today is New Start for Veterans, a non-profit Occupational Therapy program. In an interview with Cathy Schelly, a professor in occupational therapy and former director of the Center for Community Partnerships for more than twenty years, she explains that New Start began in 1985 with a small federal grant, which was used to found The Center for Community Partnerships. This organization's original mission was to work with people with disabilities to get them out of institutional settings. When Schelly joined the program in 1987, it had become so successful that it expanded to help many communities find employment, including those with Traumatic Brain Injury, or TBI. The program began hiring experts in TBI and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, or PTSD. After 9/11, meetings with Veterans Administration officials in Cheyenne, Wyoming and Denver, Colorado enabled New Start to work in conjunction with the Veterans Benefit Office to provide occupational therapy to veterans of the Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq wars, notes Schelly.

Around 2009, philanthropist Dennis Repp contacted CSU in hopes of reconnecting and finding a program to which he could donate. According to Penske Media Corporation's website, where Repp is a director, he grew up in Colorado and attended CSU (par. 1). Repp is an Army veteran who worked in venture capital operations before building his own companies (Penske par. 2-3). He later founded Opportunity International, a philanthropic organization that impacts more than one million people annually (par. 4). When he contacted CSU, Repp, who was interested in supporting fellow veterans, was told about New Start's program, as noted in CSU's

article "Getting a New Start" (par. 7). Before Repp became involved, New Start served twelve to fifteen veterans per year, Schelly notes. In 2012, Repp partnered New Start, donating \$1.55 million to create the New Start for Veterans fund. He later donated an additional \$1 million to help the program track veterans' progress (par. 7). Since Repp's generous donations, New Start now serves more than 135 current and incoming student veterans every year ("Getting" par. 9). Today, New Start for Student Veterans' services include "support in addressing memory, concentration, and/or physical challenges; stress management; the use of critical academic skills necessary for college success; peer mentoring; recreation connection and assistance; and connection to campus and community resources," per their webpage, "New Start for Student Veterans Program."

According to Erica Billingsley, Administrator of the Center of Community Partnerships and overseer of the New Start for Veterans program, the program is meant to help veterans learn self-advocacy, as a skill of "knowing yourself." New Start, Billingsley notes, teaches veterans to navigate education and everyday life. Since their disabilities are often acquired, the return to the civilian and academic world with a new injury makes learning very different. New Start focuses on helping student veterans learn how to learn, even with new challenges to which they are still adjusting (Billingsley). Billingsley, when asked about the changes she would like to see in New Start for Veterans' future, replies that she would like to see more intersectionality in how they approach veterans. "We would love to be able to provide better support for family members of veterans, as a way to connect with their spouse, and create a successful second level of support," Billingsley answers. Some of New Start's most successful cases have resulted from working together with veterans' spouses, and finding out about private situations, memory challenges, sleep issues, anxiety, or a lack of study space that may be impacting the student veteran's

success. New Start then evaluates how their therapists can help these individuals so they can be successful in all of their life roles. In coding this provision of place/space and awareness of bodies, programs such as New Start encompass the coding for the most detail oriented codes, *therapy*, *individual*, and *disability*. This is a demonstration of the intersectionality of the roles of the student veteran, whose multiple, simultaneous roles of former military member, current student, and adult learner may display, at times, more complexities than the university feels equipped to understand or prepared to assist. Yet the historical role of the student veteran upon the land grant university shows a gradual shift to this attentiveness to the individual body and its very specific needs.

Though this research is cautious not to view the student veteran through a lens of deficit, the evolution of the student veterans' material production of space upon the university campus suggests that this very personal, individual approach to human need may be the next step necessary to continue improvement of the land grant university for, and with, the student veteran. Like the physical spaces and programs of World War I and World War II, programs such as New Start benefit not just the student veteran, but also the community at large, as well. Just as buildings brought government funding to the land grant university campus during World Wars I and II, the contribution of private donors to the university's programs, seen in New Start as a veteran as donor, too, suggests that the presence of the student veteran is still as materially generative as it was a century ago. Today, advancements in therapies in programs such as New Start for Veterans, and the research this entails, benefit those in the civilian community, as well.

According to the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, "(s)ince the Post-9/11 GI Bill was implemented on Aug. 1, 2009, (it) has provided educational benefits to 773,000 Veterans and their family members, amounting to more than \$20 billion in benefits" (VA). Glen Vance,

Colorado State University's GI Bill certifying official, reports that in the fall of 2013, CSU had 1,054 students enrolled using Post 9/11 GI Bill benefits. By 2016, this number had only slightly increased to 1,071. By 2018, the number of CSU students using GI Bill benefits had increased to 1,213 (Doe 2018). Though these numbers show only gradual increases, as noted by former New Start director Schelly, after every major war, there is a significant influx of student veterans into the university. Increased attention to the intersectionality of the student veteran, of the multiple roles and challenges they may face, demonstrates our own evolution as responders to this particular group, as those who may now see the student veteran through a wider lens by recognizing both group and individual needs, while making therapies available to help individuals who do have disabilities achieve maximum functionality.

According to Marilyn Valentino, in "Serving Those Who Have Served: Preparing for Student Veterans in Our Writing Programs, Classes, and Writing Centers," today's student veterans may return to the classroom with a variety of challenges (166). Yet, as Valentino reminds us, these student veterans also bring with them many of the skills we most wish to see in our students, such as maturity, a broad worldview, and determination (167). Just as the student veterans of World War II, who frequently made their own provisions to achieve their goals, today's student veteran does not want us to try to make them better, or even to pretend that we understand (Valentino 16). But they do appreciate "appropriate, respectful, empowering environments to ease their transition," environments such as those discussed above (165). Perhaps, since we no longer have material buildings specifically prepared for the student veteran, no long, wooden barracks, no villages of Quonset huts meant for groups of returning veterans, these more individual spaces are our modern-day barracks. Access to therapies and programs to benefit and equip the student veteran demonstrates our understanding of their role, as those

whose belonging on our campuses has been demonstrated by the places and programs surrounding their material presence on the land grant university for generations.

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