

The Boys of Beaver Meadow: A Homosexual Community at 1920s Dartmouth College

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Dartmouth College is located in Hanover, New Hampshire, on the banks of the Connecticut River. Just across the river in the state of Vermont is the town of Norwich. If you follow the road heading northwest out of Norwich for about five and a half miles, you will arrive in West Norwich, the present day site of what, in earlier years, was a hamlet called Beaver Meadow. The road that takes you there is called Beaver Meadow Road. It was there in the early to mid-1920s that an all-male group of Dartmouth students and recent graduates stayed in a house where, free from the regulatory eyes of their faculty, they had parties, stayed up late, drank alcohol, and had sex. With each other.

This essay explores the significance of these students' choices for our understandings of the history of homosexuality in the United States. The story of the boys of Beaver Meadow stands in contrast to the historical narrative with which we've become familiar: homosexuality emerges in urban settings. While it is not particularly surprising that homosexual sex occurred at an all-male college in the 1920s, it is certainly noteworthy that homosexually-inclined Dartmouth students (for lack of a better term) created a community of sorts for themselves in rural Vermont. When these students did eventually return to their hometowns, a number of them ended up marrying women. The boys of Beaver Meadow tell us that homosexuality was not seen as incompatible with a more rural existence. Indeed, just as much fun could be had in the country as in the city, and, even more importantly for middle-class college students, more anonymously at that.

Returning to the city might well mean returning to the family and friends who knew them; staying in the country meant prolonging a different sort of life.

The story is also interesting for what it can tell us not just about the space of rural New England, but also about the homosocial space in which the incidents evolved. Not only were the young men students at rugged and outdoorsy all-male Dartmouth, the majority of them were also members of the Epsilon Kappa Phi fraternity as well as frequent performers in Dartmouth's theatre program, regularly taking the women's parts in plays. The combination of these three elements—Dartmouth College, fraternity brotherhood, and women's parts in school plays, a combination virtually unimaginable today—has much to tell us about conceptions of masculinity in the 1920s. They help us to understand the ways that masculinity might be envisioned differently in a single-sex environment in comparison to that of a coeducational school. Examining these issues together, this essay explores the ways that different kinds of space—homosocial and rural—contributed to the growth of this homosexual community, raising questions about standard accounts of the emergence of a homosexual identity.

First, however, the story of what happened. As in much of the historiography of homosexuality, especially from and prior to the early twentieth century, most of my evidence comes not from the participants themselves but from those who were charged with regulating, and in this case, punishing them: Dartmouth College authorities. I have found no account of the incidents written by any of the student participants, though their voices do occasionally emerge when they have spoken to the authorities involved. Because of this, and because of the way that Dartmouth officials discussed the case—usually in the most oblique of terms—my understanding of what happened remains partial, at best. That said, I am able to piece together a rough outline of what transpired.

In the early 1920s a group of Dartmouth College students purchased—or perhaps rented, it remains unclear¹—a farmhouse in Beaver Meadow where they spent their free time. Much like the fraternity house to which some of them also belonged, though definitely further away from campus, the house allowed them a place where they could relax, free from the prying eyes of the faculty; considering what it was they were doing with their free time, this was particularly essential. It also afforded them a place to drink. During the era of Prohibition, drinking was regulated by the law of the land and forbidden by Dartmouth authorities.

The occupants of the house shared a number of characteristics. Most of them were active in the college theatre program and many of them regularly took the women's parts in the school plays.² There was nothing unusual about this at the time. Dartmouth was an all-male college and if plays were to be performed that included female characters, as many plays do, male students would have to take the parts. Some of the men regularly garnered glowing reviews in the college newspaper, *The Dartmouth*, for their portrayal of women. For instance, in October of 1920, when *The Thirteenth Chair* was cast, it was noted that “W. M. Patterson '23, the best looking ‘ingenue’ among the Players will act in the role of Helen O'Neill, the heroine of the play.” The next year, the reviewer lauded the Players'

production of *Rise, Please*, because the same student, Patterson, “managed his lisp well and played up to Mr. Bird.” Another was praised for looking well “as both bride and widow,” and a third, Ralph Jones, who played the Villainess, was singled out because “he drew all eyes after him whenever he walked across the stage.”³ Many of the students associated with the house at Beaver Meadow were also members of the fraternity Epsilon Kappa Phi. EKP was a local fraternity, that is, they were not part of a national organization, the kind that has affiliated chapters at other schools. However, EKP was in the process of applying to become a chapter in the national fraternity Delta Upsilon. Typical of many Dartmouth students, a number of the Beaver Meadow students lived in the EKP house rather than in a dormitory.

By 1925, suspicion—both by fellow students and by Dartmouth authorities—began to coalesce around two individuals: W. McKay Patterson and Ralph Garfield Jones. The two were part-owners of the house at Beaver Meadow, they were active in the theatre program, they were both members of Epsilon Kappa Phi fraternity, and they both chose to remain in Hanover and across the river at their other home following their graduation in 1924. When the parties at Beaver Meadow finally became public, or public at least within the Dartmouth community, it was these two whom most people believed had coerced others into participating, inveigling them with promises of alcohol and other temptations. They were also accused of making “a parade of their effeminacy” and of having embraced an “aesthetic” way of life. How many others visited the house at Beaver Meadow we will probably never know, but at least three others were at one time or another co-owners of the property.⁴

The use of the house at Beaver Meadow came to an abrupt end in the autumn of 1925 when Dartmouth students began to complain openly about the behavior of the boys who visited the house. One of these boys was threatened with being run out of town; there were rumors that students planned to burn down the farmhouse, and that others planned to horn the EKP fraternity, meaning that they would harass EKP with brass instruments, a then-common college practice for demonstrating anger or displeasure. President Hopkins also learned about the alcohol being consumed at the house and, by his explanation, this was enough to warrant action. While even he acknowledged that most of his students probably drank despite the rules forbidding it, and that many Americans, Prohibition or not, also drank regularly, he was obliged to follow up on specific reports as part of his presidential duties. Further, he was very much concerned with the influence of Patterson and Jones on a number of students and on one in particular, a member of the class of 1927 named Joseph Goodwin.⁵

Hopkins wrote letters to the fraternity’s faculty advisors letting them know that he was aware of the “unpleasant atmosphere” that surrounded the fraternity, noting the ““smell of something decayed and unpleasant about certain individuals of the group,”” and asking the advisors to step in and attempt to have the fraternity “police itself.” He closed by stating unequivocally that, “going to or visiting in the house at Beaver Meadow . . . was prima facie evidence of undesirability.”⁶

He then began to call students to his office to speak with him. The report of one anonymous student is particularly telling. As Hopkins recounted it: “The statement was made flat-footedly that Joe Goodwin had taken him over to Beaver Meadow, that Patterson and Jones had there got him drunk and that various other circumstances attached to the party.” The man involved, who had had previous difficulties with alcohol, reported to Hopkins: “I have had few limits but I went last night beyond those even which I have had.” In Hopkins’s mind, something had to be done.⁷

In the end, Joseph Goodwin was expelled, the alcohol violations given as the official justification. Ralph Jones and McKay Patterson, already graduated, were asked by their fraternity to resign their membership and to leave the fraternity house immediately, which they did. The fraternity itself vowed to “refrain from any activity which may be misrepresented as effeminacy.”⁸ In his correspondence Hopkins debated whether or not too many cultural and aesthetic interests—illustrated most glaringly by a propensity to play women on stage—might lead to inversion, or whether the equation worked in reverse: perhaps those who were inclined toward moral degeneracy quite naturally were predisposed toward the cultural and aesthetic. It was a chicken and egg sort of proposition. Whatever his final decision—and he consulted with a number of psychiatrists through the deliberation process—by 1926 Dartmouth had begun to import women to play the female parts in their plays and by 1929 men in drag had been eliminated from the Dartmouth stage altogether.⁹ Purged of its undesirables, the Epsilon Kappa Phi fraternity proceeded with its bid to become a chapter of Delta Upsilon. They were admitted to the national brotherhood the next year.¹⁰

The case itself is fascinating anecdotally, but for the purposes of this essay I would like to address its significance in terms of the historiography both of homosexuality and of masculinity in the United States. The commonly accepted narrative of the emergence of homosexuality as a discrete identity category in the United States is that it happened in cities, primarily because people can live singly, they can do what they please without their families finding out about it, and they can form new communities, communities not related to their families of origin.¹¹ While I am as indebted to this work as anyone, what this essay demonstrates is that there have been, and still are, queer people in the country as well. Others have claimed this long before me, of course.¹² The example I’m discussing, however, takes place early in the twentieth century and is noteworthy for a number of other reasons.

First of all, it seems fairly clear that at least some of the men who owned the house at Beaver Meadow understood themselves as being particular kinds of men; they worked to achieve personae that were marked as what was then called “aesthetic” and what we might understand as queer. They behaved in certain ways (their effeminacy is mentioned with frequency); they embraced a certain way of life (often described by their observers as “aesthetic”); they involved themselves in certain activities (namely the theatre, in which they took the female roles); and they talked in particular ways as well. There are reports,

for instance, of various men talking about their “wives,” or of “having an affair” with another student. That these same men were the ones accused and suspected of homosexual conduct should come as no great surprise. Ever since the much-discussed trial of Oscar Wilde and his championing of the aesthetic way of life, “moral degeneracy,” aesthetics, effeminacy, and the theatre had become linked in the minds of many. This was evidently so for these young men as well. My point is not that they invented these associations themselves but instead that privileged white middle- and upper-class young men could fashion identities around these stereotypes even in the most rural reaches of New England.¹³

The national census of 1920 lists the population of “Norwich town,” Vermont at 1,092. Nearby Beaver Meadow was not even incorporated as a town and thus was not included in the census. Yet it was here that these young men established a sort of gay community that offered them a haven to live lives, if only briefly, that centered on men’s desire for other men. Here they found what others were experiencing in New York, Chicago, and Boston. Their money had purchased for them the same sorts of pleasures and protection that others were finding in larger cities. It was precisely because of, and not despite, the house’s location that these boys were able to fashion a transient queer community that allowed them to “freely experiment” without the censure of their families.¹⁴

There is no question that they were able to do this because of their class, the same status that had gotten them to elite Dartmouth College in the first place, where they had all found each other. While the proportion of young people aged eighteen to twenty-two attending colleges in the 1920s had increased beyond rates for earlier decades, attending a school like Dartmouth was still indicative of a certain amount of wealth. By 1930, close to twenty percent of people in the United States between the ages of eighteen to twenty-two were attending a post-secondary school of some sort. During the first decade of the twentieth century, only two percent had done so. As historians have noted, the 1920s was an era of democratization in higher education, as more and more middle and lower-middle class students were able to attend colleges and universities than had previously done so. For many people, however, Dartmouth would not have been inexpensive. Tuition for the 1925–26 school year was three hundred dollars and would go up to four hundred dollars the next year. Freshmen were required to live in the Commons, a dormitory, at \$260 per year, while upperclassmen could live in other dormitories, which themselves, according to the 1925–26 college catalogue, were “so arranged that students of varying pecuniary means are brought together in the same building.”¹⁵

That said, the average national annual income in 1925 was \$1,317 and a 1924–1925 Dartmouth survey indicated that students’ annual total expenditures (including tuition) ranged from a low of \$775 to a high of \$4,800; the average was \$1,535. While scholarships were available to offset the costs of college itself and the expenditures incurred while attending it, by 1928, only fourteen percent of the student body received any aid at all; the average scholarship amounted to \$275, and they were primarily awarded based on scholastic merit, financial

need playing a factor but not always the decisive one. Many students attending Dartmouth simply had no need of scholarships. Russell R. Larmon, executive assistant to Ernest Hopkins, acknowledged this in 1925, when he explained that, “As the percentage of men coming from outside of New England increased, so increased the number of men who were able to take care of their expenses without financial aid. . . . The boy of small means is more likely to select an educational institution near his home.” He explicitly mentioned the cost of a social life at Dartmouth as being prohibitive for many New Hampshire and Vermont young men, encouraging them to attend the less pricey and less prestigious Universities of New Hampshire and Vermont. The 1924–25 survey echoed this in finding that the poorest Dartmouth students were those from New England and states closest to Dartmouth itself, those from states further away spending more money on an annual basis. It also reported that Dartmouth men were spending considerably more money in 1924–25 than they had been about twenty years earlier, even adjusting for changes in purchasing power. Dartmouth was a school increasingly attracting young men who did not hail from Vermont and New Hampshire (and often anywhere in New England); this was indicative of the degree to which students also were increasingly coming from families of means. Indeed, of the seven students whose affiliation with the house at Beaver Meadow I am able to positively confirm, only one came from these two principle states, in his case Vermont, and even he had attended a prep school before enrolling at Dartmouth.¹⁶

Dartmouth College was almost exclusively white throughout the 1920s, as were the men who frequented the house at Beaver Meadow. African Americans were not barred from attending, and indeed the classes of 1921 through 1924 included twelve black students, though only five graduated. Dartmouth’s total enrollment was somewhere just over 2,000 in these years. The Class of 1925 included one black student, Samuel Stanley Morris, and the subsequent entering class also contained a single black student, Theodore Arthur Rambeau. Dartmouth was obviously willing to enroll at least some black students, and Hopkins, writing in 1925, was explicit that the college did not “discriminate racially against given men.” While applications for admission during the 1920s did ask prospective students to describe the religious organizations to which they belonged, they did not begin to ask them to “Describe briefly your racial inheritance” until 1934. It seems likely, however, that the alumni who evaluated applicants and who filed reports with the college would have made mention of a non-white student’s race. All that said, Dartmouth’s own explicit policies regarding race may be beside the point because the cost of a Dartmouth education would simply have been too much for most African Americans during the 1920s. In addition to this, Dartmouth’s location in New Hampshire, one of the whitest states in the union, may have further discouraged prospective black students considering traveling away from home for a college education.¹⁷

Thus the young men who set up house in Beaver Meadow were privileged, both in terms of class and race. Evidence about the racial and class makeup of 1920s Dartmouth College aside, that these particular boys had the means to be-

long to a fraternity as well as to pay for the house at Beaver Meadow is further indication of their privilege.¹⁸ In this, the ability to at least partially organize their lives around their sexual idylls is not completely unlike the standard narrative of sexual exploration in cities. That narrative depends on the ability of single people to support themselves apart from their families in the creation of a sustainable gay culture through the ability of its participants to organize their lives around their homosexual identities; the story of the boys of Beaver Meadow is not altogether different. In this case, the men depended upon those families, but did so at a distance. In essence, they created a gay community in a rural location, but one that was dependent on the same (or somewhat modified) economic factors that generated gay culture in cities. This does not, however, detract from the import of their actions. These students created for themselves a small rural gay community that historians have generally understood to be a product of a more urban existence.

Two of the men involved in the home chose to remain right there even after graduation. McKay Patterson and Ralph Jones kept up ownership of the house in Beaver Meadow even though their official connection with Dartmouth College had come to an end in 1924 when they graduated. They lived there and in the Epsilon Kappa Phi fraternity house. My suggestion is that they did so because returning to their respective hometowns would also mean an end to this way of life. Indeed, a year after the time at Beaver Meadow had come to an end, Patterson married in his hometown of Rochester, New York, where he lived out the rest of his days. He eventually formed an interior design firm with a male partner and was famous for the homes he designed in Rochester and in various Florida cities; he also showed horses competitively. Ralph Jones also married and at the time of his death was a specialist and dealer in American pottery. We will never know whether Patterson and Jones ever resumed their “gay” lives—at least in the sexual sense—and whether they would ever have thought of themselves as gay at all. What we do know fairly conclusively is that for a brief period they were both able to organize their lives around same-sex desire and that they did so in rural Vermont and New Hampshire and not in one of the United States’ major cities. Indeed it was city life that foretold a return to a more conventional life. The anonymity then, that was presumed to be one of the chief functions for the emergence of gay life in the city, was at some times and for some people, more available in the country.¹⁹

The incidents at Beaver Meadow also have much to tell us about conceptions of masculinity during the 1920s. Most of the participants were routinely described as being anything but masculine. And yet they were all members of a fraternity, organizations whose “brothers” are generally understood as being the very personification of collegiate masculinity.²⁰ How is it that during the 1920s at a time when dating and (heterosexual) heavy petting were all the rage across the country among college students, fraternity and sorority members particularly, these men commandeered their fraternity for the purposes of gay sex, queer socializing, and female impersonation? I have a couple tentative explanations.²¹

The first, and this is in relation to the Beaver Meadow boys' passion for women's parts in plays, has to do with Dartmouth's status as an all-male college. For years it had been common practice for men to take women's parts; there was nothing unusual about this. It was not even particularly noteworthy that some men were better at it than others or that they took these parts with such regularity. It was only when those details became combined with other "aesthetic" tendencies—and when those tendencies became more widely linked to emerging homosexual identities—that certain men became more suspect than others.

The second explanation has to do with the particular fraternity to which these young men belonged. During the 1920s, more than half of Dartmouth's undergraduates belonged to fraternities.²² The men of Beaver Meadow, however, were members of a fledgling group, not yet particularly established on campus, that was attempting to become a chapter of a national that itself had a reputation as being among the most liberal of fraternities; it had originally been founded as an organization for men who were "anti-secret society" in the 1830s. We can safely assume that the men in Epsilon Kappa Phi had not been given bids to any of the more established and prestigious Dartmouth fraternities, Delta Kappa Epsilon, for instance, with its reputation for football and other sports, or Zeta Psi, known for its interactions with women from New England Seven Sisters schools or the local junior colleges. There was diversity amongst fraternities, in other words, especially at a school that had so many. Some were understood as more masculine than others.

These explanations are tentative. Just as the evidence I've presented about the incidents is only partial, the explanations and the evidence raise more questions than they necessarily answer. More than anything, the story of the boys of Beaver Meadow serves not just to broaden our understandings of the emergence of gay identities and subcultures in more rural environments but also spurs us on in search of undiscovered similar stories in archives across the country. The story suggests that there may well be many other gay Arcadias yet to be found.

Notes

My thanks to Sarah Hartwell, Reference Room Supervisor at the Rauner Special Collections Library at Dartmouth College, whose enthusiasm for this research matched my own and whose expertise on Dartmouth and its archives was invaluable. Thanks also to my fellow panelists and our commentator, John Howard, at the 2005 annual meeting of the American Studies Association, as well as to the anonymous readers for *American Studies*.

1. My first inclination was to assume that they had rented the house but a number of references are made either to being an "owner" or a "lessee." See, for instance, Ernest Martin Hopkins (hereafter EMH) to Ralph P. Holbe, October 8, 1925, Box 108, Folder 95, Ernest Martin Hopkins Papers (hereafter EMHP), Rauner Special Collection Library, Dartmouth College (hereafter RSCL), and Webster E. Collins to EMH, October 13, 1925, same folder.

2. This was determined through a systematic search of Dartmouth's yearbook, *The Aegis*. I compared the names of those I knew had frequented the house at Beaver Meadow with the pages of the yearbook dedicated to the Dartmouth Players and the shows they put on each year. See editions of *The Aegis* for the 1920s, RSCL.

3. "Entire Cast Named for 'The Thirteenth Chair,'" *The Dartmouth*, October 19, 1920, 1; Kenneth A. Robinson, "Carnival Show and Actors Highly Lauded by Reviewer," *The Dartmouth*, February 12, 1921, 2. The reviewer incorrectly credits Patterson as being in the class of 1923; he was actually a member of the class of 1924. On Dartmouth students in women's roles, see Henry B.

Williams, *Theatre at Dartmouth, 1769–1914: From Eleazar Wheelock to Walter Wanger* (Hanover, NH: Friends of the Dartmouth College Library, 1987).

4. On the influence of Patterson and Jones and the “parade of their effeminacy,” see, for instance, Clifford Orr to EMH, October 30, 1925, EMHP, Box 108, Folder 95. On other owners: EMH to Dr. J. J. Goodwin, October 29, 1925 (Joseph Goodwin as co-lessee); Webster E. Collins to EMH, October 13, 1925 (Webster Collins as former co-owner); EMH to various faculty, October 8, 1925 (Joseph Goodwin and William North as co-owners), all in same folder.

5. On drinking, see EMH to Dr. J. J. Goodwin, October 29, 1925, EMHP, Box 108, Folder 95.

6. EMH to Ralph P. Holben; EMH to Arthur H. Basye; EMH to Franklin McDuffee, all October 8, 1925, in EMHP, Box 108, Folder 95.

7. EMH to Clifford Orr, October 28, 1925, EMHP, Box 108, Folder 95. While Hopkins only took action when he believed that some students were coercing others into participation, a similar situation at Harvard College in 1920 elicited a much different reaction on the part of administrators. There, numerous students were expelled even when their relationship to the purportedly gay students was tenuous, at best. Further, Harvard officials did their best to sully the records of alumni who had been connected with the gay students, a step not taken by Dartmouth officials. While Hopkins’s thinking on the situation may look closed-minded to twenty-first century eyes, in comparison to Harvard officials, he was positively enlightened. For the Harvard story, see William Wright, *Harvard’s Secret Court: The Savage 1920 Purge of Campus Homosexuals* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2005), which itself was inspired by the work of the reporters of the Harvard *Crimson*, who first discovered and published the story of the incidents in 2002.

8. Brothers of Epsilon Kappa Phi (Secretary Thomas Herlihy Jr., for the fraternity) to EMH, October 11, 1925, EMHP, Box 108, Folder 95.

9. There is a fascinating note also in the archives at Dartmouth from another man, Richard Morin, Class of 1924, who regularly took the female roles in plays during the 1920s at Dartmouth. He writes about his experiences in the theatre: “In those days, before Freud had held up the spectre of transvestism for all to ponder on, these antics seemed mildly amusing, but today they seem sinister and grotesque.” The letter was written in 1952 and while Morin is slightly off about Freud’s appearance on the scene—as well as Freud’s attitudes toward homosexuality—he captures the spirit of the attitude toward men in women’s roles. It was presumed “harmless” until it became suspicious in its supposed relation to homosexuality. Richard Morin to Henry B. Williams, November 29, 1952, Richard Morin alumni file, RSCL. On Freud and homosexuality, see Henry Abelove, “Freud, Male Homosexuality, and the Americans,” in Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin, eds., *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 381–393.

10. “Petition of the Epsilon Kappa Phi Fraternity of Dartmouth College to the Delta Upsilon Fraternity, September, 1926,” in EMHP, Box 108, Folder 95. The fraternity was installed on December 4, 1926. See announcement for the granting of the charter in *The Dartmouth*, September 22, 1926, 1.

11. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980); John D’Emilio, “Capitalism and Gay Identity,” in Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100–113; George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

12. See John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Howard, ed., *Carryin’ On in the Lesbian and Gay South* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, “‘But We Would Never Talk About It’: The Structures of Lesbian Discretion in South Dakota, 1928–1933,” in Ellen Lewin, ed., *Inventing Lesbian Cultures in America* (Boston: Beacon, 1996), 15–39, among others.

13. On Oscar Wilde, aesthetics, and effeminacy, see Mary Warner Blanchard, *Oscar Wilde’s America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). On the relationship between artistic sensibilities and homosexuality, see also Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 232–244.

14. On Norwich’s population, see U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium: Vermont* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1925), 12. In Windsor County, which measured 948 square miles, and in which Beaver Meadow was located, there were 36,984 people or 39 people per square mile (*Ibid.*, 11).

15. On the increase in the number of college students, see Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920’s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 124; David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915–1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 39. The number of students in college in the 1920s had risen from almost 600,000 in 1919–20 to just over 1,100,000 in 1929–30. Tuition and figures on cost in college commons and assertion about varying pecuniary means are in *Dartmouth College Bulletin*, New Series, vol. XIV, No. 6 (December 1925), 118, 121.

16. U.S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part I* (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975), 164. The costs are found in Elwood T. Dickinson, "Student Finances at Dartmouth," *The Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* Vol. XVII, No. 9, August 1925, 750. On scholarship aid, see "Student Finances," 755, and questionnaire on student aid, February 1928, sent to Charles A. Danielson, Bursar of Columbia University, in Records of the Treasurer, Box 43, Folder 10, RSCL. Dickinson also reports that very few men worked, and those who did were unlikely to earn more than about \$50 per year ("Student Finances," 754-755). Russell Larmon to Frederic S. Pope, November 27, 1925, EMHP, Box 103, Folder 8. Figures on geographical distribution and spending habits as well as on increases in spending are in Dickinson, "Student Finances," 756-757, 753. The one student from Vermont was Clifton Blake and he attended Kimball Union Academy in New Hampshire (Clifton Blake Alumni File, RSCL). The trend toward Dartmouth taking in students from a broader range of locations outside New Hampshire, and indeed New England, had actually originated much earlier, in the later nineteenth century. See Marilyn Tobias, *Old Dartmouth on Trial: The Transformation of the Academic Community in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1982).

17. Students entering in 1920 are detailed in a listing of African-American students at Dartmouth from its beginning to 1920, RSCL; an additional listing is in "Negroes in College, 1841-1965," Papers of the Registrar, Box 2, RSCL; Morris is in the *Aegis* of 1925, 96; Rambeau is in *The Freshman Book* for 1926; EMH to Jess Hawley, August 26, 1925, EMHP, Box 110, Folder 101; admissions processes in the 1920s are detailed in *The Selective Process for Admission, 1923/24-1931/32*, RSCL; the admission blank that asks for racial inheritance is "Dartmouth College, General Information Blank—Applicant," for the Class of 1938 found in Admissions File, Vertical Files, RSCL.

18. Elwood Dickinson found that of the lowest financial quarter of the students surveyed in 1924-25 (those quarters determined by their annual expenditures), only 44.7% joined fraternities; in the highest quarter, 85% did so. Of course what put people into these quarters was their expenditures, fraternity dues among them. That said, there is no question that there is a positive correlation between those students who spent the most money on an annual basis and those who joined fraternities. See "Student Finances," 757. Dickinson also found that men in the highest quarter in terms of their annual expenditures were also much more likely to come from families who employed one or two servants and owned automobiles; every family of the boys in the highest quarter employed a servant or two versus only one in eight of the lowest quarter; in the highest quarter every boy's family had either one or two cars, in the lowest, the families of only one man in two owned a car (*Ibid.*, 759).

19. On the lives and careers of Patterson and Jones, see "W. McKay Patterson Dies at 72," *The Times Union*, August 16, 1973, William McKay Patterson Alumni File, RSCL and entries for Ralph Garfield Jones in Ralph G. Jones Alumni File, also in RSCL. Joseph Goodwin, expelled from Dartmouth for his involvement in the house at Beaver Meadow, graduated from MIT with a degree in architecture and practiced that profession in Boston until his death at the age of 59. He never married. See "Joseph Goodwin Funeral Rites To Be Friday," April 26, 1965 and "Joseph Goodwin: Was an Architect," April 28, 1965; both clippings in Joseph Goodwin Alumni File, RSCL. Another former owner, William G. North, lived out his days as a teacher at a boys' school and also never married (William G. North Alumni File, RSCL) and yet another (Clifton Blake) became an antiques dealer and also never married (Clifton Evans Blake Alumni File, RSCL). Webster Collins, another former co-owner, returned home to Springfield, Massachusetts, upon graduation and worked in the family's wool business. He married and had two sons (Webster Collins Alumni File, RSCL). Finally, Clifford "Kip" Orr, an admitted visitor to the house worked as a reporter for *The Boston Evening Transcript* and *The New Yorker* before his death in 1951. He did not marry (Clifford Orr Alumni File, RSCL).

20. On masculinity and fraternities during the 1920s, see Nicholas L. Syrett, "The Company He Keeps: White College Fraternities, Masculinity, and Power, 1825-1975," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2005), chapter Five.

21. On collegiate and youth culture in the 1920s, see Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*.

22. Sarah Hartwell, personal communication with the author, April 16, 2007. See also John Cotton Dana to Eugene Clark, September 30, 1920, EMHP, Box 39, Folder 95. Elwood Dickinson found that in 1924-25, 69% of Dartmouth students were members of fraternities. See "Student Finances," 757.